# The Life of SAMUEL JOHNSON LL.D.

*Sir John Hawkins*

EDITED BY O M BRACK, JR.

VISIT…

# THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

Samuel Johnson, by James Barry,
oil on canvas, oval, 1778–80, 23⅞ in. × 20⅞ in.
(National Portrait Gallery, London)

# The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.

BY SIR JOHN HAWKINS, KNT.

*Edited by*

O M BRACK, JR.

The University of Georgia Press
Athens and London

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Athens, Georgia 30602

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Designed by April Leidig-Higgins
Set in ArnoPro by Copperline Book Services, Inc.
Printed and bound by Thomson-Shore

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Printed in the United States of America
0 9 1 0 1 1  1 2 1 3  C 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Hawkins, John, Sir, 1719–1789.
The life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. / by Sir John Hawkins;
edited by O M Brack, Jr.

p. cm.
Originally published by J. Buckland, London, 1787.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-8203-2995-6 (alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8203-2995-9 (alk. paper)
1. Johnson, Samuel, 1709–1784 — Early works to 1800.
2. Authors, English — 18th century — Biography.
3. Lexicographers — Great Britain — Biography.
I. Brack, O M. II. Title.

PR3533.H3 2009
828'.609 — dc22
[B] 2008037775

British Library Cataloging-in-Publication Data available

**ISBN for this digital edition: 978-0-8203-4288-7**

For Loren and Frances

Life has no pleasure higher or
nobler than friendship.

— *Idler* 23

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# CONTENTS

List of Illustrations
ix

Preface
xi

List of Abbreviations and Short Titles
xv

Introduction
xxi

*The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*
1

Notes to the Text
367

Textual Commentary
451

List of Emendations
453

Word-Division
457

Historical Collation
459

List of Cancellations in the 1787 First Edition
475

Preliminaries to Volume I of
*The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (1787)
479

Index
483

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# ILLUSTRATIONS


Samuel Johnson, by James Barry ii

Sir John Hawkins, engraving of the 1786
James Roberts portrait xxv

Title page for the *Life* in Sir John Hawkins's hand xxvii

Title page of the second edition xxxvi

A perspective view of a part of the city of Lichfield 2

Elizabeth Porter, afterward Mrs. "Tetty" Johnson 21

Title page of *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1738 41

Frontispiece to the 1747 volume of *Gentleman's Magazine* 60

Molly Aston 191

Samuel Johnson to Frances Reynolds 192

Pages of Samuel Johnson's diary 269

Sir John Hawkins, frontispiece to Laetitia-Matilda
Hawkins's *Anecdotes* 328

Samuel Johnson, engraving of the 1783 John Opie portrait 344

Samuel Johnson, engraving of the 1775
Sir Joshua Reynolds portrait 480

Title page of the first edition of the first volume
of *Works of Samuel Johnson* 481

Dedication to the first edition of the first volume
of *Works of Samuel Johnson* 482

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# PREFACE

THIS IS THE FIRST scholarly edition of Sir John Hawkins's *Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* Before the 1787 first edition was published, Hawkins, sensitive to the accuracy of his biographical account of Johnson, cancelled nineteen leaves, one twice, and replaced them before publication because they contained several errors in fact and shortcomings in style. When Hawkins revised a copy of the first edition to serve as printer's copy for the second edition published a few months later in 1787, additional corrections or revisions were made in fact and style, but the second edition also introduced new errors. Nevertheless, the 1787 second edition, revised by Hawkins and corrected by him for the press, represents what the biographer wished the public to read; it has therefore been chosen as copy-text for this edition. The present edition preserves the text of the second edition, correcting the typographical errors, which are recorded in the list of emendations. Any impulse to coauthor the biography by guessing what Hawkins might have done had he had another opportunity to revise and correct the text has been firmly resisted. Thus, Hawkins's errors in his narrative are usually left standing and are corrected in the annotations.

This new edition of *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* is the first to provide a carefully edited text, with annotations for the entire biography. As Hawkins points out in the second paragraph of the *Life*, he is "engaged to relate facts to which I was a witness, conversations in which I was a party, and to record memorable sayings uttered only to myself." Hence, it is impossible to assign many of his statements to a particular time or trace them to a particular source. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made in the annotations to keep the chronology straight and to provide a source for quotations and allusions insofar as this is possible. The focus of the annotations is to illuminate the text, not to provide elaborate discussions of related literary, cultural, and political matters. References to primary and secondary sources allow the interested reader to pursue topics beyond the boundaries imposed by the need to provide concise and appropriate annotations. Cross-references to James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* and to other early biographers have been kept to a minimum in order to allow Hawkins to tell his own story. As is pointed out in the introduction, all the early biographers knew Johnson in

a different way, and each opinion has value and must be weighed carefully in reconstructing Johnson. Every attempt has been made to correct facts, although it needs to be remembered that in some instances what a biographer wishes to pass as fact may be only opinion. Obscure and archaic words are defined in the annotations by reference to the 1773 edition of Johnson's *Dictionary* and to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. For historical, literary, and biographical allusions the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* has been a constant source of reference. The *English Short-Title Catalogue* and the related Eighteenth-Century Collections Online have also provided needed information.

As in the case of many scholarly editions, the publisher wishes limits to be placed on the number and fullness of the annotations. To keep the annotations within a reasonable compass several strategies have been necessary. References to persons, literary works, and events bearing directly on Johnson's life receive comments in the annotations, but such references in Hawkins's illustrative and supporting materials are sometimes identified only in the index. The number of annotations has also been reduced by including as much information as possible in one annotation. Hawkins quotes extensively from *Taxation No Tyranny*, for example. At the end of the first quotation a superscript symbol sends the reader to an annotation that identifies not only the source of that quotation but the source for several quotations in following paragraphs. Books before 1800 are usually cited by short title with only the date, and London is understood as the place of publication unless otherwise stated.

The introduction provides a brief biographical account of Sir John Hawkins, discusses the composition, publication, and reception of the *Life*, and points out the continuing significance for those wishing to understand fully the life of Samuel Johnson. Anyone interested in any aspect of Sir John Hawkins is greatly indebted to the work of Bertram H. Davis. This edition is no exception, although some interpretations of the evidence are those of the editor. I am grateful to Bert for patiently answering my queries over the years and for his encouragement to complete this edition. Those who want to know more about the composition, publication, and reception of the *Life* than is provided here or who desire more detailed information about Hawkins the man should consult the extensive coverage of these topics by Davis in *Johnson before Boswell: A Study of Sir John Hawkins' Life of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957), his abridged edition of the *Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), and his biography, *A Proof of Eminence: The Life of Sir John Hawkins* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973).

Ernest Campbell Mossner loaned me his copy of Davis's edition of Hawkins's *Life* in the spring of 1963 and suggested that I read it and write a paper on

it. At the time it was the only biography of Johnson I had read; clearly, it made a deep impression on me. Others encouraged me over the years to edit Hawkins's *Life*: Donald Greene, Gwin Kolb, Fritz Liebert, and John Middendorf. I regret that they are not here to witness the manifestation of their wish.

My foremost acknowledgment must be to Cynthia A. Burns, my wife and best friend, for it is due to her inspiration, encouragement, and assistance that you now have this volume in your hands. We also wish to thank Sammy J., our philosopher cat, who, when not solving problems, makes our solving problems worthwhile.

Throughout the process of editing this volume I have benefited from the assistance of friends and colleagues. Tom Kaminski read an early draft of the volume and helped me gain a clearer picture of what the edition should be as well as providing valuable insights about the annotations. He also translated all the Latin passages, unless otherwise stated. Jim Gray read the manuscript, assisted with the Earl of Chesterfield's French, and provided generous helpings of information, criticism, and encouragement as needed. Bob DeMaria also read the manuscript, sharing his wide knowledge of Johnson's life, works, and reading and sparing me from making a number of errors of commission and omission. He also kindly reexamined for me the copy of the first edition of Hawkins's *Life*, without any of the leaves cancelled, in the Hyde Collection. An early version of the manuscript was read by Roger Lonsdale, who gave me valuable advice about the level of annotation. Michael Bundock and Adam Rounce also took time from their busy schedules to read the manuscript and to ask the hard questions that required answers. I also received assistance from Rob Hume on theatrical matters, Jim May on Edward Young and a number of editorial, printing, and bibliographical questions, Hermann Real on Swift, Peter Sabor on Frances Burney, Deborah Losse on Montaigne, and Ayanna Thompson on Shakespeare and the Renaissance. Leslie Chilton, my partner in a number of editorial projects involving Smollett, shared her experience and provided valuable assistance with the collation of texts and with proofreading. Erin Hageman, in the earliest stage of the project, kindly assisted me with research in the library and served as my common reader, reminding me what a serious first-time reader of the *Life* might wish to know.

No extensive research project can be completed without the assistance of librarians. I am particularly pleased to acknowledge the generosity of John Overholt, assistant curator of the Donald and Mary Hyde Collection of Dr. Samuel Johnson and Early Modern Books and Manuscripts at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, in answering my queries about Hawkins materials and providing copies for illustrations. I also wish to thank Mary C. Haegert for her assistance with the illustrations. Since 1971 the bulk of

the research on each of my projects has been carried out at the Huntington Library. This edition is no exception, and I gratefully acknowledge a one-month research fellowship in July 2007 that enabled me to resolve some of the more difficult questions raised by the *Life*. To the pleasure of working at the Huntington must be added the delights of living in Altadena, and I am grateful to Bob and Brownie Allen for allowing me to stay once again in their beautiful house and for their unconditional friendship over many years. To spend the day at the Huntington and then retreat to Homewood Drive is this scholar's idea of paradise on earth. For support of my projects over the years I wish to thank especially Roy Ritchie, director of research and education, and David S. Zeidberg, director of the library. I am grateful to Laura Stalker, head of collection development and reader services, and her staff for making the library such an efficient and convivial place to work: Jill Cogen, Christopher Adde, Juan Gomez, Kate Henningsen, Meredith Berbee, and Catherine Wehrey. Alan Jutzi, chief curator, rare books, and Steve Tabor, curator of early printed books, are to be thanked for their assistance with bibliographical problems; Mary Robinson, chief curator of manuscripts, Sue Hodson, curator of literary manuscripts, her assistant, Gayle Richardson, Cathy Cherbosque, curator of prints and ephemera, and Kathy Martin have given much appreciated advice and assistance. A warm thank you to Tom Canterbury, stack supervisor, for his efficiency, good humor, and ability to resolve some sticky, not to say wacky, problems I have created especially for him over the years. Finally, I am grateful to the late Hélène La Rue, curator of music collections at Oxford, for examining James Roberts's portrait of Hawkins with my son, Matthew Rice Brack.

I wish also to extend special thanks to Nancy Grayson, associate director and editor in chief, University of Georgia Press, for agreeing that I should edit Sir John Hawkins's *Life of Samuel Johnson* and providing encouragement and support. Thanks are also due to Jon Davies, managing editor, who, like heroes of old, triumphs over every editorial problem with resolve and without fear and trepidation. I also wish to thank Mary M. Hill, who has taken time away from copyediting Smollett volumes to lend her expertise as a copy-editor to Hawkins.

I first met Loren and Frances Rothschild in September 1986, appropriately at the annual supper of the Johnson Society, held in the Guildhall in Lichfield, England, as part of the Birthday Celebrations for Samuel Johnson. What began as a mutual love of Samuel Johnson, the eighteenth century, books, manuscripts, and prints has grown into a friendship. As a small token of my appreciation for their counsel, encouragement, and inspiration, this volume is dedicated to Loren and Fran with affection and esteem.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

| | |
|---|---|
| Abbott | John Lawrence Abbott, *Hawkesworth, Eighteenth-Century Man of Letters* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982). |
| Barker | A. D. Barker, "Edward Cave, Samuel Johnson, and the *Gentleman's Magazine*," D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1981. |
| *BB* | *Biographia Britannica*, 7 vols. (1747–66). |
| Brownell | Morris Brownell, *Samuel Johnson's Attitude to the Arts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). |
| Clifford, *Dictionary Johnson* | James L. Clifford, *Dictionary Johnson: Samuel Johnson's Middle Years* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979). |
| Clifford, *Hester Lynch Piozzi* | James L. Clifford, *Hester Lynch Piozzi*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952). |
| Clifford, *Young Sam* | James L. Clifford, *Young Sam Johnson* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955). |
| Cooke | William Cooke, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (1785), in *Early Biographies*, 91–135. |
| Davis, *Life* | Sir John Hawkins, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Bertram H. Davis (London: Jonathan Cape, 1961). |
| Davis, *Proof* | Bertram H. Davis, *A Proof of Eminence: The Life of Sir John Hawkins* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973). |
| DeMaria, *Life* | Robert DeMaria, Jr., *The Life of Samuel Johnson: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993). |
| DeMaria, *Reading* | Robert DeMaria, Jr., *Samuel Johnson and the Life of Reading* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). |

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| *Dictionary* | Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (1773). |
| *Early Biographical Writings* | *Early Biographical Writings of Dr Johnson*, with an introduction by J. D. Fleeman (Westmead: Gregg International Publishers, 1973). |
| *Early Biographies* | *The Early Biographies of Samuel Johnson*, ed. O M Brack, Jr., and Robert E. Kelley (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1974). |
| *ESTC* | *English Short-Title Catalogue*, http://estc.ucr.edu/index_old.html. |
| Fleeman, *Bibliography* | J. D. Fleeman, *A Bibliography of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000). |
| Fleeman, *Copies* | J. D. Fleeman, *A Preliminary Handlist of Copies of Books Associated with Dr. Samuel Johnson* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1984). |
| Fleeman, *Documents* | J. D. Fleeman, *A Preliminary Handlist of Documents and Manuscripts of Samuel Johnson* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1967). |
| *GD* | Pierre Bayle et al., *A General Dictionary Historical and Critical*, 10 vols. (1734–41). |
| *Gleanings* | Aleyn Lyell Reade, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, 10 pts. (privately printed, 1909–46). |
| *GM* | *Gentleman's Magazine*. |
| Greene | Donald J. Greene, *The Politics of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960). |
| Hawkins, "Apothegms" | In *Works* (1787), 11:195–216; *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 2:1–20. |
| Hawkins, *Memoirs* | *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions Collected and Preserved by Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green and F. C. and J. Rivington, 1824). |

| | |
|---|---|
| Hazen | Allen T. Hazen, *Samuel Johnson's Prefaces and Dedications* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1937). |
| HLP | Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi. |
| Hyde Collection | Donald and Mary Hyde Collection of Dr. Samuel Johnson, Houghton Library, Harvard University. |
| JB | James Boswell. |
| JH | Sir John Hawkins. |
| *Johnsonian Miscellanies* | *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. G. B. Hill, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897). |
| *Journal* | *Journal Narrative Relative to Doctor Johnson's Last Illness Three Weeks Before his Death Kept by John Hoole*, ed. O M Brack, Jr. (Iowa City: Windhover Press, 1972). |
| Kaminski | Thomas Kaminski, *The Early Career of Samuel Johnson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). |
| *Letters* | *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Bruce Redford, 5 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992–94). |
| *Life* | James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. G. B. Hill, revised and enlarged by L. F. Powell, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–50; vols. 5–6 [2nd ed.], 1964). |
| *Lives* | *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets; with Critical Observations on Their Works*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006). |
| McGuffie | Helen Louise McGuffie, *Samuel Johnson and the British Press, 1749–1784: A Chronological Checklist* (New York: Garland Press, 1976). |
| *NGBD* (1761–67) | *A New and General Biographical Dictionary*, 12 vols. (1761–67). |
| *NGBD* (1784) | *A New and General Biographical Dictionary*, 12 vols. (1784). |
| Nichols | John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, 9 vols. (London: Printed for the author, 1812–15). |

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| *ODNB* | *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004–). |
| *OED* | *Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com. |
| Piozzi, *Anecdotes* | Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (1786), in *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 1:141–351. |
| Piozzi, "Marginalia" | James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, with marginal comments and markings from two copies annotated by Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi, ed. Edward G. Fletcher, 3 vols. (New York: Heritage Press, 1963). |
| *Poems* | *The Poems of Samuel Johnson*, 2nd ed., ed. David Nichol Smith and Edward L. McAdam, rev. J. D. Fleeman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974). |
| Reed/Steevens | Isaac Reed and/or George Steevens, "An Account of the Writings of Samuel Johnson, Including Some Incidents of His Life" (1784–85), in *Early Biographies*, 43–59. |
| *Sale Catalogue* | Donald J. Greene, *Samuel Johnson's Library: An Annotated Guide* (Vancouver, B.C.: University of Victoria, 1975). |
| Shaw | William Shaw, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late Dr. Samuel Johnson* (1785), in *Early Biographies*, 137–86. |
| SJ | Samuel Johnson. |
| Tyers | Thomas Tyers, *A Biographical Sketch of Dr. Samuel Johnson* (1785), in *Early Biographies*, 61–90. |
| Waingrow | *The Correspondence and Other Papers of James Boswell Relating to the Making of the Life of Johnson*, corrected and enlarged, ed. Marshall Waingrow, 2nd ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001). |
| Wood | Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 2 vols. (1721). |
| *Works* (1787) | *Works of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Sir John Hawkins, 11 vols. (London, 1787). |
| *Works* (1825) | *Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. . . .* 9 vols. (Oxford, 1825). |

*YW* *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1958–).

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|---|---|
| Volume 1 | *Dairies, Prayers, and Annals*, ed. E. L. McAdam, Jr., with Donald and Mary Hyde (1958). |
| Volume 2 | *Idler and Adventurer*, ed. W. J. Bate, John M. Bullitt, and L. F. Powell (1963). |
| Volumes 3–5 | *The Rambler*, ed. W. J. Bate and Albrecht B. Strauss (1969). |
| Volume 6 | *Poems*, ed. E. L. McAdam, Jr., with George Milne (1964). |
| Volumes 7–8 | *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. Arthur Sherbo, with an introduction by Bertrand H. Bronson (1968). |
| Volume 9 | *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. Mary Lascelles (1971). |
| Volume 10 | *Political Writings*, ed. Donald J. Greene (1977). |
| Volumes 11–13 | *The Debates in Parliament*, ed. Thomas Kaminski and Benjamin B. Hoover; text ed. O M Brack, Jr. (forthcoming). |
| Volume 14 | *Sermons*, ed. Jean Hagstrum and James Gray (1978). |
| Volume 15 | *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, ed. Joel J. Gold (1985). |
| Volume 16 | *Rasselas and Other Tales*, ed. Gwin J. Kolb (1990). |
| Volume 17 | *A Commentary on Mr. Pope's Principles of Morality, or Essay on Man*, ed. O M Brack, Jr. (2004). |
| Volume 18 | *Johnson on the English Language*, ed. Gwin J. Kolb and Robert DeMaria, Jr. (2005). |
| Volumes 19–20 | *Biographical and Related Writings*, ed. O M Brack, Jr. (forthcoming). |
| Volumes 21–23 | *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. John H. Middendorf (forthcoming). |

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# INTRODUCTION

> That writer may be justly condemned as an enemy to goodness who suffers fondness or interest to confound right with wrong, or to shelter the faults which even the wisest and best have committed from that ignominy which guilt ought always to suffer, and with which it should be more deeply stigmatized when dignified by its neighbourhood to uncommon worth, since we shall be in danger of beholding it without abhorrence, unless its turpitude be laid open, and the eye secured from the deception of surrounding splendour.
> — *Rambler* 164 (12 October 1751)

SAMUEL JOHNSON WROTE to his old friend Sir John Hawkins on 7 November 1784 from Lichfield: "I am relapsing into the dropsy very fast, and shall make such haste to town that it will be useless to write to me; but when I come, let me have the benefit of your advice, and the consolation of your company."[1] The man for whom Johnson in a jocular mood had coined the word "unclubbable" was now the friend he most needed: clubs were part of this world, the past; death and judgment were in the near future, a frightening prospect that required the advice and consolation not of a clubbable man but of a steady spiritual guide, an ardent Christian like himself, Sir John Hawkins.

When Johnson and Hawkins met, at least as early as November 1738, Johnson had recently turned twenty-nine, and Hawkins was only nineteen; they were destined to be friends for the rest of Johnson's life. Both young men were ambitious. Initially, they both chose literature as the means of making themselves known, and their paths led them to St. John's Gate, Edward Cave's editorial offices for his *Gentleman's Magazine*.

John Hawkins was born on 29 March 1719 to John Hawkins, a carpenter, and his wife, Elizabeth, in the parish of St. Sepulchre's in the City of London. Within their modest means the parents seem to have provided their sole surviving child with the best education possible: an early grounding in music and attendance at a school, perhaps Mr. Watkins's Academy in Spital Square mentioned in *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, where Hawkins acquired some knowledge of Latin as well as of literature and science. About 1736 he

was apprenticed to the architect Edward Hoppus, but the training must have proved uncongenial, for in 1737 he began a five-year clerkship with the attorney John Scott. Forcing himself to rise at 4:00 a.m. during his clerkship, Hawkins read books not only on the law but of literature, especially poetry, as well as on music, painting, and architecture.[2] It is during this same period that he became a contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Although Hawkins's first identified contribution appears in the March 1739 number, he must have been a visitor to St. John's Gate earlier and have met Johnson by November 1738, since he remembered seeing Johnson preparing his "Life of Sarpi" for publication in the November 1738 issue.[3] On 15 November 1742 Hawkins passed his examination and was licensed to practice in both the Court of King's Bench and the Court of Common Pleas. He then moved from the house of John Scott, where he had lived during his clerkship, to his parents' house to begin his practice as an attorney.

Hawkins continued to contribute poetry and prose to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Westminster Journal*, the *Universal Spectator*, and perhaps other publications, probably welcoming the additions to his small income as an attorney. On the front page of the *Daily Advertiser* for 21 February 1741 appeared a poem by Hawkins: "To Mr. John Stanley Occasion'd by looking over some Compositions of his lately publish'd." Then in November 1741 he sent a fifteen-line lyric, "In Vain Philander," to William Boyce. The composer promptly set it to music, calling the lyrics "as pretty as any thing of the kind I've yet met with."[4] Emboldened by having his lyrics published as a song sheet, Hawkins proposed in 1742 to John Stanley that they publish six cantatas, with Hawkins supplying the words to Stanley's music. Later that year *Six Cantatas, for a Voice and Instruments* appeared, with a preface by Hawkins, and a year later six additional cantatas appeared, with one, "Who'll Buy a Heart," achieving a measure of popularity and being reprinted several times in song collections.[5] In the 1740s Hawkins also became a member of the Academy of Ancient Music and the Madrigal Society. Through his musical activities Hawkins met Richard Hare, who introduced him to the wealthy Peter Storer, a lawyer of the Inner Temple to whom Hawkins became a valuable assistant; Hawkins married Storer's youngest daughter, Sidney, on Saturday, 24 March 1753.

Although Hawkins was heavily involved in musical pursuits, he continued a lively interest in literature and was an original member of the Ivy-Lane Club; in fact, most of what is known about what seems to have been Johnson's earliest club comes from Hawkins. The Ivy-Lane Club, sometimes referred to as the Rambler Club, met for supper every Tuesday evening at the King's Head, a beefsteak house kept by a Mr. Horseman in Ivy Lane, be-

tween Paternoster Row and Newgate Street. It was founded in the winter of 1748–49 and had nine members, and it allowed Johnson to "pass those hours in a free and unrestrained interchange of sentiments, which otherwise had been spent at home in painful reflection" (134). Perhaps it broke up during the year of Hawkins's marriage, although he suggests it may have survived as late as 1756.[6] If Hawkins seems to have lost interest in the Ivy-Lane Club as members, for various reasons, drifted away, he continued his musical activities. He also continued his practice as an attorney, but with the money his wife brought to the marriage he was able to hire assistants. In 1759 all was to change. His brother-in-law Peter Storer, Jr., died, leaving Hawkins's wife an inheritance valued at thirty thousand pounds. Hawkins now moved to Twickenham, taking up the life of a country gentleman and the scholarship that he loved.

His first scholarly project was an edition of Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler* (1653), published on 1 July 1760. Johnson thought highly of it, writing in 1774: "The Life of Walton has happily fallen into good hands. Sir John Hawkins has prefixed it to the late edition of the Angler, very diligently collected, and very elegantly composed. You will . . . not wish for a better."[7] By 1759 he had turned seriously to writing a history of music, although he seems to have been collecting material for a number of years. The work was not without interruptions. In September 1761 he became a justice of the peace for the county of Middlesex, and in September 1765 he was elected chairman of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions. In spite of increasing responsibilities as chairman he continued work on the history of music in his intervals of leisure. Having been granted permission to dedicate his work to George III, Hawkins made a private presentation to the king at Buckingham House, probably on the morning of 14 November 1776; *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* became available to the public nine days later. Johnson praised the work to his friend Dr. Thomas Lawrence, "vix quicquam vidimus aut suavius aut uberius" (for we do not often see anything either more delightful or with more riches).[8]

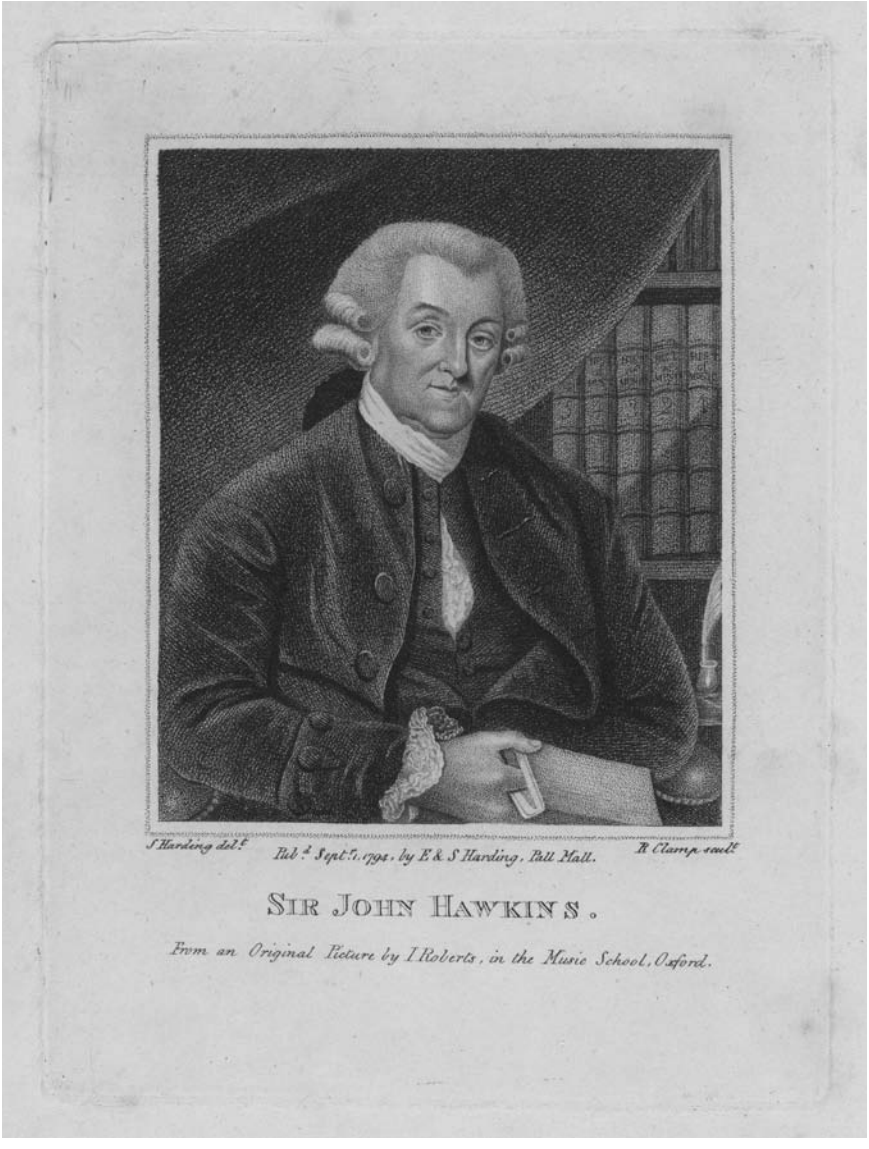
On 23 October 1772 Hawkins became Sir John Hawkins, Knight, when he was presented by Lord Rochford to the king as "the best magistrate in the kingdom."[9] On 18 February 1773 Hawkins was reelected chairman of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions. The next few years found him balancing his duties as chairman with his efforts to complete the last two volumes of his history of music. The period in which Hawkins was busy with his work on that history and fulfilling his responsibilities as chairman coincided with the time Johnson resided with the Thrales at Streatham Park. Hawkins, as did other of Johnson's friends, lamented that he did not see Johnson as much as

formerly, although Hawkins was pleased that his friend now had a family that took a real interest in his welfare.[10] But when Hawkins lost the quarter sessions election in February 1781 and Henry Thrale died the following April, the two old friends had more free time and spent much of it together, only ending with Johnson's death.[11]

Hawkins's daughter, Laetitia-Matilda, asserts that the friendship between her father and Johnson "belongs to every period of my father's life" and, she adds, "was indeed of long standing, and had therefore commenced sufficiently early to give Sir J. H. opportunity of studying his character under various lights: this, his powers enabled him to do on an enlarged scale." An undated remark by Frances Reynolds, sister of the painter, Sir Joshua, provides independent evidence of the close relationship between Hawkins and Johnson. Returning from a walk with Johnson one afternoon, she remembered, "We met Sir John Hawkins, whom Dr. Johnson seemed much rejoiced to see; and no wonder, for I have often heard him speak of Sir John in terms expressive of great esteem and much cordiality of friendship."[12]

The primary basis for this long-term friendship was the similarity of their opinions, especially regarding the importance of religion. This is not to say that they agreed on every facet of this complex subject. Hawkins, while supporting the doctrines of the Church of England and defending Johnson as an orthodox Christian, treats Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, Francis Hutcheson, and other advocates of a theory of benevolence harshly, lamenting that "we live in an age in which humanity is the fashion" and thus failing to understand why Johnson would choose (to Hawkins's mind) such undeserving objects of charity, for example, as the Reverend William Dodd and Francis Barber. In the case of politics a careful reading of the *Life* shows agreement between Hawkins and Johnson on a number of issues. Although early in their friendship Hawkins calls Johnson a Tory, even a Jacobite, and admits to being a Whig, he shares Johnson's opposition views toward Sir Robert Walpole, for example, and feels the same sense of betrayal when after Walpole's resignation the so-called Patriots continue politics as usual. The two friends certainly discussed politics in the 1760s and 1770s and shared similar views on John Wilkes and the taxation of the American colonies. Hawkins clearly admired the political tracts. His ability to discuss two potentially contentious issues as religion and politics with Johnson over the years, even when they have some disagreement on particular issues, provides Hawkins's biographical comments with special insight.[13]

Hawkins's account of the last few weeks of Johnson's life has proved to be

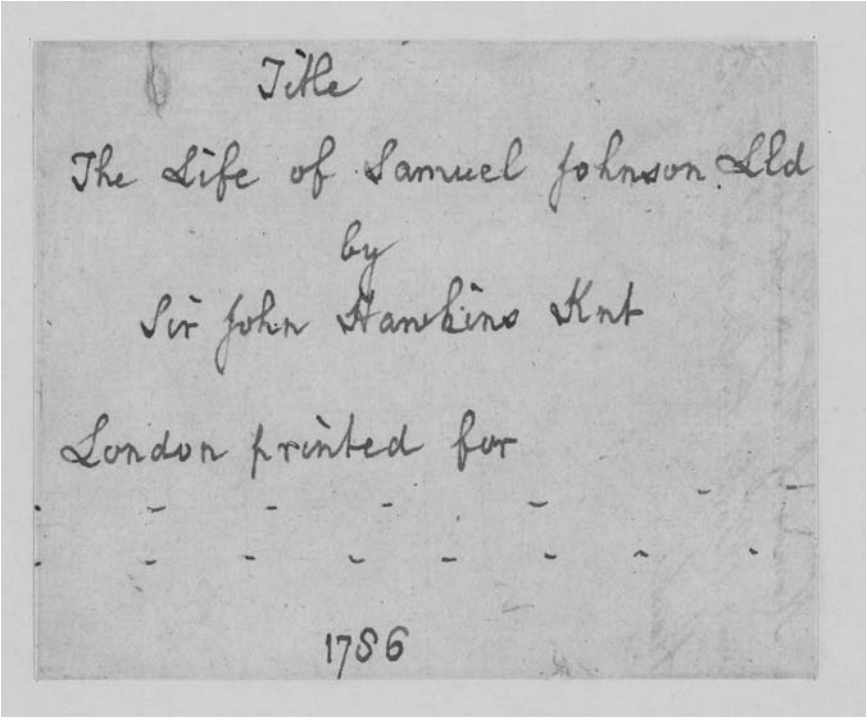

S Harding del.t
Publ.d Sept.r 1.1794. by E & S Harding. Pall Mall.
R Clamp sculp.t
SIR JOHN HAWKINS.
From an Original Picture by J Roberts, in the Music School, Oxford.

Sir John Hawkins, in an engraving of the 1786 James Roberts portrait by S. Harding (1794). (Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Hyde Iconography File)

the most enduring portion of his biography, but it is given full meaning only by understanding the nature of their friendship revealed in the earlier pages of the *Life*. Hawkins's high esteem for Johnson and his conscientiousness in carrying out the duties of friendship did not cease with Johnson's death. As Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins attests, "Few persons know what my father went through in performing these last acts of steady unobtrusive friendship. They were called for in the depth of one of the two severest winters I remember. . . . Again the snow came . . . in October, and in December, when Johnson died, none but hackney-horses could be risked in the streets. My father disregarded every thing; he was little at home in the day, and if he returned at midnight . . . we were happy."[14] His last act of "steady unobtrusive friendship" was the writing of the *Life*.

Only three days after Johnson's death the *St. James's Chronicle* for 16 December 1784 announced that "biographers are very busy preparing Materials for the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson" and that "many, we are told, are the Candidates, but the principal which are mentioned are Sir John Hawkins, and James Boswell, Esq."[15] Hawkins's daughter remembered that, immediately on Johnson's death, her father remarked, " 'He has left me his executor, and I will write his life.' His admiration of Johnson then stood very high. A few hours after, perhaps not more than four, two gentlemen came to him." The two men were William Strahan and Thomas Cadell, representing a group of booksellers and printers. Hawkins's daughter adds that her father observed "the singularity of his being requested to do that which he had resolved on."[16] This meeting between Hawkins, Strahan, and Cadell probably took place on 15 December, since the publicity for the *Life* began the following day.

A formal agreement was reached between Hawkins and "The Partners in Dr. Johnson's Works" on Christmas Eve.[17] Hawkins was to be paid two hundred pounds to write the life of Johnson, which was to preface the collected works and fill volume 1, and oversee the whole publication. The payment from the partners allowed him to hire an editorial assistant, someone to help him correct proofs, an amanuensis, as well as someone to provide an index for the *Life*. In the advertisement Hawkins states that he has taken upon himself "*the office of his Editor, and accordingly here present to view as complete a collection of the various writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson as I was able to form, and the directions he left behind him would permit me to publish*" (479). It is useless to speculate on what directions Johnson may have given Hawkins. That he was conscientious, perhaps overconscientious, in carrying out what he saw as his duty to protect the memory of Johnson cannot be doubted and explains his omission, for example, of Johnson's two early satirical political pamphlets




Title page for *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* in Sir John Hawkins's hand. (Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Hyde 10 [307])

attacking the government of Sir Robert Walpole, *Marmor Norfolciense* and *A Compleat Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage*.

Hawkins turned to his daughter, Laetitia-Matilda, who had just completed editorial work on his much-expanded 1784 fourth edition of *The Compleat Angler*, to assist him with the *Life*: he asked his daughter whether she "would undertake the labour, saying, 'It will be a large octavo volume of 600 or 700 pages: it is a trifling job to *you*; and as for that part of the corrections with which I shall concern myself, you are so used to it, that it will be nothing.'" Her father paid Laetitia-Matilda forty pounds for her work. The entire Hawkins family had known Johnson for years, and Hawkins seems to have made writing the *Life* a family project, Laetitia-Matilda recalled: "He threw his rough draft amongst us, 'What you would have it make it;' it was given up to our *ferocity*: the *façon* of our hard work was often merriment, and his good-humour admitted of our receiving the flying leaves, with 'Come, let us see;' and when we objected, we condescended to say, 'We would see what you could make of it.'" As a result of his reliance on his family and especially on Laetitia-Matilda,

"a report got abroad, from my father showing Mr. Langton some assistance which I had given, that I had written the Life; but I furnished no more than the reviews of the works connected with the subject." According to Laetitia-Matilda, the review of Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands* and the comparison to the travel books of Thomas Pennant, for example, are her work.

Hawkins seems to have made steady progress on the *Life* in spite of the catastrophe of having his house destroyed by fire on Wednesday evening, 23 February 1785. He lost most of his library, some personal papers, and his collection of prints, although he managed to save a small box containing Johnson's papers. No doubt the fire was a blow to his progress on the *Life*; nevertheless, Hawkins had his recollections of Johnson over forty-five years, Johnson's writings, insofar as he knew them, and the memoirs and anecdotes of Johnson that began to be published in August 1784, reaching full tide in the months following his death. A sketch of a title page in Hawkins's hand indicates that he had expected the *Life* and works to be published in 1786, but in a letter of 8 December 1786 to Bishop Thomas Percy he states that, although all eleven volumes had been printed, they would not be published until spring. In fact, Hawkins was received at St. James's Palace on 12 February 1787, presenting the king with the eleven volumes containing the *Life* and the collected works, which had been dedicated to him. The complete edition was advertised for sale to the public on 20 March 1787.[18]

❦

Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins's contributions to the *Life* appear to have been writing reviews of some of the books, serving as an editorial/research assistant, and reading proofs with her father. Whatever the extent of her contributions, to Hawkins must be attributed full responsibility for the form in which the *Life* appears. That he read proofs and corrected them is indicated by the fact that several errors in fact and style forced him to cancel nineteen leaves, one of the leaves twice, requiring the printer to reset the type and then print nineteen leaves and the binder to excise the old leaves and laboriously paste in the corrected ones. Minor revisions in style may have emanated from Laetitia-Matilda, but the more substantive corrections and revisions must be attributed to Hawkins, since much of the information would have been known only to him.

The *Life* first appeared as volume 1 of the eleven-volume 1787 *Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* Two days later, on 22 March, a separate issue of the *Life* was offered to the public containing the same cancelled leaves but with a new title page and lacking the portrait of Johnson, the dedication to the king, and the advertisement, which had appeared in volume 1 of the 1787 *Works*.

For the first few months after the *Life* was published it enjoyed success, with extracts from it appearing widely in periodicals. The *Life* sold well enough that the booksellers asked Hawkins to prepare a second edition. On 8 April 1787 Hawkins sent a letter to John Nichols with three portions of the revised *Life*, almost certainly a corrected copy of the first edition with additional manuscript leaves, "reserving the fourth to be printed, under my direction, by Mr. Hughs," presumably the printer of the first edition of the *Life*. Hawkins admonishes Nichols: "You will take care so to manage that the pages of his part are made to catch with the last page of the foregoing parts, as also finally to correct what is here sent to you. If any difficulty occurs in the reading, you will of course apply to me."[19] The second edition, with considerable revisions, was published on 7 June 1787.

Before the second edition of the *Life* could be published, however, the tide of popularity changed dramatically. Hawkins, as well as other of Johnson's biographers, had been the subject of satirical squibs in newspapers, magazines, poems, and prints, but on the publication of Hawkins's *Life* as the first volume of the collected 1787 *Works* and as a separate issue the attacks began in earnest. As Sir Herbert Croft wrote to John Nichols on 11 March 1787, "Boswell and Co. will torture the poor Knight half an inch at a time, to literary death."[20] Croft's observation proved prophetic. The *Life* was treated severely in notes by Nichols and Richard Porson in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and in the *Monthly Review* by Arthur Murphy, who was himself planning a life and edition of Johnson's works, which he later published. In fifty-seven pages Murphy could find nothing good to say of the author or his work, even going so far as to attack the dedication to George III.[21] "Philo-Johnson," perhaps George Steevens, reviewed the *Life* severely in the *European Magazine*, and it received further attacks by William Julius Mickle in the same magazine.

The objections to the *Life* by these critics can be briefly categorized. First, there are the so-called digressions. Even though Hawkins was writing a "life and times," the miscellaneous matter that makes up the "times," on occasion, appears to take on a life of its own and leads the reader away from Johnson. Hawkins, the scholar, interested in law, literature, history, music, politics, prints, theology, and medicine, may have failed to realize that his readers did not share his enthusiasms for all of these topics. Nevertheless, his eyewitness accounts of the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the Ivy-Lane Club, for example, provide the reader with most of the information that has survived on these life-shaping experiences in Johnson's early career. Many others serve the purpose intended by Hawkins: providing a context in which Johnson can be better understood. Second, there is the style, which was subjected to parody and ridicule, particularly the legal jargon (e.g., "whereof" and "abovementioned").

It cannot be denied that there are lapses into awkwardness and long rambling sentences with qualifying phrases and clauses that, unlike Johnson's, fail to accumulate meaning. Third, there are, of course, errors of fact. Errors about the early years of Johnson's life were shared by other early biographers, with only incremental corrections being made, until the early period came under the careful scrutiny of Aleyn Lyell Reade. Often, however, Hawkins is the only authority for a story; in other cases his account must be read with others if the complete truth is to be known. Other confusions, such as the date on which Johnson began writing for the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the date of Johnson's pension, might have been cleared up by Hawkins with a bit more effort, as the dates were known to some of the early biographers. The major charge against Hawkins was his "asperity" toward Johnson, what Boswell refers to as "a dark uncharitable cast." The evidence of this is slight. The issue here is, How much should the biographer tell? Johnson addressed this question in *Rambler* 60, the "Life of Cowley," and elsewhere, and it has continued to concern biographers to this day.[22] Hawkins had to decide if he was going to write a panegyric on Johnson or produce a life. Here is what Hawkins had to say in the largely unread advertisement that prefaced the 1787 *Works*:

> *As I stood engaged, by a promise made to him a short time before his decease, to be as well the guardian of his fame as an executor of his will, I thought I could no way better discharge the former of these obligations than by giving to the world a succinct narration of the principal events of his life, interspersed with such particulars as best served to delineate and illustrate his character; in the performance of which task, having endeavoured with equal care to avoid the extremes of praise and blame, I trust to the charity, the gratitude, and the justice of impartial posterity, that the failings of a man whose whole life was a conflict with pain and adversity, will either be forgiven or forgotten, and that the remembrance of his virtues, and a reverence for the wonderful endowments of his mind, and his zeal in employment of them to the best purposes, will be coeval with those excellent lessons of religion, morality, and oeconomical wisdom, which he has left behind him.* (479)

Hawkins was even more direct in the *Life* itself than in the advertisement about what he considered his duty: "In the performance of the engagement I am under, I find myself compelled to make public, as well those particulars of Johnson that may be thought to abase as those that exalt his character" (262). Hawkins esteemed Johnson, but he esteemed truth more.

When Hawkins decided to write a biography of Johnson, he was an experienced biographer. Not only had he written a life of Izaak Walton for his edition of *The Compleat Angler* (1760), but he had revised it for the fourth edition (1784) and added his own life of Charles Cotton, replacing that by William Oldys included in the first three editions. He had written *Memoirs of Sig. Agostino Steffani* (1758), a composer and Handel's predecessor as master of the chapel at the court of Hanover, as well as hundreds of biographies included in his *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776). The form of these biographies is chronological, with critical comments interspersed and, for the longer ones, a concluding character. Hawkins followed the same chronological form in the *Life*, but the flaws in choosing this form are more obvious in a work of over six hundred pages. To take only one example, a discussion of the *Dictionary* must be introduced when Johnson undertook the project in 1746 and then reintroduced at the time of its publication in 1755. A modern biographer, having reached 1746, would devote a chapter to the *Dictionary*, taking it through to its publication before returning in the following chapter to the founding of the Ivy-Lane Club, *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, the *Rambler*, and so on.[23] The difficulties raised by following a strict chronological form, however, were not resolved by any of Johnson's early biographers.

At least one old friend, however, thought that Hawkins had chosen the best method for writing a biography of Johnson. Elizabeth Carter, who knew Johnson and probably Hawkins from the late 1730s through her association with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, preferred Hawkins's account to both James Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1786) and Hester Lynch Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (1786). She wrote to her friend Elizabeth Montagu on 22 June 1787: "Have you read Sir John Hawkins's Life of Dr. Johnson? I have just finished it, and think it much less exceptionable than the other two. Indeed there are but very few passages that are likely to give pain to any one. His character of Dr. Johnson is impartially, and very decently and candidly, represented."[24]

Sir John Hawkins was a friend of Samuel Johnson for forty-five years. He knew Johnson longer and, in many respects, better than any of the earlier biographers, including Boswell. He had materials that were not available to any other biographer, and he knows more and tells more about Johnson's reading, aspects of his religion and his medical life, including the frequency with which he took opium, and his social and professional milieux. But above all, the *Life* is Hawkins's distillation of his personal experience of his friendship with Johnson.

Hawkins, like Thomas Tyers, William Cooke, Hester Lynch Piozzi, James Boswell, Arthur Murphy, and other early biographers, made errors in fact, some of which have been righted as recently as this century and others that may remain forever in doubt. Johnson was not a monolithic figure for whom it is possible to discover *the* truth. Everyone who knew Johnson experienced him in a different way. He regaled his friends with favorite stories—the duckling poem, Thomas Osborne and the folio—told at different times in different ways, the way Johnson happened to remember them at the time, and remembered by his listeners in their different ways. All these anecdotes are true in the sense that they can be traced to Johnson, but no one particular version can be categorically stated as *the* truth. As Johnson observed in *Adventurer* 85, "It is difficult to imagine, with what obstinacy truths which one mind perceives almost by intuition, will be rejected by another."[25]

All of the recorded experiences by those who knew Johnson have value, for it is out of these experiences that they construct the Johnson they think they know, and it is from their experiences that we construct the Johnson we think we know. The core of Hawkins's life and times of Samuel Johnson is a spiritual journey, the story of a Johnson "whose whole life was a preparation for his death," who struggled "to work out his salvation with fear and trembling," one who "lived the life of the righteous" and whose "end was that of a Christian." Hawkins provides an experience that can be found in no other place, for it was to Hawkins that Johnson, the devoted Christian and moralist, bared his soul and from whom he sought guidance and reassurance that the life he had lived, and his writings, made him worthy, in Hawkins's words, to "receive the reward promised to a patient continuance in well-doing" (359). This moral and spiritual journey is central to understanding the life of Samuel Johnson.

## Notes

1. *Letters*, 4:436.
2. See Davis, *Proof*, 5, 8.
3. See 40 and n. 167 below.
4. Davis, *Proof*, 48.
5. Ibid., 52–53.
6. See 134ff. and n. 346 below.
7. For SJ's letter of Saturday, 30 April 1774, to the Reverend Dr. George Horne, president of Magdalen College, Oxford, see *Letters*, 2:139; Davis, *Proof*, 79–80.
8. For the letter of 15 March 1782 to Dr. Thomas Lawrence see *Letters*, 4:20; Davis, *Proof*, 123–25, 128–29.
9. Davis, *Proof*, 246; Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins, *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs* (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1822), 126.

10. Hawkins, *Memoirs*, 1:95–96.

11. Ibid., 1:137–38. Although we have several portraits of Johnson during the final years of his friendship with Hawkins, there is no reliable image of Hawkins. Two images in fact exist. The first is only a candlelight portrait, a silhouette of a man in profile near sixty, with a double chin, wearing a wig, looking, to those who did not know him, like a thousand other men of the same age. That Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins approved of this portrait is indicated by the fact that she used it as a frontispiece to her *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs* (1822); it is reproduced here. Of the portrait painted in 1786 by James Roberts, which the artist declared "a capital likeness," Laetitia-Matilda registered strong disapproval: her father was "painted as he never looked, dressed as he never dressed, and employed as he never was employed; for he is represented smirking in a velvet coat, with a volume in his hand which certainly, by its external, must be one of the last new novels then printed." Laetitia-Matilda prefaces her remarks on the portrait by pointing out that her father "had always refused, even to my mother's request, to sit for his picture. He treated such solicitude for being remembered, as foppery, for which he entertained the most unqualified contempt." Dr. Philip Hayes, professor of music at Oxford, "at length" persuaded Hawkins to have his picture painted to hang in the Faculty of Music, and he "submitted" to being painted. Given Hawkins's extreme reluctance to sit for his portrait, my son, Matthew Rice Brack, who examined the portrait carefully with the late Dr. Hélène La Rue, curator of music collections at Oxford, suggests that Hawkins may have sat only long enough to have his face sketched, and the rest was added in the studio of James Roberts. Often writers in the period had their portraits painted with a book on their knee with the spine turned outward so the viewer could read the title of one of their own works or one associated with them. In Hawkins's portrait the spine is blank, suggesting that it was added only as a traditional feature, like the quill and inkpot in the background. The five quarto volumes of *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* appear over the author's left shoulder but may have been added at the suggestion of Hayes. I am grateful to Michael Burden, New College, Andrew Lamb, Bates Collection, Chris Morton, Pitt Rivers Museum, Roger Lonsdale, Balliol College, Freya Johnston, St. Anne's College, Oxford, for assisting me with queries about the portrait. Because of technical difficulties I have used an engraving of the portrait. A photograph of the portrait serves as a frontispiece to Bertram Davis's life of Hawkins.

12. Hawkins, *Memoirs*, 1:85, 226–27; *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 2:297–98.

13. See n. 148, 198, and n. 614 below. Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins says, "In his political pamphlets he admired him" (*Memoirs*, 1:89).

14. Ibid., 1:154–55.

15. Davis, *Proof*, 333.

16. For Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins's account of the inception and composition of the *Life* see her *Memoirs*, 1:155–61. Laetitia-Matilda, as indicated below, assisted her father in a number of ways with the *Life* but not with the index, she assures us, calling it "the worst index I ever saw, and not, I can assure the reader, of *my* making" (1:206).

17. Davis, *Proof*, 334. The agreement has survived and most recently was in the library of the late Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., but is now unlocated.

18. Ibid., 339–49, 345–46; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1629–33.

19. Davis, *Proof*, 350. Henry Hughs, Lincoln's Inn Fields, was printer of the *Journals*

*of the House of Commons* and other works. For an account of the reception of the *Life* see ibid., 347, 351–54; for a more detailed account see Bertram H. Davis, *Johnson before Boswell: A Study of Sir John Hawkins' Life of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957).

20. John Nichols and John Bowyer Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, 8 vols. (London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1817–58), 5:213.

21. "In the *Essay* Murphy frequently attacks the knight's asperity toward Johnson, and at times misreads Hawkins in order to fashion a good hit. Nevertheless, Murphy followed Hawkins in many biographical details." See Thomas E. Kinsella, "The Pride of Literature: Arthur Murphy's *Essay on Johnson*," *Age of Johnson* 16 (2005): 130.

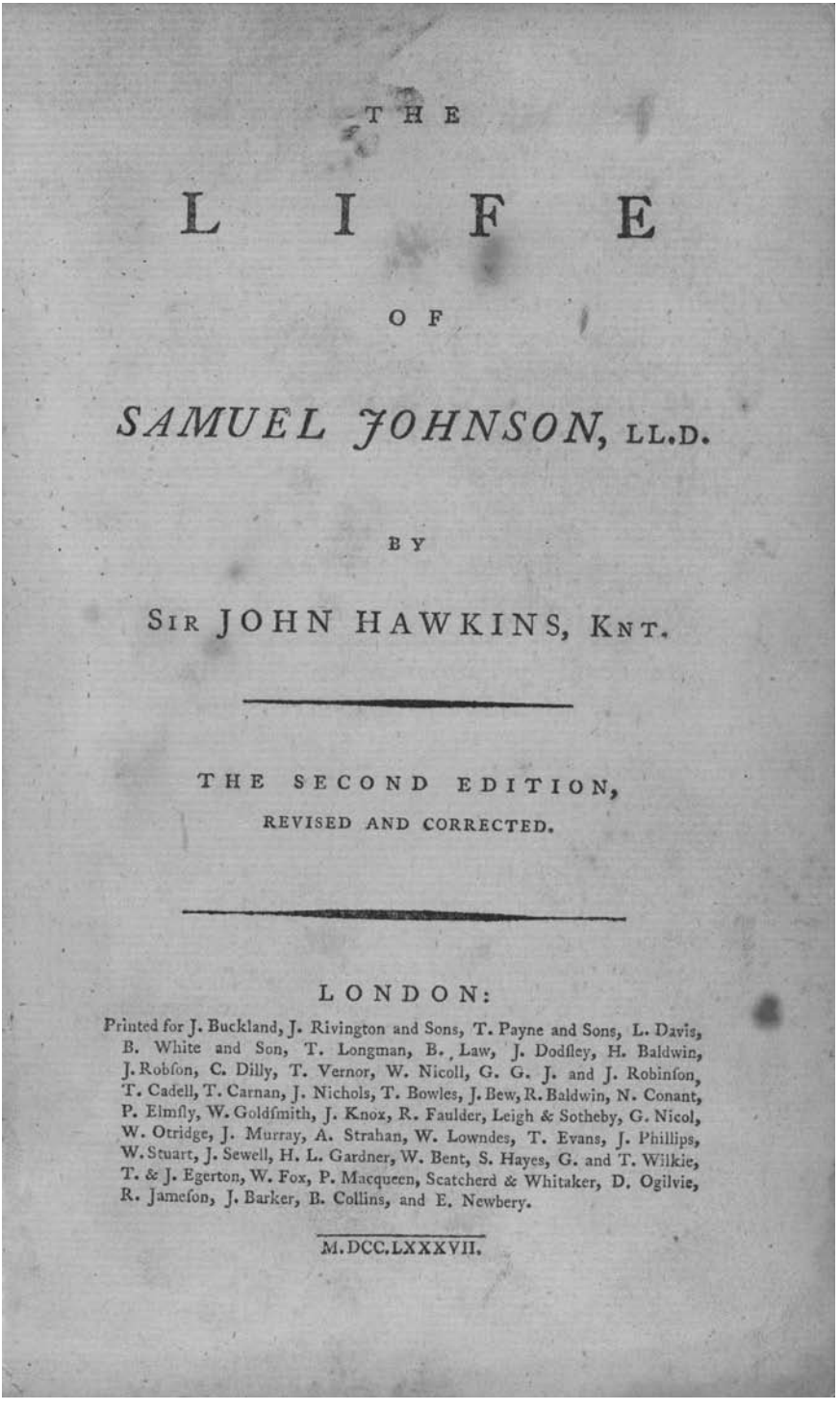
22. Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*, in *YW*, 3:318–23; *Lives*, 1:191. See also James L. Clifford, "How Much Should a Biographer Tell? Some Eighteenth-Century Views," in *Essays in Eighteenth-Century Biography*, ed. Philip B. Daghlian (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), 67–95; Robert E. Kelley and O M Brack, Jr., *Samuel Johnson's Early Biographers* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1971), chap. 1, "Rivalries."

23. See, for example, W. Jackson Bate, *Samuel Johnson* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), chaps. 15–16.

24. Elizabeth Carter, *Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Montagu*, ed. Montagu Pennington, 3 vols. (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1817), 3:270–71. William Cowper, who never met Johnson, wrote to Samuel Rose on 19 February 1789 that Hawkins's *Life*, although he thought it had "some awkwardness of phrase" and some indications of "vanity not easily pardonable in a man of his years," found it on the whole "amusing" and agreed with another's assessment that it provided "more insight into the history of modern literature, and of modern men of letters, than most others." See *The Letters and Prose Writings of William Cowper*, ed. James King and Charles Ryskamp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 3:262–63.

25. Although in the preface to *Shakespeare* SJ states that "the mind can only repose upon the stability of truth," in the "Life of Cowley" that "truth indeed is always truth," and in the "Life of Pope" that "the heart naturally loves truth," he reminds the reader in *Sermon* XX, for example, that "the nature of things is not alterable by our conduct. We cannot make truth; it is our business only to find it" (*YW*, 7:62, 14:273; *Lives*, 1:230, 4:72).

# THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.



THE

# LIFE

OF

# *SAMUEL JOHNSON*, LL.D.

BY

SIR JOHN HAWKINS, KNT.

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THE SECOND EDITION,

REVISED AND CORRECTED.

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LONDON:

Printed for J. Buckland, J. Rivington and Sons, T. Payne and Sons, L. Davis, B. White and Son, T. Longman, B. Law, J. Dodsley, H. Baldwin, J. Robson, C. Dilly, T. Vernor, W. Nicoll, G. G. J. and J. Robinson, T. Cadell, T. Carnan, J. Nichols, T. Bowles, J. Bew, R. Baldwin, N. Conant, P. Elmsly, W. Goldsmith, J. Knox, R. Faulder, Leigh & Sotheby, G. Nicol, W. Otridge, J. Murray, A. Strahan, W. Lowndes, T. Evans, J. Phillips, W. Stuart, J. Sewell, H. L. Gardner, W. Bent, S. Hayes, G. and T. Wilkie, T. & J. Egerton, W. Fox, P. Macqueen, Scatcherd & Whitaker, D. Ogilvie, R. Jameson, J. Barker, B. Collins, and E. Newbery.

M.DCC.LXXXVII.

Title page of the second edition.
(Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, 2003J-SJ753)

# THE LIFE OF Dr. SAMUEL JOHNSON.

The general sense of mankind and the practice of the learned in all ages, have given a sanction to biographical history, and concurred to recommend that precept of the wise son of Sirach, in which we are exhorted to "praise famous men, such as by their counsels and by their knowledge of learning were meet for the people,—and were wise and eloquent in their instructions,—and such as recited verses in writing."*[1] In each of these faculties did the person, whose history I am about to write, so greatly excel, that, except for my presumption in the attempt to display his worth, the undertaking may be thought to need no apology; especially if we contemplate, together with his mental endowments, those moral qualities which distinguished him, and reflect that, in an age when literary acquisitions and scientific[2] improvements are rated at their utmost value, he rested not in the applause which these procured him; but adorned the character of a scholar[3] and a philosopher[4] with that of a christian.

Justified, as I trust, thus far in the opinion of the reader, I may, nevertheless, stand in need of his excuse; for that, in the narration of facts that respect others, I have oftener spoke of myself, and in my own person, than the practice of some writers will warrant. To this objection, if any shall please to make it, I answer, that the reverse of wrong is not always right. By the office I have undertaken I stand engaged to relate facts to which I was a witness, conversations in which I was a party, and to record memorable sayings uttered only to myself. Whoever attends to these circumstances, must, besides the disgust which such an affectation of humility would excite, be convinced, that in

* Ecclus. chap. xliv. ver. 1, & seqq.

A perspective view of a part of the city of Lichfield, including
1. The house in which the late Dr. Sam. Johnson was born.
2. Part of the market cross. 3. St. Mary's church. 4. Part of the town hall.

A perspective view of a part of the city of Lichfield, by E. Stringer, 1785, showing Johnson's birthplace in the foreground on the right and St. Mary's church on the left. (Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Hyde 76 [1.1.67])

some instances, the avoiding of egotisms[5] had been extremely difficult, and in many impossible.

Samuel Johnson, the subject of the following memoirs, was the elder of the two sons of Michael Johnson, of the city of Lichfield, bookseller, and of Sarah his wife,[6] a sister of Dr. Joseph Ford, a physician of great eminence, and father of the famous Cornelius otherwise called Parson Ford.* He was born, as I find it noted in his diary,[7] on the seventh day of September, 1709: his brother, named Nathanael,[8] was born some years after. Mr. Johnson was a man of eminence in his trade, and of such reputation in the city above-mentioned, that he, more than once, bore, for a year, the office of bailiff or chief magistrate thereof, and discharged the duties of that exalted station

* Of this person, who yet lives in the remembrance of a few of his associates, little can be related but from oral tradition. He was, as I have heard Johnson say, a man of great wit and stupendous parts,[9] but of very profligate manners. He was chaplain to Lord Chesterfield during his residence at the Hague; but, as his lordship was used to tell him, precluded all hope of preferment by the want of a vice, namely, hypocrisy. It was supposed that the parson in Hogarth's modern midnight conversation, was intended to represent him in his hour of festivity, four in the morning.[10]

with honour and applause. It may here be proper, as it will account for some particulars respecting the character of his son Samuel, to mention, that his political principles led him to favour the pretensions of the exiled family, and that though a very honest and sensible man, he, like many others inhabiting the county of Stafford, was a Jacobite.[11]

It may farther be supposed, that he was possessed of some amiable[12] qualities either moral or personal, from a circumstance in his early life, of which evidence is yet remaining. While he was an apprentice at Leek in Staffordshire, a young woman of the same town fell in love with him, and upon his removal to Lichfield followed him, and took lodgings opposite his house. Her passion was not unknown to Mr. Johnson, but he had no inclination to return it, till he heard that it so affected her mind that her life was in danger, when he visited her, and made her a tender of his hand, but feeling the approach of death, she declined it, and shortly after died, and was interred in Lichfield cathedral. In pity to her sufferings, Mr. Johnson caused a stone to be placed over her grave with this inscription:

Here lies the body of
Mrs. Elizabeth Blaney,[13] a stranger.
She departed this life,
2d of September, 1694.

The first born child of Mr. Johnson and his wife, their son Samuel, had the misfortune to receive, together with its nutriment derived from a hired nurse, the seeds of that disease which troubled him through life, the struma, or, as it is called, the king's-evil;[14] for the cure whereof his mother, agreeable to the opinion then entertained of the efficacy of the royal touch, presented him to Queen Anne, who, for the last time, as it is said, that she ever performed that office, with her accustomed grace and benignity administered to the child as much of that healing quality as it was in her power to dispense, and hung about his neck the usual amulet of an angel of gold, with the impress of St. Michael the archangel on the one side, and a ship under full sail on the other.* It was

* This healing gift is said to have been derived to our princes from Edward the Confessor, and is recorded by his historian, Alured Rivallensis. In Stow's annals we have a relation of the first cure of this kind which Edward performed; but, as it is rather disgusting to read it, I chuse to give it in the words of the author from whence it is apparently taken, with this remark, that the kings of France lay claim to the same miraculous power. "Adolescentula quaedam tradita nuptiis duplici laborabat incommodo. Nam faciem ejus morbus deformaverat, amorem viri sterilitas prolis ademerat: sub saucibus quippe quasi glandes ei succreverant, quae totam faciem deformi tamore foedantes, putrefactis sub cute humoribus, sanguinem in saniem verterant, inde nati vermes odorem teterrimum

probably this disease that deprived him of the sight of his left eye, for he has been heard to say, that he never remembered to have enjoyed the use of it.

It may seem a ridiculous attempt to trace the dawn of his poetical faculty so far back as to his very infancy; but the following incident I am compelled to mention, as it is well attested, and therefore makes part of his history. When he was about three years old, his mother had a brood of eleven ducklings, which she permitted him to call his own. It happened that in playing about he trod on and killed one of them, upon which running to his mother, he, in great emotion bid her write. Write, child? said she, what must I write? Why write, answered he, so:

Here lies good Master Duck,
That Samuel Johnson trod on,
If't had liv'd 'twould have been good luck,
For then there'd been an odd one.[15]

and she wrote accordingly.

Being arrived at a proper age for grammatical instruction, he was placed in the free school of Lichfield, of which Mr. Hunter[16] was then master. The progress he made in his learning soon attracted the notice of his teachers; and among other discernible qualities that distinguished him from the rest of the school, he was bold, active and enterprising, so that without affecting it, the seniors in the school looked on him as their head and leader, and readily acquiesced in whatever he proposed or did. There dwelt at Lichfield a gentleman of the name of Butt,[17] the father of the reverend Mr. Butt, now a King's Chaplain, to whose house on holidays and in school-vacations he was ever welcome. The children in the family, perhaps offended with the rudeness of his behaviour, would frequently call him the great boy, which the father once

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exhalabant. Ita viro incutiebat morbus horrorem, sterilitas minuebat affectum. Vivebat infelix mulier odiosa marito, parentibus onerosa. Rarus ad eam vel amicorum accessus propter faetorem, vel aspectus viri propter horrorem. Hinc dolor, hinc lacrimae, hinc die noctuque suspiria, cum ei vel sterilitas opprobrium, vel contemptum infirmitas generaret. Industriam medicorum avertebat inopia. Quid ageret misera? Quod solum supererat, ubi humanum deerat divinum precabatur auxilium, quasi in illam illius aeque miserae mulieris vocem erumpens, *Peto, Domine, ut de vinculo improperii hujus absolvas me, aut certe super terram eripias me*. Jubetur tandem in somnis adire palacium, ex regiis manibus sperare remedium, quibus si lota, si tacta, si signata foret, reciperet ejus meritis sanitatem. Expergefacta mulier, sexus simul et conditionis oblita, prorumpit in curiam, regis se repraesentat obtutibus, exponit oraculum, auxilium deprecatur. Ille more suo victus pietate, nec sordes cavit, nec faetorem exhorruit. Allata denique aqua, partes corporis quas morbus foedaverat propriis manibus lavit, locaque tumentia contrectans digitis signum sanctae crucis impressit. Quid plura? Subito rupta cute, cum

overhearing, said, "you call him the great boy, but take my word for it, he will one day prove a great man."

A more particular character of him while a schoolboy, and of his behaviour at school, I find in a paper now before me, written by a person yet living,[18] and of which the following is a copy:

"Johnson and I were, early in life, school-fellows at Lichfield, and for many years in the same class. As his uncommon abilities for learning far exceeded us, we endeavoured by every boyish piece of flattery to gain his assistance, and three of us, by turns, used to call on him in a morning, on one of whose backs, supported by the other two, he rode triumphantly to school. He never associated with us in any of our diversions, except in the winter when the ice was firm, to be drawn along by a boy barefooted. His ambition to excel was great, though his application to books, as far as it appeared, was very trifling. I could not oblige him more than by sauntering away every vacation, that occurred, in the fields, during which time he was more engaged in talking to himself than his companion. Verses or themes he would dictate to his favourites, but he would never be at the trouble of writing them. His dislike to business was so great, that he would procrastinate his exercises to the last hour. I have known him after a long vacation, in which we were rather severely tasked, return to school an hour earlier in the morning, and begin one of his exercises, in which he purposely left some faults, in order to gain time to finish the rest.

"I never knew him corrected at school, unless it was for talking and diverting other boys from their business, by which, perhaps, he might hope to keep his ascendancy. He was uncommonly inquisitive, and his memory so tenacious, that whatever he read or heard he never forgot. I remember rehearsing to him eighteen verses, which after a little pause he repeated verbatim, except one epithet, which improved the line.

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sanie vermes ebulliunt, resedit tumor, dolor omnis abcessit: ammirantibus qui aderant tantam sub purpura sanctitatem, tantam sceptrigeris manibus inesse virtutem. Paucis vero diebus substitit in curia mulier regiis ministris necessaria ministrantibus, donec obducta vulneribus cicatrice incolumis rediret ad propria. Verum ut nichil deesset regi ad gloriam, pauperculae nichil ad graciam, donatur sterili inopina foecunditas, ventrisque sui disiderato fructu ditata, facile sibi mariti gratiam conciliavit."

The reader will find much curious matter relating to the royal touch, in Mr. Barrington's observations on ancient statutes 107, and in Chamber's dictionary, art. EVIL, to which I shall add, that the vindication of this power, as inherent in the pretender, by Mr. Carte, destroyed the credit of his intended history of England, and put a stop to the completion of it.

The ritual for this office is to be found in Bishop Sparrow's collection of articles, canons, &c. and also in all or most of the impressions of the Common Prayer Book, printed in Queen Anne's reign, but in these latter with great variations.

"After a long absence from Lichfield, when he returned I was apprehensive of something wrong in his constitution, which might either impair his intellect or endanger his life, but, thanks to Almighty God, my fears have proved false."

In the autumn of the year 1725, he received an invitation from his cousin, Cornelius Ford,[19] to spend a few days with him at his house, which I conjecture to have been on a living of his in one of the counties bordering upon Staffordshire; but it seems that discovering that the boy was possessed of uncommon parts, he was unwilling to let him return, and to make up for the loss he might sustain by his absence from school, became his instructor in the classics, and farther assisted him in his studies; so that it was not till the Whitsuntide following, that Johnson went back to Lichfield. Whether Mr. Hunter was displeased to find a visit of a few days protracted into a vacation of many months, or that he resented the interference of another person in the tuition of one of his scholars, and he one of the most promising of any under his care, cannot now be known; but, it seems, that at Johnson's return to Lichfield, he was not received into the school of that city; on the contrary, I am informed, by a person who was his school-fellow there,[20] that he was placed in one at Stourbridge[21] in Worcestershire, under the care of a master named Winkworth, but who, affecting to be thought allied to the Strafford family, assumed the name of Wentworth.

When his school education was finished, his father, whose circumstances were far from affluent, was for some time at a loss how to dispose of him: he took him home, probably with a view to bring him up to his own trade; for I have heard Johnson say, that he himself was able to bind a book. This suspense continued about two years,[22] at the end whereof, a neighbouring gentleman, Mr. Andrew Corbet,[23] having a son, who had been educated in the same school with Johnson, whom he was about to send to Pembroke college in Oxford, a proposal was made and accepted, that Johnson should attend this son thither, in quality of assistant in his studies; and accordingly, on the 31st day of October, 1728, they were both entered, Corbet as a gentleman-commoner,[24] and Johnson as a commoner.[25]

The college tutor, at that time, was a man named Jordan,[26] whom Johnson, though he loved him for the goodness of his nature, so contemned for the meanness of his abilities, that he would oftener risque the payment of a small fine than attend his lectures; nor was he studious to conceal the reason of his absence. Upon occasion of one such imposition, he said to Jordan, "Sir, you have sconced[27] me two-pence for non-attendance at a lecture not worth a penny."

Whether it was this discouragement in the outset of their studies, or any

other ground of disinclination that moved him to it, is not known, but this is certain, that young Corbet could not brook submission to a man who seemed to be little more learned than himself, and that having a father living, who was able to dispose of him in various other ways, he, after about two years stay, left the college, and went home.[28]

But the case of Johnson was far different: his fortunes were at sea; his title to a stipend was gone, and all that he could obtain from the father of Mr. Corbet, was, an agreement, during his continuance at college, to pay for his commons. With no exhibition,[29] or other means of support in the prosecution of his studies, he had nothing to depend on, save the assistance of a kind and indulgent parent. At that time the trade of a country bookseller, even in a city where was a cathedral and an incorporation of ecclesiastics, was less profitable than it is now; for though it may be said, that during the reign of Queen Anne, multitudes of controversial books and pamphlets were publishing, yet these yielded but small advantage to the mere venders of them: there were then no such publications for the mere amusement of young readers or idle persons as the press now daily sends forth; nor had any bookseller entertained in his mind the project of a circulating library:[30] from hence it is evident, that his father, having no other means of subsisting himself and his children, than the ordinary income of his shop, was but little able to afford him any other than a scanty maintenance.

The want of that assistance, which scholars in general derive from their parents, relations, and friends, soon became visible in the garb and appearance of Johnson, which, though in some degree concealed by a scholar's gown, and that we know is never deemed the less honourable for being old, was so apparent as to excite pity in some that saw and noticed him. Shall I be particular, and relate a circumstance of his distress, that cannot be imputed to him as an effect of his own extravagance or irregularity, and consequently reflects no disgrace on his memory? He had scarce any change of raiment, and, in a short time after Corbet left him, but one pair of shoes, and those so old, that his feet were seen through them: a gentleman of his college,[31] the father of an eminent clergyman now living, directed a servitor[32] one morning to place a new pair at the door of Johnson's chamber, who, seeing them upon his first going out, so far forgot himself and the spirit that must have actuated his unknown benefactor, that, with all the indignation of an insulted man, he threw them away.

He may be supposed to have been under the age of twenty, when this imaginary indignity was offered him, a period of life at which, so far as concerns the knowledge of mankind, and the means of improving adverse circumstances, every one has much to learn: he had, doubtless, before this time,

experienced "the proud man's contumely";[33] and in this school of affliction might have first had reason to say,—

"Slow rises worth by poverty deprest."[34]

his spirit was, nevertheless, too great to sink under this depression. His tutor, Jordan,[35] in about a year's space, went off to a living which he had been presented to, upon giving a bond to resign it in favour of a minor, and Johnson became the pupil of Mr. Adams,[36] a person of far superior endowments, who afterwards attained a doctor's degree, and is at this time head of his college. Encouraged, by a change so propitious to his studies, he prosecuted them with diligence, attended both public and private lectures, performed his exercises with alacrity, and in short, neglected no means or opportunities of improvement. He had at this time a great emulation,[37] to call it by no worse a name, to excel his competitors in literature. There was a young gentleman of his college, named Meekes,[38] whose exercises he could not bear to hear commended; and whenever he declaimed or disputed in the hall, Johnson would retire to the farthest corner thereof, that he might be out of the reach of his voice.

In this course of learning, his favourite objects were classical literature, ethics, and theology, in the latter whereof he laid the foundation by studying the Fathers.[39] If we may judge from the magnitude of his "Adversaria,"[40] which I have now by me, his plan for study was a very extensive one. The heads of science,[41] to the extent of six folio volumes, are copiously branched throughout it; but, as is generally the case with young students, the blank far exceed in number the written leaves.

To say the truth, the course of his studies was far from regular: he read by fits and starts, and, in the intervals, digested his reading by meditation,[42] to which he was ever prone. Neither did he regard the hours of study, farther than the discipline of the college compelled him. It was the practice in his time, for a servitor, by order of the master, to go round to the rooms of the young men, and knocking at the door, to enquire if they were within, and, if no answer was returned, to report them absent: Johnson could not endure this intrusion, and would frequently be silent, when the utterance of a word would have insured him from censure; and, farther to be revenged for being disturbed when he was as profitably employed as perhaps he could be, would join with others of the young men in the college in hunting, as they called it, the servitor, who was thus diligent in his duty; and this they did with the noise of pots and candlesticks, singing to the tune of Chevy-chace, the words in that old ballad,

"To drive the deer with hound and horn," &c.

not seldom to the endangering the life and limbs of the unfortunate victim.

These, and other such levities, marked his behaviour for a short time after his coming to college; but he soon convinced those about him, that he came thither for other purposes than to make sport either for himself or them. His exercises were applauded, and his tutor was not so shallow a man, but that he could discover in Johnson great skill in the classics, and also a talent for Latin versification, by such compositions as few of his standing could equal.* Mr. Jordan taking advantage, therefore, of a transgression of this his pupil, the absenting himself from early prayers, imposed on him for a vacation exercise, the task of translating into Latin verse the "Messiah" of Mr. Pope,[43] which being shewn to the author of the original, by a son of Dr. Arbuthnot, then a gentleman-commoner of Christ-church, and brother of the late Mr. Arbuthnot of the Exchequer-office, was read, and returned with this encomium: "The writer of this poem will leave it a question for posterity, whether his or mine be the original."† This translation found its way into a miscellany published by subscription at Oxford, in the year 1731, under the name of J. Husbands.

He had but little relish for mathematical learning, and was content with such a degree of knowledge in physics,[44] as he could not but acquire in the ordinary exercises of the place: his fortunes and circumstances had determined him to no particular course of study, and were such as seemed to exclude him from every one of the learned professions. He, more than once, signified to a friend who had been educated at the same school with him, then at Christchurch,[45] and intended for the bar, an inclination to the practice of the civil or the common law;[46] the former of these required a long course of academical institution, and how to succeed in the latter, he had not learned;‡ but his

* Johnson had through his life a propensity to Latin composition: he shewed it very early at school, and while there made some Latin verses, for which the Earl of Berkshire,[47] who was a good scholar, and had always a Horace in his pocket, gave him a guinea.

† Mr. Pope, in another instance, gave a proof of his candor and disposition to encourage the essays of young men of genius. When Smart published his Latin translation of Mr. Pope's "ode on St. Cecilia's day," Mr. Pope having read it, in a letter to Newbery the bookseller some time after, returned his thanks to the author, with an assurance, that it exceeded his own original. This fact Newbery himself told me, and offered to shew me the letter in Mr. Pope's hand-writing.[48]

‡ In the two professions of the civil and common law, a notable difference is discernible: the former admits such only as have had the previous qualification of an university education; the latter receives all whose broken fortunes drive, or a confidence in their

father's inability to support him checked these wishes, and left him to seek the means of a future subsistence. If nature could be said to have pointed out a profession for him, that of the bar seems to have been it: in that faculty, his acuteness and penetration, and above all, his nervous and manly elocution,[49] could scarcely have failed to distinguish him, and to have raised him to the highest honours of that lucrative profession; but, whatever nature might have intended for him, fortune seems to have been the arbiter of his destiny, and by shutting up the avenues to wealth and civil honours, to have left him to display his talents in the several characters of a moralist, a philosopher, and a poet.

The time of his continuance at Oxford is divisible into two periods, the former whereof commenced on the 31st day of October, 1728, and determined in December, 1729, when, as appears by a note in his diary in these words, "1729 Dec. S. J. Oxonio rediit,"[50] he left that place, the reason whereof, was a failure of pecuniary supplies from his father; but meeting with another source, the bounty, as it is supposed, of some one or more of the members of the cathedral, he returned, and made up the whole of his residence in the university, about three years, during all which time his academical studies, though not orderly, were to an astonishing degree intense. Whoever has perused Mr. Spence's life of Antonio Magliabechi,[51] may discern a near re-

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abilities tempts to seek a maintenance in it. Men of low extraction, domestic servants, and clerks to eminent lawyers, have become special pleaders and advocates; and, by an unrestrained abuse of the liberty of speech, have acquired popularity and wealth. A remarkable instance of this kind occurs in the account of a famous lawyer of the last century, lord chief justice Saunders, as exhibited in the life of the lord keeper Guilford, Page 223.

"He was first no better than a poor beggar boy, if not a parish foundling, without known parents or relations. He had found a way to live by obsequiousness, (in Clement's-Inn, as I remember,) and courting the attornies clerks for scraps. The extraordinary observance and diligence of the boy, made the society willing to do him good. He appeared very ambitious to learn to write; and one of the attornies got a board knocked up at a window on the top of a staircase, and that was his desk, where he sat and wrote after copies of court and other hands the clerks gave him. He made himself so expert a writer, that he took in business, and earned some pence by hackney-writing. And thus, by degrees, he pushed his faculties, and fell to forms; and, by books that were lent him, became an exquisite entering-clerk: and, by the same course of improvement of himself, an able counsel, first in special pleading, then at large. And, after he was called to the bar, had practice in the King's-Bench court equal with any there."

He succeeded Pemberton in the office of chief justice of the king's bench, and died of an apoplexy and palsy a short time before the revolution. A curious delineation of his person and character may be seen in the volume above cited.[52]

semblance in their manner of reading, between that person and Johnson: the former, says his author, "seems never to have applied himself to any particular study. A passion for reading was his ruling passion, and a prodigious memory his great talent: he read every book almost indifferently, as they happened to come into his hands: he read them with a surprising quickness, and yet retained, not only the sense of what he read, but, often, all the words and the very manner of spelling them, if there was any thing peculiar of that kind in any author."

A like propensity to reading, and an equal celerity in the practice thereof, were observable in Johnson: it was wonderful to see, when he took up a book, with what eagerness he perused, and with what haste his eye, for it has been related, that he had the use of only one, travelled over it: he has been known to read a volume, and that not a small one, at a sitting; nor was he inferior in the power of memory to him with whom he is compared: whatever he read, became his own for ever, with all the advantages that a penetrating judgment and deep reflection could add to it. I have heard him repeat, with scarce a mistake of a word, passages from favourite authors, of three or four octavo pages in length. One instance of the greatness of his retentive faculty himself has thought fit to give, in his life of the Earl of Rochester, where may be seen a Latin poem upon Nothing, written by Passerat;[53] for the insertion whereof he had, as it is said, no other aid than his own recollection. How far he approved that method of reading, which he is above said to have pursued, and what value he set on the powers of memory, may be inferred from his character of the former of those persons in his lives of the poets, of whom he thus speaks:

"He was remarkable for the power of reading with great rapidity, and of retaining with great fidelity what he so easily collected. He, therefore, always knew what the present question required; and when his friends expressed their wonder at his acquisitions, made in a state of apparent negligence and drunkenness, he never discovered his hours of reading or method of study, but involved himself in affected silence, and fed his own vanity with their admiration and conjectures."[54]

It is little less than certain, that his own indigence, and the inability of his father to help him, called Johnson from the university sooner than he meant to quit it: his father, either during his continuance there, or possibly before, had been by misfortunes rendered insolvent, if not, as Johnson told me, an actual bankrupt. The non-attainment of a degree, which after a certain standing is conferred almost of course, he regretted not: it is true, he soon felt the want of one; but ample amends were afterwards made him, by the voluntary

grant of the highest academical honours that two of the most learned seminaries in Europe could bestow.[55]

The advantages he derived from an university education, small as they may hitherto seem, went a great way towards fixing, as well his moral as his literary character: the order and discipline of a college life, the reading the best authors, the attendance on public exercises, the early calls to prayer, the frequent instructions from the pulpit, with all the other means of religious and moral improvement, had their proper effect; and though they left his natural temper much as they found it, they begat in his mind those sentiments of piety which were the rule of his conduct throughout his future life, and made so conspicuous a part of his character.

He could not, at this early period of his life, divest himself of an opinion, that poverty was disgraceful; and was very severe in his censures of that oeconomy in both our universities, which exacted at meals the attendance of poor scholars, under the several denominations of servitors in the one, and sizers[56] in the other: he thought that the scholar's, like the christian life, levelled all distinctions of rank and worldly pre-eminence; but in this he was mistaken: civil policy had, long before his coming into the world, reduced the several classes of men to a regular subordination, and given servitude its sanction. The feudal system of government throughout Europe had so arranged the several orders of subjects, that the lower were uniformly dependent on the higher; and in the history of the peerage of our own country, we find the retinues of the higher nobility made up of the sons and daughters of those of the lower: Wolsey had in his train, earls, barons, and knights; and the founder of the present Cavendish family was his gentleman-usher,[57] at a salary of ten pounds a year: and, to justify the practice of personal servitude at meals, we have an example of a child waiting on his parents while at dinner, in the "Pietas Puerilis," among the colloquies of Erasmus.*

Upon his leaving the university, he went home to the house of his father, which he found so nearly filled with relations, that is to say, the maiden sisters[58] of his mother and cousin Cornelius Ford, whom his father, on the decease of their brother in the summer of 1731, had taken in to board, that it would scarce receive him.

He brought with him a deep sense of religion, a due reverence for the national church, and a respect for its ministers; and these he retained, though he had been a witness to the profligacy[59] of his cousin Ford, which was nearly enough to have effaced all such impressions from a young mind. Having not

* "Adornatâ parentibus mensâ, recito consecrationem: deinde prandentibus ministro, donec jubeor et ipse prandium sumere."[60]

then seen, as we now do, ecclesiastical benefices advertised for sale, and considered by the purchasers as lay-fees;[61] nor beheld many of the beneficed clergy abandoning the duties of the clerical function to the lowest of their order, themselves becoming gentlemen at large, mixing in all public recreations and amusements,* neglecting their studies for cards, preaching the sermons of others, and affecting, in many particulars of their dress, the garb of the laity, in disobedience to the canon which enjoins decency of apparel to ministers:† I say, not having been a witness to these late refinements in manners, he, notwithstanding the ferocity of his temper, reverenced the clergy as a body of men, who have been the greatest improvers of learning, and to whom mankind have the highest obligations; but lamented that the race was nearly extinct.

As Johnson's stay at the university was not long enough for him to complete his studies, it is natural to suppose, that at his return to Lichfield, he devoted his time to the improvement of them, and that having no call from thence, he continued there till the death of his father,[62] which, as he has noted it, was in the month of December, 1731.

Being thus bereft of the little support his father was able to afford him, and having, not only a profession, but the means of subsistence to seek, he, in the month of March 1732, accepted of an invitation to the office of undermaster or usher of a free grammar-school, at Market-Bosworth[63] in Leicestershire, founded and endowed by Sir Wolstan Dixie, lord mayor of London in 1586, the upper master whereof had been the reverend Anthony Blackwall, the author of a well-known book on the sacred classics, but was now a Mr. Crompton, a man of far inferior abilities. The patron[64] of this seminary was Sir Wolstan Dixie, baronet, a descendant of the original founder; and the endowment being very small, Johnson's residence was in the mansion-house of Sir Wolstan adjacent thereto; but the treatment he received from this person, who, in the pride of wealth, shewed no regard for learning or parts, nor respected any man for his mental endowments, was such that, preferring the chance of the wide world to his patronage, Johnson, in the month of July, in the same year in which he went to Bosworth, resigned his office, and took

* While this is the case, there can be very little hope of mending the situation of the inferior clergy. An increase of income would raise them to a condition of employing substitutes whom mere necessity would compel to the performance of their duty, and these would have the same reason to complain as those who at present are the objects of our compassion. In a word, were the gradations of the clergy to be multiplied, the most essential offices of their function would continue, as they now are, to be the employment of the lowest of them.

† The 74th, of 1603.

leave of a place, which he could never after speak of but in terms of the utmost dislike, and even of abhorrence.

By the middle of June, in the year 1732, he was able to estimate that slender pittance which devolved to him upon the decease of his father, the amount whereof I find ascertained by a memorandum in his diary, which, as it is descriptive of his circumstances at the time, I here translate, and at the bottom of the page have inserted verbatim.

1732, June 15, I laid by eleven guineas; on which day I received all of my father's effects which I can hope for till the death of my mother, (which I pray may be late), that is to say, twenty pounds; so that I have my fortune to make, and care must be taken, that in the mean time, the powers of my mind may not grow languid through poverty, nor want drive me into wickedness.*

In the month of June in the following year, 1733,[65] I find him resident in the house of a person named Jarvis, at Birmingham, where, as he has noted in his diary, he rendered into English from the French, "a voyage to Abyssinia,"[66] which has since appeared to be that of Padre Jerome Lobo, a Portuguese Jesuit, with the additions of Mons. l'Abbé Le Grand, very curious and entertaining, of which the following is a character:

It contains a narration of the endeavours of a company of missionaries of the author's country to unite the Abyssins to the church of Rome. It was translated from the original Portuguese into French by l'Abbé Le Grand, who, as Lobo had extended it no farther than his own concern in the mission, continued it down to the time when the Jesuits were finally driven out of Aethiopia, with the addition of fifteen dissertations on subjects relating to the history, antiquities, government, religion, manners, and natural history of Abyssinia, and other countries mentioned by the original author.

The preface, which bears stronger marks of Johnson's hand than any part of the work, is calculated to attract attention and credit: it commends the unaffected simplicity of the original narrative, and the learning of M. Le Grand; it acknowledges the omissions and deviations which the translator thought it prudent to make, and it apologizes for any defects that may be discovered. Johnson's disquisitive[67] propensity just dawns in an observation on the erroneous method of the Roman church, in making converts; but there is nothing striking in the composition.

Were we to rest our judgment on internal evidence, Johnson's claim to the title of translator of this work would be disputable; it has scarce a fea-

* "1732, Junii 15, Undecim aureos deposui, quo die quicquid ante matris funus, (quod serum sit precor), de paternis bonis sperare licet, viginti scilict libras, accepi. Ufque adeo mihi mea fortuna fingenda est interea, ne paupertate vires animi languescant, ne in flagitia egestas adigat, cavendum."[68]

ture resembling him: the language is as simple and unornamented as John Bunyan's;[69] the style is far from elegant, and sometimes it is not even correct. These circumstances, together with frequent mistakes and various orthography, would almost stagger our belief, but that we have the authority of Johnson himself to rely on, who often acknowledged it for his own.

As this "voyage to Abyssinia," notwithstanding the country and manners it describes are wonderful and interesting, has not been so much noticed as Johnson's later and original productions, it may not be thought impertinent to give the outline of the relation.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the then reigning emperor of Abyssinia, for considerations that savoured more of good policy than of religion, became a convert to the church of Rome: many of his subjects had followed his example; and the missionaries already in the country were in want of co-adjutors to extend their progress. Padre Jerome Lobo, who was then employed in the East-Indian mission at Goa, was one deputed to this enterprise, which, at length, proved too much for Romish zeal and Jesuitical dexterity.

With much difficulty he and his companions reached and got footing in the empire, where they had to endure a climate rendered by excessive heats and rains pestiferous, and to engage in perilous journies across desarts[70] infested by banditti, in perpetual fear of them and of wild beasts, the tokens of whose depredations marked their way. When they arrived at the habitations of the people, their dangers were changed, but not diminished; sometimes they could not obtain provisions, and at others, were confined to their houses by the dread of assassination. Those who were to be their disciples, professed, it is true, a superstitious religion, in some parts Judaical, in many others resembling that of the church of Rome; but it had had little effect on their minds: moral virtues they had scarcely any; in social affections they were miserably deficient, and their approaches to civilization and elegance were on a level with those of their southern neighbours at the Cape of Good Hope.[71]

But labour and patience produced in time, a hope that the mission would not be fruitless: the number of their proselytes was, at one period, so great, that the corporal strength of the fathers was exhausted in the exhortations previous to baptism. "We erected our tent," says Lobo, "and placed our altar under some great trees, for the benefit of the shade; and every day before sunrising, my companion and I began to catechise and instruct these new catholics, and used our utmost endeavours to make them abjure their errors. When we were weary with speaking, we placed in ranks those who were sufficiently instructed, and passing through them with great vessels of water, baptized

them according to the form prescribed by the church. As their number was very great, we cried aloud—*those of this rank are named* Anthony—*those of that rank* Peter;—and did the same among the women, whom we separated from among the men. We then confessed them, and admitted them to the communion. After mass we applied ourselves again to catechise, to instruct, and receive the renunciation of their errors, scarce allowing ourselves time to make a scanty meal, which we never did more than once a day."[72]

Zeal equal to this, and rising in proportion to the opposition it met with, did these pious fathers exercise during nine years that they remained in Abyssinia. Their success was various and fluctuating; sometimes it gave them ground to hope that all would be converted, and sometimes their patrons and proselytes became their most inveterate persecutors: their hardships were increased by civil commotions, and all their expectations were clouded by the death of the Emperor, whose successor was a bigot[73] in the religion of the country. They then put themselves under the protection of a prince, who had emancipated himself from the power of Abyssinia, and thought, that as he had afforded them succour, they should be safe in his dominions; but they were soon convinced of their error, by receiving orders to prepare to serve, or in other words become slaves to the Turks:—"a message," says Lobo, "which filled us with surprise; it having never been known that one of these lords had ever abandoned any whom he had taken under his protection; and it is, on the contrary, one of the highest points of honour amongst them, to risque their lives and their fortunes in the defence of their dependents who have implored their protection: but neither law nor justice were of any advantage to us, and the customs of the country were doomed to be broken when they would have contributed to our security."[74]

From M. Le Grand's information it appears, that the conduct of these missionaries in Abyssinia had been such as tended rather to exasperate than conciliate: they considered themselves, not only figuratively, as the generals of Christ's church militant, and propagated their faith by measures that rendered them and their doctrine odious. The peace of the country and their residence in it were become incompatible: they were accordingly delivered into the hands of the Turks; and experienced, from a little troop sent to convoy them, greater humanity than the Abyssins had shewn them: at Suaquem, an island in the Red Sea terms of ransom were proposed to them, which, though exorbitant, they were forced to accept; and, after surmounting many obstacles and perils, that part of the mission with which Lobo was engaged, returned to Goa.

The revenge, which it was reported in Abyssinia, the court of Portugal meditated, rendered a people naturally inhuman, ferocious: the remaining

missionaries experienced still harder fate than Lobo and his companions; many were put to death, and the whole fraternity so compleatly extirpated, that, after many efforts, all attempts to make a catholic people of the Abyssins were abandoned, as chimerical and impracticable.

The dissertations at the end of this work, and which Johnson seems to estimate highly, contain variety of information and controversial learning, particularly respecting the difference between the church that sent the mission, and that which received it, and point out very clearly the inutility of endeavours founded on the principles of the Jesuits.

Having completed this translation, which I conjecture he was paid for by some bookseller of Birmingham,[75] who published it in an octavo volume, Johnson, in February 1733–4, left that place, and returned to Lichfield, from whence, in the month of August following, he issued a proposal, soliciting a subscription to an edition of Politian's Poems,* with this title, "Angeli Politiani Poemata Latina, quibus notas, cum Historia Latinae Poeseos a Petrarchae aevo ad Politiani tempora deducta, et Vita Politiani fusius quam antehac enarrata, addidit Sam. Johnson." The book was to be contained and printed in thirty octavo sheets, and delivered at the price of five shillings; but not meeting with sufficient encouragement, Johnson dropped the design.

From the above particulars it evidently appears, that he had entertained a resolution to depend for a livelihood upon what he should be able, either in the way of original composition, or translation, or in editing the works of celebrated authors, to procure by his studies, and, in short, to become an author by profession; an occupation, which, though it may, in some views of it, be deemed mercenary, as adapting itself to particular occasions and conjunctures, nay, to the interests, passions and prejudices, and even humours of mankind, has yet some illustrious examples, at least in our times, to justify it. It is true, that many persons distinguish between those writings which are the effect of a natural impulse of genius, and those other that owe their existence to interested motives, and, being the offspring of another parent, may, in some sense, be said to be illegitimate; but, Johnson knew of no such distinction, and would never acquiesce in it when made by others: on the contrary, I have, more than once, heard him assert, that he knew of no genuine motive for writing, other than necessity.[76]

In the prosecution of this his design, he, in the year, 1734, made a tender of assistance to Cave, the editor, printer, and publisher of the "Gentleman's Magazine";[77] a man of whom I shall hereafter have frequent occasion

* The proposal notifies,[78] that subscriptions would be taken in by N. [Nathanael] Johnson, who had succeeded to his father's business.

to speak. The letter of Johnson to Cave, on this occasion, is yet extant, and is here given as a literary curiosity:

"Sir, Nov. 25, 1734.

"As you appear no less sensible than your readers, of the defect of your poetical article, you will not be displeased, if, in order to the improvement of it, I communicate to you the sentiments of a person, who will undertake, on reasonable terms, sometimes to fill a column.

"His opinion is, that the public would not give you a bad reception, if, beside the current wit of the month, which a critical examination would generally reduce to a narrow compass, you admitted, not only poems, inscriptions, &c. never printed before, which he will sometimes supply you with, but likewise short literary dissertations in Latin or English, critical remarks on authors ancient or modern, forgotten poems that deserve revival, or loose pieces, like Floyer's, worth preserving. By this method, your Literary Article, for so it might be called, will, he thinks, be better recommended to the public, than by low jests, aukward buffoonery, or the dull scurrilities of either party.

"If such a correspondence will be agreeable to you, be pleased to inform me, in two posts, what the conditions are on which you shall expect it. Your late offer* gives me no reason to distrust your generosity. If you engage in any literary projects besides this paper, I have other designs to impart, if I could be secure from having others reap the advantage of what I should hint.

"Your letter, by being directed to S. Smith, to be left at the Castle in Birmingham, Warwickshire, will reach

"Your humble servant." †[79]

To this letter Cave returned an answer, dated 2d December following, wherein he accepted the services of Johnson, and retained him as a correspondent and a contributor to his Magazine.[80]

This correspondence exhibits a view of the "Gentleman's Magazine" in its rudiments, and may excite a curiosity in the patrons thereof, to trace back to its origin the publication of a miscellany, the fame whereof has extended itself to the most remote parts of the literary world. Histories of the learned men of modern times, and short abridgments of their works, as also such

* A prize of fifty pounds for the best poem "on Life, Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell."

† This letter, and Cave's answer to it, may serve to refute an assertion in an anonymous account of Johnson's life, that he was introduced to the acquaintance of Cave by Savage.[81]

pieces as for their brevity required some vehicle to convey them to posterity, it has been the practice of foreign countries, in their memoirs, and of universities and academies, in their acts and transactions, to give. The historical and memorable diurnal events of the passing times, have also been recorded in publications variously denominated, particularly, in a work, entitled the "Political State of Great-Britain," beginning with the year 1711, and compiled by the well known Abel Boyer.[82] In this are contained debates and speeches in parliament; and also, abstracts of political pamphlets; but of a work that should comprehend intelligence of both these kinds, we know of no exemplar in this country, earlier than the year 1716, when an essay towards such a one was made in the publication of a book, entitled "The Historical Register," containing, an impartial relation of all transactions foreign and domestic, by a body of men, from whom few would have expected any thing of the kind. In short, the editors of "The Historical Register," were the members of a society, associated about the year above-mentioned, for the purpose of insurance from fire, which, from the badge assumed by them, obtained the denomination of the Sun-fire-Office,[83] and is still subsisting in a flourishing state. One of the managing persons in this society, was, if my information misleads me not, a man of the name of Povey, who, by the way, was a great improver of that useful project, the Penny Post,* and died within my memory. Having a scheming head, a plausible tongue, and a ready pen, he prevailed on his fellow-members to undertake the above publication, foreign as it was to the nature of their institution. In Strype's continuation of Stow's "Survey," I find the following article respecting this society: "All persons taking out policies for insurance, must pay two shillings and six-pence per quarter; and, besides their insurance, shall have a book, called the Historical Register, left every quarter at their house."[84]

"The Historical Register" gave also an account of the proceedings of Parliament: the first volume contains the speeches in both houses, on the debate on the Septennial Bill;[85] but, so great is the caution observed in drawing them up, that none of those in the House of Lords are appropriated, otherwise, than by such words as these: "A noble Duke stood up, and said," "This speech was answered by a Northern Peer," and other such vague designations. In those in the House of Commons, the names of the speakers, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hampden, Sir Richard Steele, and others are given, without any artifices of concealment.

This publication was continued to the year 1737, inclusive, and may be

* The original inventor thereof was one Mr. Dockwra, a citizen of such eminence, that he stood for the office of Chamberlain, against Sir Wm. Fazakerley.

supposed to have been superseded by the "Gentleman's Magazine," which was then rising very fast in its reputation.

From "The Historical Register" the hint was taken, of a publication, entitled the "Grub-street Journal,"*[86] which, besides a brief account of public occurrences, contained criticisms and censures of dull and profane or immoral books and pamphlets, as also, original essays and letters to the editors. The chief conductors of it, were, Dr. John Martyn, then a young physician, afterwards professor of botany in the university of Cambridge, and Dr. Russel, also a physician; the former assumed the name Bavius, and the latter Maevius. Its first publication was in January, 1730, and it meeting with encouragement, Cave projected an improvement thereon in a pamphlet of his own, and in the following year gave to the world the first number of the "Gentleman's Magazine," with a notification that the same would be continued monthly, incurring thereby a charge of plagiarism, which, as he is said to have confessed it, we may suppose he did not look upon as criminal.†

Johnson had not by his letter, herein before inserted, so attached himself to Cave, as not to be at liberty to enter into a closer engagement with any other person: he, therefore, in 1736, made overtures to the Rev. Mr. Budworth,[87] then master of the grammar-school at Brerewood, in Staffordshire, and who had been bred under Mr. Blackwall, at Market Bosworth, to become his assistant; but Mr. Budworth thought himself under a necessity of declining them, from an apprehension, that those convulsive motions to which Johnson through life was subject, might render him an object of imitation, and possibly of ridicule, with his pupils.

It may be remembered that in a preceding page, Johnson is said to have resided for some months, in the year 1734,[88] in the house of a person named Jarvis, at Birmingham. To this circumstance, by a conjecture not improb-

* Mention is often made, in the "Dunciad" and other modern books, of Grub-street writers and Grub-street publications, but the terms are little understood: the following historical fact will explain them: During the usurpation,[89] a prodigious number of seditious and libellous pamphlets and papers, tending to exasperate the people, and encrease the confusion in which the nation was involved, were from time to time published. The authors of these were, for the most part, men whose indigent circumstances compelled them to live in the suburbs and most obscure parts of the town; Grub-street then abounded with mean and old houses, which were let out in lodgings, at low rents, to persons of this description, whose occupation was the publishing anonymous treason and slander. One of the original inhabitants of this street was Fox the Martyrologist,[90] who, during his abode there, wrote his "Acts and Monuments." It was also rendered famous by having been the dwelling-place of Mr. Henry Welby,[91] a gentleman of whom it is related in a printed narrative that he lived there forty years without being seen of any.

† "Memoirs of the Society of Grub-street."[92] Preface, page xii. et seqq.

Elizabeth Porter, afterward Mrs. "Tetty" Johnson, in a portrait by an unknown artist. (Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, 2003JM-8)

able, may be referred an important event of his life. At that time there dwelt at Birmingham a widow, the relict of Mr. Porter[93] a mercer, who dying, left her, if not well jointured, so provided for, as made a match with her to a man in Johnson's circumstances desirable: report says, she was rather advanced in years; it is certain that she had a son and daughter grown up; the former was in the last war a captain in the navy, and his sister, lately dead, inherited from him a handsome fortune, acquired in the course of a long service. Of her personal charms little can now be remembered: Johnson has celebrated them in an inscription on her tomb at Bromley;[94] but, considering his infirmity, and admitting the truth of a confession, said to have been made by him, that he never saw "the human face divine,"[95] it may be questioned, whether himself was ever an eye-witness to them. The inscription further declares her to have been of the family of Jarvis, and gives colour to a supposition that she was either a sister or other relation of the Jarvis above-mentioned.[96]

With this person he married,[97] his age being then about twenty-seven. Her fortune, which is conjectured to have been about eight hundred pounds, placed him in a state of affluence, to which before he had been a stranger. He was not so imprudent as to think it an inexhaustible mine; on the contrary, he reflected on the means of improving it. His acquisitions at school and at the university, and the improvement he had made of his talents in the study of the French and Italian languages, qualified him, in an eminent degree, for an instructor of youth in classical literature; and the reputation of his father, and the connections he had formed in and about Lichfield, pointed out to him a fair prospect of succeeding in that useful profession.

There dwelt in the above-mentioned city, a very respectable gentleman, Mr. Gilbert Walmsley, register of the ecclesiastical court of the bishop thereof, to whose house, in his school and also in his university vacations, Johnson was a welcome guest: the same person was also a friend of captain Garrick, who had for some time been resident at Lichfield, and, by consequence, of Mr. David Garrick, his son. His character is so well pourtrayed by Johnson, and represents in such lively colours his friendship for him, that it would be injustice to omit the insertion of it, as given in the life of Edmund Smith:—

"Of Gilbert Walmsley, thus presented to my mind, let me indulge myself in the remembrance. I knew him very early; he was one of the first friends that literature procured me; and, I hope that, at least, my gratitude made me worthy of his notice.

"He was of an advanced age, and I was only not a boy; yet, he never received my notions with contempt. He was a whig, with all the virulence and malevolence of his party; yet difference of opinion did not keep us apart: I honoured him, and he endured me.

"He had mingled with the gay world, without exemption from its vices or its follies, but had never neglected the cultivation of his mind; his belief of revelation was unshaken; his learning preserved his principles; he grew first regular, and then pious.

"His studies had been so various, that I am not able to name a man of equal knowledge. His acquaintance with books was great, and what he did not immediately know, he could at least tell where to find. Such was his amplitude of learning, and such his copiousness of communication, that it may be doubted whether a day now passes, in which I have not some advantage from his friendship.

"At this man's table I enjoyed many chearful and instructive hours, with companions, such as are not often found; with one who has lengthened, and one who has gladdened life; with Dr. James, whose skill in physic will be long

remembered; and with David Garrick, whom I hoped to have gratified with this character of our common friend: but what are the hopes of man! I am disappointed by that stroke of death, which has eclipsed the gaiety of nations, and impoverished the public stock of harmless pleasure."[98]

The benevolent person, so gratefully remembered in the above encomium, knowing the abilities of Johnson, encouraged him in his design of becoming a teacher of literature:[99] he suggested to him the taking a large house, situate in a place adjacent to Lichfield; which, however the name of it be spelt, the common people call Edjal: thither Johnson went, and with him young Garrick,[100] who, though he had been educated in Lichfield School, and was then near eighteen years old, having been diverted in the course of his studies by a call to Lisbon, stood in need of improvement in the Latin and French languages.

The placing Garrick under the tuition of Johnson, was an act of Mr. Walmsley's, and resembles that politic device of country house-wives, the placing one egg in the nest of a hen to induce her to lay more: it succeeded so far, as to draw from the families of the neighbouring gentry a few pupils, and among the rest, a son of Mr. Offley,[101] of Staffordshire; a name, that for centuries past, may be traced in the history and records of that county. But, so adverse were his fortunes in this early period, that this well-planned scheme of a settlement disappointed the hopes of Johnson and his friends; for, neither his own abilities, nor the patronage of Mr. Walmsley, nor the exertions of Mrs. Johnson and her relations, succeeded farther than to produce an accession of about five or six pupils; so that his number, at no time, exceeded eight, and of those not all were boarders.

After waiting a reasonable time in hopes of more pupils, Johnson, finding they came in but slowly, had recourse to the usual method of raising a school. In the year 1736, he advertised the instructing young gentlemen in the Greek and Latin languages, by himself, at his house, describing it near Lichfield.* That this notification failed of its end, we can scarce wonder, if we reflect, that he was little more than twenty-seven years of age when he published it, and that he had not the vanity to profess teaching all sciences, nor the effrontery of those, who, in these more modern times, undertake, in private boarding-schools to qualify young men for holy orders.

By means of a paper which I have now before me, I am able to furnish, what I take to have been his method or plan of institution;[102] and, as it may be

* The following is the advertisement which he published upon the occasion:—"At Edial, near Lichfield, in Staffordshire, young gentlemen are boarded, and taught the Latin and Greek languages by SAMUEL JOHNSON." Vide "Gent. Mag." for 1736, Page 418.[103]

deemed a curiosity, and may serve the purpose of future instructors of youth, I here insert it:

"When the introduction or formation of nouns and verbs is perfectly mastered, the pupils learn

"Corderius,[104] by Mr. Clarke; beginning at the same time to translate out of his introduction. They then proceed to

"Erasmus, reading him with Clarke's translation. These books form the first class.

"Class II. Read Eutropius and Cornelius Nepos, or Justin[105] with the translation. The first class to repeat by memory, in the morning, the rules they had learned before; and, in the afternoon, the Latin rules of the nouns and verbs. They are also, on Thursdays and Saturdays to be examined in the rules they have learned.

"The second class does the same while in Eutropius; afterwards, they are to get and repeat the irregular nouns and verbs; and also, the rules for making and scanning verses, in which they are to be examined as the first class.

"Class III. Read Ovid's Metamorphoses in the morning, and Caesar's Commentaries in the afternoon. Continue the Latin rules till they are perfect in them. Proceed then to Leeds's Greek Grammar,[106] and are examined as before.

"They then proceed to Virgil, beginning at the same time to compose themes and verses, and learn Greek, and from thence pass on to Horace, Terence, and Sallust. The Greek authors afterwards read are, first, those in the Attic dialect, which are Cebes,[107] Aelian,[108] Lucian by Leeds,[109] and Xenophon: next Homer in the Ionic, Theocritus Doric, Euripides Attic and Doric."[110]

From two letters, first inserted in the "Gentleman's Magazine,"[111] and since in sundry other publications, from Mr. Walmsley to his friend the reverend Mr. Colson, a mathematician, and, in his later years, Lucasian professor at Cambridge, little is to be learnt respecting the history of Johnson and Garrick, at this period: the one wants the date of the month, the other that of the year; and though, in the order of their publication, the one immediately follows the other, there must have been some interval between the times of writing the first and the last. The first is dated in 1737, and as it contains a recommendation of Garrick to Mr. Colson, for instruction in mathematics, philosophy, and human learning, leads us to suppose, that before the time of writing it, Johnson's scheme of taking in boarders had proved abortive. The latter, written in what year we know not, and inserted below, recommends

both Johnson and Garrick to his notice, the former as a good scholar and one that gave hopes of turning out a fine tragedy-writer; and, we are from good authority assured, that in March, in the year last above-mentioned, they, on horse-back, arrived in town together.

"Dear Sir, Lichfield, March 2.

"I had the favour of yours, and am extremely obliged to you; but cannot say, I had a greater affection for you upon it, than I had before, being long since so much endeared to you, as well by an early friendship, as by your many excellent and valuable qualifications. And, had I a son of my own, it would be my ambition, instead of sending him to the university, to dispose of him as this young gentleman is.

"He and another neighbour of mine, one Mr. S. Johnson, set out this morning for London together. Davy Garrick is to be with you early the next week, and Mr. Johnson to try his fate with a tragedy, and to see to get himself employed in some translation either from the Latin or the French. Johnson is a very good scholar and a poet, and, I have great hopes, will turn out a fine tragedy-writer. If it should any ways lay in your way, doubt not but you would be ready to recommend and assist your countryman.

"G. Walmsley."

The hope suggested in this letter is grounded on a circumstance which will lead us back to about the year before he quitted his school at Edial. It must be imagined, the instruction of so small a number of scholars as were under his care, left him at leisure to pursue his private studies and amusements, which, for the most part, consisted in desultory reading. Let it not excite wonder in any that shall peruse these memoirs, to be told, that Burton on Melancholy[112] was a book that he frequently resorted to for the purpose of exhilaration, or that, at times, he should find entertainment in turning over Knolles's voluminous and neglected history of the Turks.[113] In the many hours of leisure which he may be said rather to have endured than enjoyed,[114] we must suppose some employed in the contemplation of his fortunes, the means of improving them, and of resisting the adverse accidents to which human life is exposed, and of which he had already had some experience. The stage holds forth temptations to men of genius, which many have been glad to embrace: the profits arising from a tragedy, including the representation and printing of it, and the connections it sometimes enables the author to form, were in Johnson's idea inestimable; and, it is not impossible, but that Garrick, who, before this time, had manifested a propensity towards the stage, had suggested to him the thought of writing one: certain it is, that

during his residence at Edial, and under the eye of his friend Mr. Walmsley, he planned and completed that poem[115] which gave this gentleman occasion to say, he was likely to become a fine tragedy-writer.

He chose for his story an action related by Knolles in his history abovementioned with all the powers of the most affecting eloquence: to give it at large would be to transgress the limits I have prescribed myself, and to abridge it would injure it: I will do neither; but referring the reader to the historian himself,[116] will relate it as a bare historical fact.

Mahomet the Great, first emperor of the Turks, in the year 1453 laid siege to the city of Constantinople, then possessed by the Greeks, and, after an obstinate resistance, took and sacked it. Among the many young women whom his commanders thought fit to lay hands on and present to him, was one, named Irene, a Greek, of incomparable beauty and such rare perfection of body and mind, that the emperor becoming enamoured of her, neglected the care of his government and empire for two whole years, and thereby so exasperated the Janizaries and other of his warlike subjects, that they mutinied, and threatened to dethrone him. To prevent this mischief, Mustapha Bassa, a person of great credit with him, undertook to represent to him the great danger to which he lay exposed by the indulgence of his passion: he called to his remembrance the characters, actions, and atchievements of many of his predecessors, and the state of his government; and, in short, so roused him from his lethargy, that he took a horrible resolution to silence the clamours of his people, by the sacrifice of this admirable creature: accordingly, on a future day, he commanded her to be dressed and adorned in the richest manner that she and her attendants could devise, and against a certain hour issued orders for the nobility and leaders of his army to attend him in the great hall of his palace. When they were all assembled, himself appeared with great pomp and magnificence, leading his late captive, but now absolute mistress, by the hand, unconscious of guilt and ignorant of his design. With a furious and menacing look, he gave the beholders to understand, that he knew the cause of their discontent, and that he meant to remove it; but bade them first view that lady, whom he still held with his left hand, and say whether any of them being possessed of a jewel so rare and precious, a woman so lovely and fair, would for any cause forego her; to which they answered, that he had great reason for his affection towards her.

To this the emperor replied, that this being their opinion, he would convince them that his actions were in his own power, and that he was yet master of himself. "And having so said," says my author, "presently with one of his hands catching the fair Greek by the hair of the head, and drawing his falchion with the other, he, at one blow, struck off her head, to the great terror

of them all; and having so done, said unto them, 'Now by this, judge whether your emperor is able to bridle his affections or not.' " *[117]

It no where appears that, in this journey to London, Mrs. Johnson was one of the company; it is rather to be conjectured, that her husband, having abandoned the hope of succeeding in his attempt to raise a school, left to her the care of the house, and the management of the small part of her fortune, which, after the fitting up and furnishing the same, together with two years' expenditure, must be supposed to be left; and, that this could be no other than small, may be inferred from her natural temper, which it is said was as little disposed to parsimony as that of her husband.[118]

It is not my intention to pursue the history of Mr. Garrick's progress in life, both because I have not taken upon me to be his biographer, and, because the principal events of it occur in the memoirs of him, written with great candour and, I dare say, truth, by Mr. Thomas Davies,[119] and by him published in two volumes, octavo; but the course of this narration requires me occasionally to mention such particulars concerning him, as in any manner connect him with the subject I am engaged in; and this leads me to mention a fact concerning them both, that I had from a person now living,[120] who was a witness to it, and of whose veracity the least doubt cannot be entertained. They had been but a short time in London before the stock of money that each set out with, was nearly exhausted; and, though they had not, like the prodigal son,[121] "wasted their substance in riotous living," they began, like him, "to be in want." In this extremity, Garrick suggested the thought of obtaining credit from a tradesman, whom he had a slight knowledge of, Mr. Wilcox,[122] a bookseller, in the Strand: to him they applied, and representing themselves to him, as they really were, two young men, friends, and travellers from the same place, and just arrived with a view to settle here, he was so moved with their artless tale, that, on their joint note, he advanced them all that their modesty would permit them to ask, (five pounds), which was, soon after, punctually repaid.

It has been before related, that Johnson had engaged his pen in the service of Cave;[123] as it seems, under some fictitious name, perhaps, that common

* Two tragedies[124] founded on this story had already appeared, before Johnson conceived his intention of producing a third. The former of these was written by Gilbert Swinhoe, Esq; a native of Northumberland, who lived temp. Car. I. & Car. II.; and was published in 4to. 1658, with the title of "Unhappy Fair Irene her Tragedy." See Langbaine's "Account of Dramatic Poets," edit. 1691, p. 499. Of the latter, entitled, "Irene or the Fair Greek," 4to. 1708, one Charles Goring, Esq; supposed to be the same person with one of that name who was of Magdalen college, Oxford, and in 1687 took the degree of Master of Arts, was the author. See "Biographia Dramatica," art. Goring, Charles, Esq.

one of Smith, which he directs Cave to address him by, in his letter of 25th Nov. 1734. Being now come to town, and determined, or rather constrained, to rely on the labour of his brain for support, he, to improve the correspondence he had formed, thought proper to discover himself, and in his real name to communicate to Cave a project which he had formed, and which the following letter will explain:

Greenwich, next door to the Golden-Heart,
"SIR, Church-street, July 12, 1737.

"Having observed in your papers very uncommon offers of encouragement to men of letters, I have chosen, being a stranger in London, to communicate to you the following design, which, I hope, if you join in it, will be of advantage to both of us.

"The history of the Council of Trent, having been lately translated into French, and published with large notes by Dr. Le Courayer, the reputation of that book is so much revived in England, that, it is presumed, a new translation of it from the Italian, together with Le Courayer's notes from the French, could not fail of a favourable reception.

"If it be answered that the history is already in English, it must be remembered that there was the same objection against Le Courayer's undertaking, with this disadvantage, that the French had a version by one of their best translators, whereas you cannot read three pages of the English history without discovering that the style is capable of great improvements; but whether those improvements are to be expected from this attempt, you must judge from the specimen, which, if you approve the proposal, I shall submit to your examination.

"Suppose the merit of the versions equal, we may hope that the addition of the notes will turn the balance in our favour, considering the reputation of the Annotator.

"Be pleased to favour me with a speedy answer, if you are not willing to engage in this scheme; and appoint me a day to wait on you, if you are.

"I am, Sir, your humble servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."[125]

Cave's acquiescence, in the above proposal, drew Johnson into a close intimacy with him: he was much at St. John's Gate, and taught Garrick the way thither. Cave had no great relish for mirth, but he could bear it; and having been told by Johnson, that his friend had talents for the theatre, and was come to London with a view to the profession of an actor, expressed a wish to see him in some comic character: Garrick readily complied; and, as Cave

himself told me, with a little preparation of the room over the great arch of St. John's Gate, and, with the assistance of a few journeymen printers, who were called together for the purpose of reading the other parts, represented, with all the graces of comic humor, the principal character in Fielding's farce of the "Mock-Doctor."[126]

Cave's temper was phlegmatic: though he assumed, as the publisher of the Magazine, the name of Sylvanus Urban,[127] he had few of those qualities that constitute the character of urbanity. Judge of his want of them by this question, which he once put to an author: "Mr. ——,[128] I hear you have just published a pamphlet, and am told there is a very good paragraph in it, upon the subject of music: did you write that yourself?" His discernment was also slow; and as he had already at his command some writers of prose and verse, who, in the language of booksellers are called good hands,*[129] he was the backwarder in making advances, or courting an intimacy with Johnson. Upon the first approach of a stranger, his practice was to continue sitting, a posture in which he was ever to be found, and, for a few minutes, to continue silent: if at any time he was inclined to begin the discourse, it was gener-

* Mr. Moses Browne,[130] originally a pen-cutter, was, so far as concerned the poetical part of it, the chief support of the Magazine, which he fed with many a nourishing morsel. This person being a lover of angling, wrote piscatory eclogues; and was a candidate for the fifty pound prize mentioned in Johnson's first letter to Cave, and for other prizes which Cave engaged to pay him who should write the best poem on certain subjects; in all or most of which competitions Mr. Browne had the good fortune to succeed. He published these and other poems of his writing, in an octavo volume, Lond. 1739; and has therein given proofs of an exuberant fancy and a happy invention. Some years after he entered into holy orders. A farther account of him may be seen in the "Biographia Dramatica," to a place in which work he seems to have acquired a title, by some juvenile compositions for the stage. Being a person of a religious turn, he also published in verse, a series of devout contemplations, called "Sunday Thoughts." Johnson, who often expressed his dislike of religious poetry, and who, for the purpose of religious meditation, seemed to think one day as proper as another, read them with cold approbation, and said, he had a great mind to write and publish "Monday Thoughts."

To the proofs above adduced of the coarseness of Cave's manners, let me add the following: he had undertaken, at his own risque, to publish a translation of Du Halde's "History of China," in which were contained sundry geographical and other plates. Each of these he inscribed to one or other of his friends; and, among the rest, one "*To Moses Browne*." With this blunt and familiar designation of his person, Mr. Browne was justly offended: to appease him, Cave directed an engraver, to introduce with a caret under the line, *Mr.* and thought, that in so doing, he had made ample amends to Mr. Browne for the indignity done him.

Mr. John Duick, also a pen-cutter, and a near neighbour of Cave, was a frequent contributor to the Magazine, of short poems, written with spirit and ease. He was a kinsman

ally by putting a leaf of the Magazine, then in the press, into the hand of his visitor, and asking his opinion of it. I remember that, calling in on him once, he gave me to read the beautiful poem of Collins, written for Shakespeare's "Cymbeline," "To fair Fidele's grassy tomb,"[131] which, though adapted to a particular circumstance in the play, Cave was for inserting in his Magazine, without any reference to the subject: I told him it would lose of its beauty if it were so published: this he could not see; nor could he be convinced of the propriety of the name Fidele: he thought Pastora a better, and so printed it.

He was so incompetent a judge of Johnson's abilities, that, meaning at one time to dazzle him with the splendor of some of those luminaries in literature who favoured him with their correspondence, he told him that, if he would, in the evening, be at a certain alehouse in the neighbourhood of Clerken-

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of Browne, and the author of a good copy of encomiastic verses prefixed to the collection of Browne's poems above-mentioned.

Mr. Foster Webb, a young man who had received his education in Mr. Watkins's academy in Spital-square, and afterwards became clerk to a merchant in the city, was, at first, a contributor to the Magazine, of enigmas,[132] a species of poetry in which he then delighted, but was dissuaded from it by the following lines, which appeared in the Magazine for October, 1740, after a few successful essays in that kind of writing:

"Too modest bard, with enigmatic veil
No longer let thy muse her charms conceal;
Though oft the Sun in clouds his face disguise,
Still he looks nobler when he gilds the skies.
Do thou, like him, avow thy native flame,
Burst thro' the gloom, and brighten into fame."[133]

After this friendly exhortation, Mr. Webb, in those hours of leisure which business afforded, amused himself with translating from the Latin classics, particularly Ovid and Horace: from the latter of these he rendered into English verse, with better success than any that had before attempted it, the odes "Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa"; "Solvitur acris hyems grata vice veris & Favoni"; "Parcus Deorum cultor & infrequens"; and "Diffugêre nives, redeunt jam gramina campis"; all which are inserted in Cave's Magazine. His signature was sometimes Telarius, at others Vedastus. He was a modest, ingenious, and sober young man; but a consumption defeated the hopes of his friends, and took him off in the twenty-second year of his age.

Mr. John Smith, another of Mr. Watkins's pupils, was a writer in the Magazine, of prose essays, chiefly on religious and moral subjects, and died of a decline[134] about the same time.

Mr. John Canton, apprentice to the above-named Mr. Watkins, and also his successor in his academy, was a contributor to the Magazine, of verses, and afterwards, of papers on philosophical and mathematical subjects. The discoveries he made in electricity and magnetism are well known, and are recorded in the transactions of the Royal Society, of which he afterwards became a member.

well, he might have a chance of seeing Mr. Browne and another or two of the persons mentioned in the preceding note: Johnson accepted the invitation; and being introduced by Cave, dressed in a loose horseman's coat, and such a great bushy uncombed wig as he constantly wore, to the sight of Mr. Browne, whom he found sitting at the upper end of a long table, in a cloud of tobacco-smoke, had his curiosity gratified.

Johnson saw very clearly those offensive particulars that made a part of Cave's character; but, as he was one of the most quick-sighted men I ever knew in discovering the good and amiable qualities of others, a faculty which he has displayed, as well in the life of Cave, as in that of Savage,[135] printed among his works, so was he ever inclined to palliate their defects; and, though he was above courting the patronage of a man, whom, in respect of his mental

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Mr. William Rider,[136] bred in the same prolific seminary, was a writer in the Magazine, of verses signed Philargyrus. He went from school to Jesus college, Oxford, and, some years after his leaving the same, entered into holy orders, and became sur-master of St. Paul's school, in which office he continued many years, but at length was obliged to quit that employment by reason of his deafness.

Mr. Adam Calamy, a son of Dr. Edmund Calamy, an eminent non-conformist divine, and author of the "Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times," was another of Mr. Watkins's pupils, that wrote in the Magazine; the subjects on which he chiefly exercised his pen were essays in polemical theology and republican politics; and he distinguished them by the assumed signature of "*A consistent protestant*." He was bred to the profession of an attorney, and was brother to Mr. Edmund Calamy, a dissenting teacher, of eminence for his worth and learning.

A seminary, of a higher order than that above-mentioned, viz. the academy of Mr. John Eames in Moorfields, furnished the Magazine with a number of other correspondents in mathematics and other branches of science and polite literature. This was an institution supported by the Dissenters, the design whereof was to qualify young men for their ministry. Mr. Eames was formerly the continuator of the abridgement of the "Philosophical Transactions" begun by Jones and Lowthorp, and was a man of great knowledge, and a very able tutor. Under him were bred many young men who afterwards became eminently distinguished for learning and abilities; among them were the late Mr. Parry, of Cirencester, the late Dr. Furneaux, and Dr. Gibbons; and, if I mistake not, the present Dr. Price. The pupils of this academy had heads that teemed with knowledge, which, as fast as they acquired it, they were prompted by a juvenile and laudable ambition to communicate in letters to Mr. Urban.

To this account of Cave's correspondents might be added the celebrated names of Dr. Birch,[137] who will be spoken of hereafter, Mrs. Carter,[138] Dr. Akenside,[139] the Rev. Mr. Samuel Pegge, who, by an ingenious transposition of the letters of his name, formed the plausible signature of Paul Gemsege; Mr. Luck, of Barnstaple in Devonshire; Mr. Henry Price, of Pool, in Dorsetshire; Mr. Richard Yate, of Chively, in Shropshire; Mr. John Bancks; and that industrious and prolific genius, Mr. John Lockman.

endowments he considered as his inferior, he disdained not to accept it, when tendered with any degree of complacency.[140]

And this was the general tenor of Johnson's behaviour; for, though his character through life was marked with a roughness that approached to ferocity, it was in the power of almost every one to charm him into mildness, and to render him gentle and placid, and even courteous, by such a patient and respectful attention as is due to every one, who, in his discourse, signifies a desire either to instruct or delight. Bred to no profession, without relations, friends, or interest, Johnson was an adventurer[141] in the wide world, and had his fortunes to make: the arts of insinuation[142] and address were, in his opinion, too slow in their operation to answer his purpose; and, he rather chose to display his parts to all the world, at the risque of being thought arrogant, than to wait for the assistance of such friends as he could make, or the patronage of some individual that had power or influence, and who might have the kindness to take him by the hand, and lift him into notice. With all that asperity of manners with which he has been charged, and which kept at a distance many, who, to my knowledge, would have been glad of an intimacy with him, he possessed the affections of pity and compassion in a most eminent degree. In a mixed company, of which I was one, the conversation turned on the pestilence which raged in London, in the year 1665, and gave occasion to Johnson to speak of Dr. Nathanael Hodges, who, in the height of that calamity, continued in the city, and was almost the only one of his profession that had the courage to oppose the endeavours of his art to the spreading of the contagion. It was the hard fate of this person, a short time after, to die a prisoner for debt, in Ludgate: Johnson related this circumstance to us, with the tears ready to start from his eyes; and, with great energy said, "Such a man would not have been suffered to perish in these times."

It seems by the event of this first expedition, that Johnson came to London for little else than to look about him: it afforded him no opportunity of forming connections, either valuable in themselves, or available to any future purpose of his life. Mr. Pope had seen and commended his translation of the "Messiah"; but Johnson had not the means of access to him; and, being a stranger to his person, his spirit would not permit him to solicit so great a favour from one, who must be supposed to have been troubled with such kind of applications. With one person, however, he commenced an intimacy, the motives to which, at first view, may probably seem harder to be accounted for, than any one particular in his life. This person was Mr. Richard Savage, whose misfortunes, together with his vices, had driven him to St. John's gate, and thereby introduced him to the acquaintance of Johnson, which, founded on his part in compassion, soon improved into friendship and a mu-

tual communication of sentiments and counsels. The history of this man is well known by the life of him written by Johnson;[143] which, if in no other respect valuable, is curious, in that it gives to view a character self-formed, as owing nothing to parental nurture, and scarce any thing to moral tuition, and describes a mind, in which, as in a neglected garden, weeds, without the least obstruction, were suffered to grow into luxuriance: nature had endowed him with fine parts, and those he cultivated as well as he was able; but his mind had received no moral culture; and for want thereof, we find him to have been a stranger to humility, gratitude, and those other virtues that tend to conciliate the affections of men, and insure the continuance of friendship.

It may be conjectured that Johnson was captivated by the address and demeanour of Savage, at his first approach; for it must be noted of him, that, though he was always an admirer of genteel manners, he at this time had not been accustomed to the conversation of gentlemen; and Savage, as to his exterior, was, to a remarkable degree, accomplished:[144] he was a handsome, well-made man, and very courteous in the modes of salutation. I have been told, that in the taking off his hat and disposing it under his arm, and in his bow, he displayed as much grace as those actions were capable of; and that he understood the exercise of a gentleman's weapon, may be inferred from the use he made of it in that rash encounter[145] which is related in his life, and to which his greatest misfortunes were owing. These accomplishments, and the ease and pleasantry of his conversation, were, probably, the charms that wrought on Johnson, and hid from his view those baser qualities of Savage, with which, as his historian, he has nevertheless been necessitated to mark his character. The similarity of their circumstances might farther conduce to beget an unreserved confidence in each other; they had both felt the pangs of poverty and the want of patronage: Savage had let loose his resentment against the possessors of wealth, in a collection of poems[146] printed about the year 1727, and Johnson was ripe for an avowal of the same sentiments: they seemed both to agree in the vulgar opinion, that the world is divided into two classes, of men of merit without riches, and men of wealth without merit; never considering the possibility that both might concenter in the same person, just as when, in the comparison of women, we say, that virtue is of more value than beauty, we forget that many are possessed of both.

In speculations of this kind, and a mutual condolence of their fortunes, they passed many a melancholy hour, and those at a time when, it might be supposed, the reflection on them had made repose desirable: on the contrary, that very reflection is known to have interrupted it. Johnson has told me, that whole nights have been spent by him and Savage in conversations of this kind, not under the hospitable roof of a tavern, where warmth might have

invigorated their spirits, and wine dispelled their care; but in a perambulation round the squares of Westminster, St. James's in particular, when all the money they could both raise was less than sufficient to purchase for them the shelter and sordid comforts of a night cellar.[147]

Of the result of their conversation little can now be known, save, that they gave rise to those principles of patriotism,[148] that both, for some years after, avowed; they both with the same eye saw, or believed they saw, that the then minister meditated the ruin of this country; that excise laws, standing armies, and penal statutes, were the means by which he meant to effect it; and, at the risque of their liberty, they were bent to oppose his measures; they might possibly have been encouraged by the success of Swift in his endeavours to obstruct the circulation of Wood's halfpence,* who was prompted by his patriotism to say, "Give me pen, ink, and paper, and ensure me against prosecution, and I will engage to write down any ministry whatever."[149] But Savage's spirit was broken by the sense of his indigence, and the pressure of those misfortunes which his imprudence had brought on him, and Johnson was left alone to maintain the contest.

The character and manners of Savage were such, as leave us little room to think, that Johnson could profit by his conversation:[150] whatever were his parts and accomplishments, he had no reading, and could furnish no intelligence to such a mind as Johnson's: his vagrant course of life had made him acquainted with the town and its vices; and though I am not warranted to say, that Johnson was infected with them, I have reason to think, that he reflected with as little approbation on the hours he spent with Savage as on any period of his life.

Doubtless there is in the demeanour and conversation of some men a power that fascinates, and suspends the operation of our own will: to this power in Savage, which consisted in the gentleness of his manners, the elegance of his discourse, and the vivacity of his imagination, we must attribute the ascendant which he maintained over the affections of Johnson, and the inability of the latter to pursue the suggestions of his own superior understanding. To the purpose of this sentiment, I am tempted to relate a fact which Mr. Garrick once communicated to me in conversation, who, speaking of the irresistible charm of engaging manners, told me, that being an actor at Drury-lane theatre, under Mr. Fleetwood, the patentee thereof, whose extravagances rendered him incapable of fulfilling his engagements, his salary became deeply in arrear, and he began to feel the want of money:

* Of this contract I once heard Dr. Birch say, it was one of the fairest ever made between a minister and an adventurer.

in answer to his many applications for payment, he had obtained promises, and even oaths; but these had been so often broken, that pressed by necessity, and provoked by ill usage, he was determined to have recourse to law for payment: he however thought it but right to declare his intention; and, for that purpose, invited himself to breakfast with Fleetwood. "It was on a Sunday," said Mr. Garrick, "that he appointed to see me; he received me with great courtesy and affability, and entertained me for some hours with discourse, foreign to the subject of our meeting, but so bewitching in its kind, that it deprived me of the power of telling him that he owed me six hundred pounds, and that my necessities compelled me to demand it."

The intimacy between Savage and Johnson continued till the beginning of the year 1738, when the distresses of the former, and the cessation, by the death of Queen Caroline, of a pension, which, for some years, she had directed to be paid him, moved some of his friends to a subscription for his support, in a place so far distant from the metropolis, as to be out of the reach of its temptations; where he might beget new habits, and indulge himself in those exercises of his imagination, which had been the employment of his happiest hours. The place fixed on for his residence was Swansea in Wales; but as it was some time before the subscription could be completed, his retirement thither was retarded.

In this suspense of Savage's fortunes, Johnson seems to have confirmed himself in a resolution of quarrelling with the administration of public affairs, and becoming a satirist on the manners of the times; and because he thought he saw a resemblance between his own and those of Rome in its decline, he chose to express his sense of modern depravity by an imitation of the third satire of Juvenal, in which, with great judgment, and no less asperity, he drew a parallel between the corruptions of each, and exemplified it by characters then subsisting. In it he anticipated the departure of his friend Thales,[151] i.e. Savage, whom he describes as

"————————resolv'd, from vice and London far,
To breathe, in distant fields, a purer air;
And, fix'd in Cambria's solitary shore,
Give to St. David one true Briton more."[152]

To this exercise of his talent he was, probably, excited by the success of Mr. Pope, who had done the same by some of the satires of Horace, and had vindicated, by the example of Dr. Donne, a divine, that species of writing, even in Christian times, from the imputation of malevolence and the want of that charity "which is not easily provoked, and endureth all things."[153]

The poem was finished, as appears by a manuscript note of the author

in his own corrected copy, in 1738.[154] While he was writing it, he lodged in an upper room of a house in Exeter-street, behind Exeter 'change, inhabited by one Norris,[155] a stay-maker; a particular which would have been hardly worth noticing, but that it, in some measure, bespeaks his circumstances at the time, and accounts for his having, more than once, mentioned in the poem, and that with seeming abhorrence, the dungeons of the Strand. It is not unlikely that his aversion to such an abode was increased by the reflection on that distress, which by this time had brought his wife to town, and obliged her to participate in the inconveniences of a dwelling too obscure to invite resort, and to be a witness of the difficulties with which he was struggling.

Having completed his poem, he looked round for a bookseller, to whom, with a likelihood of obtaining the value of it, he might treat for the sale of it. His friend Cave, in respect of publications, was a haberdasher of small wares; the greatest of his undertakings being a translation of Du Halde's History of China,[156] which was never completed.

Johnson thinking him a man for his purpose, made him an offer of his poem, in a letter in which, with great art, but without the least violation of truth, he conceals that himself was the author of it. The letter I here insert, as also another of his on the same subject.

"Sir,

"When I took the liberty of writing to you a few days ago, I did not expect a repetition of the same pleasure so soon, for a pleasure I shall always think it to converse in any manner with an ingenious and candid man; but having the inclosed poem in my hands to dispose of for the benefit of the author (of whose abilities I shall say nothing since I send you his performance,) I believed I could not procure more advantageous terms from any person than from you, who have so much distinguished yourself by your generous encouragement of poetry, and whose judgment of that art, nothing but your commendation of my trifle can give me any occasion to call in question. I do not doubt but you will look over this poem with another eye, and reward it in a different manner from a mercenary bookseller, who counts the lines he is to purchase, and considers nothing but the bulk. I cannot help taking notice that, besides what the author may hope for on account of his abilities, he has likewise another claim to your regard, as he lies at present under very disadvantageous circumstances of fortune. I beg, therefore, that you will favour me with a letter to-morrow, that I may know what you can afford to allow him, that he may either part with it to you, or find out (which I do not expect) some other way more to his satisfaction.

"I have only to add, that I am sensible I have transcribed it very coarsely,

which, after having altered it, I was obliged to do. I will, if you please to transmit the sheets from the press, correct it for you, and will take the trouble of altering any stroke of satire which you may dislike.

"By exerting on this occasion your usual generosity, you will not only encourage learning and relieve distress, but (though it be in comparison of the other motives of very small account) oblige in a very sensible manner, Sir,

"Your very humble servant,
"Sam. Johnson."[157]

"Sir, Monday, No. 6, Castle-street.

"I am to return you thanks for the present you were so kind to send me, and to intreat that you will be pleased to inform me, by the Penny-Post, whether you resolve to print the poem. If you please to send it me by the post, with a note to Dodsley, I will go and read the lines to him, that we may have his consent to put his name in the title page. As to the printing, if it can be set immediately about, I will be so much the author's friend, as not to content myself with mere solicitations in his favour. I propose, if my calculation be near the truth, to engage for the reimbursement of all that you shall lose by an impression of 500, provided, as you very generously propose, that the profit, if any, be set aside for the author's use, excepting the present you made, which, if he be a gainer, it is fit he should repay. I beg you will let one of your servants write an exact account of the expence of such an impression, and send it with the poem, that I may know what I engage for. I am very sensible, from your generosity on this occasion, of your regard to learning, even in its unhappiest state; and cannot but think such a temper deserving of the gratitude of those, who suffer so often from a contrary disposition.

"I am, Sir,
"Your most humble servant,
"Sam. Johnson."[158]

Johnson and Dodsley were soon agreed; the price asked by the one and assented to by the other, was, as I have been informed, fifty pounds;[159] a reward for his labour and ingenuity, that induced Johnson ever after to call Dodsley his patron. It came abroad in the year above-mentioned with the name of Cave as the printer, though without that of the author. Lord Lyttelton, the instant it was published, carried it in rapture to Mr. Pope, who, having read it, commended it highly, and was very importunate with Dodsley to know the author's name; but, that being a secret the latter was bound not to reveal, Pope assured him that he could not long be unknown, recollecting, perhaps,

a passage recorded of Milton, who, seeing a beautiful young lady pass him whom he never had seen before, turned to look at her, and said, "Whoever thou art, thou canst not long be concealed."[160]

The topics of this spirited poem, so far as it respects this country, or the time when it was written, are evidently drawn from those weekly publications, which, to answer the view of a malevolent faction, first created, and for some years supported, a distinction between the interests of the government and the people, under the several denominations of the court and the country parties: these publications were carried on under the direction of men, professing themselves to be whigs and friends of the people, in a paper intitled, "The Country Journal or the Craftsman,"[161] now deservedly forgotten, the end whereof was, to blow the flame of national discontent, to delude the honest and well-meaning people of this country into a belief that the minister was its greatest enemy, and that his opponents, only, meant its welfare. To this end it was necessary to furnish them with subjects of complaint, and these were plentifully disseminated among them; the chief of them were, that science was unrewarded, and the arts neglected; that the objects of our politics were peace and the extension of commerce; that the wealth of the nation was unequally divided, for that, while some were poor, others were able to raise palaces and purchase manors; that restraints were laid on the stage; that the land was plundered, and the nation cheated; our senators hirelings, and our nobility venal; and, lastly, that in his visits to his native country, the king drained this of its wealth.

That Johnson has adopted these vulgar complaints, his poem must witness. I shall not take upon me to demonstrate the fallacy of most of the charges contained in it, nor animadvert on the wickedness of those, who, to effect their own ambitious designs, scruple not to oppose the best endeavours of the person in power, nor shall I mark the folly of those who suffer themselves to be so deluded: the succession of knave to knave, and fool to fool, is hereditary and interminable: our fathers were deceived by the pretensions of false patriots; the delusion stopped not with their children nor will it with ours.

The publication of this poem was of little advantage to Johnson, other than the relief of his immediate wants: it procured him fame but no patronage. He was therefore disposed to embrace any other prospect of advantage that might offer; for, a short time after, viz. in August 1738, hearing that the mastership of Appleby school[162] in Leicestershire was become vacant, he, by the advice of Sir Thomas Griesly a Derbyshire baronet, and other friends, went to Appleby, and offered himself as a candidate for that employment; but the statutes of the school requiring, that the person chosen should be a Master of Arts, his application was checked. To get over this difficulty, he

found means to obtain from the late Lord Gower,[163] a letter to a friend of his, soliciting his interest with Dean Swift towards procuring him a master's degree from the university of Dublin: the letter has appeared in print, but with a mistaken date of the year, viz. 1737; for it mentions Johnson's being the author of the poem of "London," which, as I have above fixed it, was written in 1738. It is as follows:

"Sir,

"Mr. Samuel Johnson, (author of London a satire, and some other poetical pieces,) is a native of this country, and much respected by some worthy gentlemen in his neighbourhood, who are trustees of a charity school now vacant, the certain salary of which is £60 per year, of which they are desirous to make him master; but, unfortunately, he is not capable of receiving their bounty, which would make him happy for life, by not being a Master of Arts, which, by the statutes of this school, the master of it must be.

"Now these gentlemen do me the honour to think, that I have interest enough in you to prevail upon you to write to Dean Swift, to persuade the university of Dublin to send a diploma to me, constituting this poor man Master of Arts in their university. They highly extol the man's learning and probity, and will not be persuaded that the university will make any difficulty of conferring such a favour upon a stranger, if he is recommended by the Dean. They say he is not afraid of the strictest examination, though he is of so long a journey, and will venture it if the Dean thinks it necessary, choosing rather to die upon the road, than to be starved to death in translating for booksellers, which has been his only subsistence for some time past.

"I fear there is more difficulty in this affair than these good-natured gentlemen apprehend, especially, as their election cannot be delayed longer than the 11th of next month. If you see this matter in the same light that it appears to me, I hope you will burn this and pardon me for giving you so much trouble about an impracticable thing; but if you think there is a probability of obtaining the favour asked, I am sure your humanity and propensity to relieve merit in distress, will incline you to serve the poor man, without my adding any more to the trouble I have already given you, than assuring you that I am, with great truth,

"Sir,
"Your faithful humble servant,

"Trentham, August 1, 1737. Gower."

If ever Johnson had reason to lament the shortness of his stay at the university, it was now. The want of an honour, which, after a short efflux[164] of

years, is conferred almost of course, was, at this crisis, his greatest misfortune: it stood between him and the acquisition of an income of £60 a year, in a country and at a time that made it equivalent to a much larger sum at present.

The letter of Lord Gower failing of its effect, Johnson returned to London, resolving on a vigorous effort to supply his wants: this was a translation into English of Father Paul's "History of the Council of Trent":*[165] the former by Sir Nathaniel Brent, though a faithful one, being, in the judgment of some persons, rather obsolete. Johnson was well enough skilled in the Italian language for the undertaking, and was encouraged to it by many of his friends; as namely, Mr. Walmsley, Mr. Caslon the letter-founder, Mr. [afterwards Dr.] Birch, and others; but he chose to make it a joint project, and take Cave into the adventure, who, as the work proceeded, advanced him small sums, at two or three guineas a week, amounting together to near fifty pounds.†

It happened at this time that another person of the same christian and surname, the then keeper of Dr. Tenison's library in St. Martin's parish, had engaged in the like design, and was supported therein by Dr. Zachary Pearce,[166] and also by most of the bishops, and by many of the dignified clergy, which being the case, the solicitations in behalf of the two versions crossed each other, and rendered both abortive. Twelve quarto sheets of Johnson's were printed off; but what became of the other is not known. This disappointment, however mortifying, did not hinder Johnson from prosecuting a part of his original design, and writing the life of the author,[167] which, with the assistance of a life of him, written by an Italian nobleman, whose name I could never learn, and published in a closely printed duodecimo, he was enabled to complete, and in an abridgment to insert in Cave's Magazine.

Various other projects about this time did he form of publications on literary subjects,[168] which, in a subsequent page, by the help of a list in his own handwriting, I have enumerated, but they were either blasted by other publications of a similar nature, or abandoned for want of encouragement.

However, that he might not be totally unemployed, Cave engaged him to undertake a translation of an "Examen" of Pope's "Essay on Man," writ-

* Vide "Gent. Mag." for Jan. 1785, page 6.

† Proposals for publishing it were advertised in the "Weekly Miscellany" of 21st Oct. 1738, in the following terms: "Just published, proposals for printing the 'History of the Council of Trent,' translated from the Italian of Father Paul Sarpi, with the author's life, and notes Theological, Historical, and Critical, from the French edition of Dr. Le Courayer. To which are added, observations on the history and notes; and illustrations from various authors, both printed and manuscript, by S. Johnson, in two volumes quarto."

# The *Gentleman's Magazine:*

## For NOVEMBER, 1738.

CONTAINING,

*More in Quantity, and greater Variety, than any Book of the Kind and Price.*


I. DEBATE in the Committee of CLINABS on the Number of Standing Forces, *finiſhed*; with the Speeches of Urgs, *Plemahm*, *Plurom*, *Dranews*, and *Joſippo Filycko*, Hurgolen.

II. DEBATE in the Houſe of Hurgoes on the Affair of the *Iberian* Depredations. 1. Speech of the Hurgo *Sholmlug* ſtating the Caſe according to Treaties, and concluding with a Motion for ſeveral proper Reſolutions. 2. Speech of Hurgo *Quadrert* inſiſting that NO SEARCH can or ought to be allowed to the *Iberians* with regard to the *Lilliputian* Ships in *Columbia*, and propoſing an Amendment to the firſt Reſolution relating thereto. 3. Speech of the Hurgo *Hickrad*. 4. Another Speech of Hurgo *Quadrert*. 5. Of Hurgo *Sholmlug*; and 6. The Beginning of Hurgo *Bruſtath*'s on the ſame Affair. *To be continued.*

III. VARIOUS and entertaining Pieces; as, An Account from *Lapland*, from M. *de Maupertuis*; Life of Father *Paul*; A Dialogue between the Qu. of *Sweden* and the *Czarina*, &c.

IV. FROM the Weekly Papers; *viz.* A Fondneſs for *French* Faſhions expoſed; An Account of the *Muſquito Indians*. Qualifications of a Judge; true Liberty; Repeal of the *Teſt* impracticable, *&c.*

V. POETRY. Ten Sorts of Women; a Satire from the *Greek* of *Simonides*. A Hymn for the fifth of *November*. 2. Epiſtles to Mr *Izard* by a Lady. To Mr *Dalacourt*. Ænigma; Songs; *&c.*

VI. HISTORICAL CHRONICLE. Grand Reception of the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales* at *Bath* and *Briſtol*.

VII. ACCOUNT of Mrs *Stephens*'s Cures

VIII. LIST of Births, Deaths, Marriages.

IX. FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

X. REGISTER OF BOOKS.


By *SYLVANUS URBAN*, Gent.


*LONDON*: Printed by E. CAVE, jun. at St JOHN's GATE, and Sold by the Bookſellers of Town and County; of whom may be had any former Month, alſo complete Sets on Royal or common Paper, beginning with the Year 1731.


Title page of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1738.
(Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, 2003J-SJ950)

ten by Mr. Crousaz,[169] a professor in Switzerland, who had acquired some eminence by a treatise on Logic of his writing, and also, by his "Examen de Pyrrhonisme"; and of whom Johnson, after observing that he was no mean antagonist, has given this character:—"His mind was one of those in which philosophy and piety are happily united. He was accustomed to argument and disquisition, and perhaps was grown too desirous of detecting faults, but his intention was always right, his opinions were solid, and his religion pure. His incessant vigilance for the promotion of piety disposed him to look with distrust upon all metaphysical[170] systems of Theology, and all schemes of virtue and happiness purely rational; and therefore, it was not long before he was persuaded that the positions of Pope, as they terminated for the most part in natural religion, were intended to draw mankind away from Revelation, and to represent the whole course of things as a necessary concatenation of indissoluble fatality; and it is undeniable, that in many passages, a religious eye may easily discover expressions not very favourable to morals or to liberty."* [171]

The reputation of the "Essay on Man" soon after its publication invited a translation of it into French, which was undertaken and completed by the Abbé Resnel, and falling into the hands of Crousaz, drew from him first a general censure of the principles maintained in the poem, and afterwards, a commentary thereon containing particular remarks on every paragraph. The former of these it was that Johnson translated, as appears by the following letter of his to Cave, which is rendered somewhat remarkable by his stiling himself *Impransus*.

"Dear Sir,

"I am pretty much of your opinion, that the Commentary cannot be prosecuted with any appearance of success; for, as the names of the authors concerned are of more weight in the performance than its own intrinsic merit, the public will be soon satisfied with it. And I think the Examen should be pushed forward with the utmost expedition. Thus, 'This day, &c. An Examen of Mr. Pope's essay, &c. containing a succinct account of the philosophy of Mr. Leibnitz on the system of the Fatalists, with a confutation of their opinions, and an illustration of the doctrine of Free-will,' with what else you think proper.

"It will, above all, be necessary to take notice, that it is a thing distinct from the Commentary.

"I was so far from imagining they [the compositors] stood still, that I con-

* "Life of Pope" among the poets.

ceived them to have a good deal beforehand, and therefore was less anxious in providing them more. But if ever they stand still on my account, it must doubtless be charged to me; and whatever else will be reasonable I shall not oppose; but beg a suspense of judgment till morning; when I must entreat you to send me a dozen proposals, and you shall then have copy to spare.

"I am, Sir, yours, *impransus*,
"SAM. JOHNSON."[172]

Johnson's translation of the "Examen" was printed by Cave, and came abroad, but without a name, in November, 1738, bearing the title of, "An Examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man, containing a succinct view of the system of the Fatalists, and a confutation of their opinions; with an illustration of the doctrine of Free-Will, and an enquiry what view Mr. Pope might have in touching upon the Leibnitzian Philosophy and Fatalism. By Mr. Crousaz, professor of Philosophy and Mathematics at Lausanne, &c."

All the world knows that the "Essay on Man" was composed from the dictamen[173] of Lord Bolingbroke,[174] and it is little less notorious that Pope was but meanly skilled in that sort of learning to which the subject of his poem related: he had not been conversant with the writings or opinions of the different sects of philosophers of whom some maintained and others denied the freedom of the will, and knew little more of the arguments for and against human liberty in opposition to what is called Necessity, than he was able to gather from the controversy between Anthony Collins and his opponents, or that between Dr. Clarke and Leibnitz.[175] He was therefore unable to defend what he had written, and stood a dead mark for his adversaries to shoot at. Fortunate for him it was, that at this crisis there was living such a person as Mr. Warburton; and Pope had for all the remainder of his life reason to reflect with pleasure on the circumstances that brought them acquainted, and which I will presently relate.

Warburton's origin and rise into literary reputation are pretty well known. He had served a clerkship to an attorney the town-clerk of Newark upon Trent, and for a short time was himself a practiser in that profession; but having a strong propensity to learning, he determined to quit it, and pursue a course of study such as was necessary to qualify him for the ministerial function, and having completed it, got admitted into holy orders, and settled in London, where, upon his arrival, he became acquainted with some of the inferior wits, Concannen, Theobald, and others the enemies of Pope,[176] and adopted many of their sentiments. In a letter to the former of these he writes, "Dryden I observe borrows for want of leisure, and Pope for want of genius; Milton out of pride, and Addison out of modesty"; further he assisted

Theobald with notes on many passages in his edition of Shakespeare, which charge Mr. Pope with ignorance, and incapacity for the office of an editor.

But leaving literal criticism to these his first associates, Warburton betook himself to studies of greater importance, and before the publication of the "Examen" of the "Essay on Man," had made himself known, as an original thinker, by his "Divine Legation of Moses," a work which, as it met with great opposition, gave him occasion to display a singular talent in controversy.

It appears, however, that he repented of his conduct with respect to Mr. Pope, and that he afterwards sought his friendship and obtained it.

The means by which this connexion was formed were these: Warburton had distinguished himself as a man of parts and an original thinker by the publication of the "Divine Legation of Moses," and being acquainted with Jacob Robinson,[177] a bookseller in Ludgate-street, who by a monthly pamphlet containing extracts from and observations on the works of the learned, gave rise to the publications now called Reviews, made his use of him. The man held a correspondence with Mr. Pope, which Warburton knowing, he solicited Robinson to bring them together, and Robinson undertook the office, but found it a business of some difficulty, Mr. Pope being at first shy of the proposal; at length, however, he yielded to it, and Warburton testified his thanks in a letter to Robinson for his mediation.*

This transaction may be considered as a remarkable epoch in the life of Warburton, and was the leading circumstance to an acquaintance with Mr. Allen of Bath, a marriage with his niece, the subsequent possession of a fair estate, and his promotion to a bishopric.

The fruit of this interview and of the subsequent communications of the parties was, the publication, in November 1739, of a pamphlet with this title, "A vindication of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man. By the author of the Divine Legation of Moses. Printed for J. Robinson."

Whether or not Crousaz ever replied to this vindication,[178] I am not at leisure to enquire. I incline to think he did not, and that the controversy rested on the foot of the "Examen" and the "Commentary" on the one part, and the "Vindication" on the other. In the year 1743, Johnson took it into his head to review the argument, and became a moderator in a dispute which, on the side of Warburton, had been conducted with a great degree of that indignation and contempt of his adversary, which is visible in most of his writings. This he did in two letters severally published in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for

* For this information I am indebted to Mr. Kearsley the bookseller, founded on sundry letters, which were once in his possession, but are now lost, from Warburton to Robinson, who was his great uncle.

the months of March and November in the above year, with a promise of more, but proceeded no farther than to state the sentiments of Mr. Crousaz respecting the poem, from a seeming conviction that he was discussing an uninteresting question.[179]

Johnson had already tried his hand at political satire, and had succeeded in it; and though no new occasion offered, he was either urged by distress or prompted by that clamour against the minister which in the year 1739 was become very loud, to join in the popular cry, and as it were, to carry war into his own quarters. This he did in a pamphlet, intitled, "Marmor Norfolciense, or an essay on an ancient prophetical inscription, in Monkish rhyme, lately discovered near Lynn in Norfolk, by Probus Britannicus."[180]

This mode of satire, the publication of prophecies adapted to the incidents of the time when written, and not so genuine as that of Nixon, the Cheshire seer,[181] which some thought was fulfilled in 1745, is not an invention so new as many may think. In some instances it has been a mere exercise of wit; in others it has been used as a means to excite a people to sedition. Under the first class is noted that mentioned by Lord Bacon:

"When Hempe is spun,
England's done";[182]

whereby, as his lordship says, it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word Hempe, (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip and Elizabeth) England should come to utter confusion; which, adds he, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of name, for the king's stile is now no more, of England, but of Britain. Of the latter class of feigned prophecies many have, within these few years, been published by authors who had not wit enough to put them into verse.

The inscription mentioned in the title-page of the "Marmor Norfolciense," as also the relation of the manner of finding it, are, as will be readily supposed, equally fictitious, as the sole end of writing and publishing it was to give occasion for a comment, which should concentrate all the topics of popular discontent: accordingly it is insinuated, because an act of parliament had then lately passed, by which it was enacted that all law proceedings should be in English,[183] that therefore few lawyers understood Latin; and the people are taught to look on the descendants of the Princess Sophia[184] as intruders of yesterday, receiving an estate by voluntary grant, and erecting thereon a claim of hereditary right. The explanation of the prophecy, which is all ironical, resolves itself into an invective against a standing army, a ridicule of the balance of power, complaints of the inactivity of the British lion, and that the Hanover horse was suffered to suck his blood.

A publication so inflammatory as this, could hardly escape the notice of any government, under which the legal idea of a libel might be supposed to exist. The principles it contained were such as the Jacobites of the time openly avowed; and warrants were issued and messengers employed to apprehend the author, who, though he had forborne to subscribe his name to the pamphlet, the vigilance of those in pursuit of him had discovered. To elude the search after him, he, together with his wife, took an obscure lodging in a house in Lambeth-marsh, and lay there concealed till the scent after him was grown cold.[185]

In the same year, 1739, an event arose that gave occasion to Johnson again to exercise his talent of satire; viz. the refusal of a licence for acting a tragedy intitled, "Gustavus Vasa, or the deliverer of his country," written by Henry Brooke, to account for which seeming injury, some previous information, such as I am now about to give, appears necessary.

The places for theatrical representations in this country were anciently the king's palace, and the mansions of the nobility; but as the love of them increased, taverns and other public houses in different parts of the city and suburbs, were fitted up for the purpose, and called play-houses. The usurpation and the principles of the times put a stop to stage entertainments: at the restoration they were revived, and the places for representation constructed in the form of theatres: their number, at no time after that period, exceeded four and in the year 1728, and long before, it was reduced to three, namely, Drury-lane, Lincoln's-inn-fields, and the French playhouse in the Haymarket. In that year, a man, of the name of Odell, took a throwster's shop[186] in Ayliffe-street, Goodman's-fields,[187] and collecting together a number of strolling players of both sexes, opened it as a theatre. Its contiguity to the city, soon made it a place of great resort, and what was apprehended from the advertisement of plays to be exhibited in that quarter of the town, soon followed: the adjacent houses became taverns, in name, but in truth they were houses of lewd resort;* and the former occupiers of them, useful manufactur-

* I once, while I was chairman of the Middlesex sessions, tried an indictment for a riot committed in one of these coffee-houses, and in the course of the evidence discovered, that it was kept by a woman, who appeared before me as a witness in the assumed dress of a quaker, and was the reputed wife of a sea-faring man, who, being abroad, had left her to pursue this lawless occupation. I was greatly puzzled to reconcile in my mind, such a solecism[188] in manners as the profession of purity with the practice of lewdness, as also to account for her retaining the garb of a sect, who are known to discountenance vice and immorality, and even to expel from their society all persons of scandalous lives. I reproved her for her course of life, and exhorted her to quit it, but could not perceive that my words made any impression on her.

ers and industrious artificers, were driven to seek elsewhere for a residence. In the course of the entertainments of this place, the manager ventured to exhibit some few new plays; among the rest a tragedy, intitled, "King Charles the First,"[189] containing sentiments suited to the characters of republicans, sectaries and enthusiasts, and a scenical representation of the events of that prince's disastrous reign, better forgotten than remembered. Sober persons thought that the revival of the memory of past transactions of such a kind as these were, would serve no good purpose, but, on the contrary, perpetuate that enmity between the friends to and opponents of our ecclesiastical and civil establishment, which they had heretofore excited; and for suffering such representations as these, they execrated not so much the author as the manager. In this instance, the indignation of the public was ill-directed: the arguments arising from this supposed abuse of histrionical liberty were not local; they proved too much, and rather applied to stage entertainments in general than to the conduct of a particular manager.

But others looked on this new-erected theatre with an eye more penetrating: the merchants of London, then a grave sagacious body of men, found that it was a temptation to idleness and to pleasure that their clerks could not resist: they regretted to see the corruptions of Covent-garden extended, and the seats of industry hold forth allurements to vice and debauchery. The principal of these was Sir John Barnard, a wise and venerable man, and a good citizen: he, as a magistrate, had for some time been watching for such information as would bring the actors at Goodman's-fields playhouse within the reach of the vagrant laws; but none was laid before him that he could, with prudence, act upon. At length, however, an opportunity offered, which he not only embraced, but made an admirable use of: Mr. Henry Fielding, then a young barrister without practice, a dramatic poet, and a patriot, under the extreme pressure of necessity, had, in the year 1736, written a comedy, or a farce, we may call it either or both, intitled, "Pasquin,"[190] a dramatic satire on the times, and brought it on the stage of the little playhouse in the Hay-market, which, being calculated to encourage popular clamour, and containing in it many reflections on the public councils, furnished reasons for bringing a bill into the house of commons[191] for prohibiting the acting of any interlude, tragedy, comedy, opera, play, farce, &c. without the authority of his Majesty's letters-patent or a licence from the lord-chamberlain. In this bill a clause was inserted on the motion of Sir John Barnard, and a very judicious one it was, by which it was made penal, even with any such patent or licence, to act or represent any such interlude, &c. in any part of Great-Britain, except in the city of Westminster and such other places as his Majesty, in person, should reside in.

Before 1737, the year in which this bill was brought in, the property of Goodman's-fields playhouse had passed into the hands of Mr. Henry Giffard, who, encouraged by a subscription, pulled it down, and, under the direction of Shephard, the architect, the same that afterwards built Covent-garden theatre, had erected a new one. This man, while the bill was depending, petitioned against it, and, in his printed case, represented the injury he was likely to sustain: all the specious arguments of the great sums he had expended on the purchase of the house, and rebuilding it, in scenes, cloaths, &c. were urged with their utmost force, and his right to an equivalent stated; but all to no effect: the bill passed, and the statute is now part of the law of the land. It is true, an evasion of it was afterwards contrived by an advertisement of a concert, with a play given gratis, but that subterfuge was soon abandoned.

The operation of this statute was two-fold; it subjected theatrical representations to a licence, and suppressed a nuisance. And here let me observe, that although of plays it is said that they teach morality, and of the stage that it is the mirror of human life, these assertions are mere declamation, and have no foundation in truth or experience: on the contrary, a play-house, and the regions about it, are the very hot-beds of vice: how else comes it to pass that no sooner is a playhouse opened in any part of the kingdom, than it becomes surrounded by an halo of brothels? Of this truth, the neighbourhood of the place I am now speaking of has had experience; one parish alone, adjacent thereto, having to my knowledge, expended the sum of £1300 in prosecutions for the purpose of removing those inhabitants, whom, for instruction in the science of human life, the playhouse had drawn thither.

Mr. Brooke, the author above-mentioned, having with his eyes open, and the statute of the tenth of George the second staring him in the face, written a tragedy, in which, as will be presently shewn, under pretence of a laudable zeal for the cause of liberty, he inculcates principles, not only anti-monarchical, but scarcely consistent with any system of civil subordination; what wonder is it, that, under a monarchical government, a licence for such a theatrical representation should be refused? or that such a refusal should be followed by a prohibition of the acting it?

This interposition of legal authority was looked upon by the author's friends, in which number were included all the Jacobites in the kingdom, as an infraction of a natural right, and as affecting the cause of liberty. To express their resentment of this injury, they advised him to send it to the press, and by a subscription to the publication, of near a thousand persons, encouraged others to the like attempts. By means of the printed copy any one is enabled to judge of its general tendency, and, by reflecting on the senti-

ments inculcated in the following speeches therein to be found, to measure the injustice done him:

Is it of fate that he who assumes a crown
Throws off humanity?

Beyond the sweeping of the proudest train
That shades a monarch's heel, I prize these weeds.

——————— our Dalecarlians
Have oft been known to give a law to kings.

Divide and conquer is the sum of politics.

——————— if thou think'st
That empire is of titled birth or blood;
That nature, in the proud behalf of one,
Shall disenfranchise all her lordly race,
And bow her general issue to the yoke
Of private domination, &c.

——————— thou art the minister,
The reverend monitor of vice.

The fence of virtue is a chief's best caution;
And the firm surety of my people's hearts
Is all the guard that e'er shall wait Gustavus.[192]

The dedication to the play, addressed to the subscribers, gives the reader to understand, that the author had "studied the ancient laws of his country, though not conversant with her present political state," that he is "a friend to national liberty and personal freedom," (meaning by the first, "a state resulting from virtue or reason ruling in a breast superior to appetite and passion," and, by the last, "a security arising from the nature of a well-ordered constitution, for those advantages and privileges that each man has a right to by contributing as a member to the weal of that community";) these declarations are interspersed with reflections on the lord-chamberlain, and a complaint that his treatment of the author "was singular and unprecedented"; after which follows an effusion of patriotic sentiments serving to shew, that a monarch or head of such a constitution as he above has described, is "sceptered in the hearts of his people."[193]

Upon occasion of this publication, Johnson was employed by one Corbet,[194] a bookseller of small note, to take up the cause of this injured author,

and he did it in a pamphlet, intitled, "A Compleat Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage from the malicious and scandalous aspersions of Mr. Brooke, author of Gustavus Vasa." 4to. 1739.

Criticism would be ill employed in a minute examination of the "Marmor Norfolciense," and the "Vindication of the Licensers": in general it may suffice to say that they are both ironical, that they display neither learning nor wit, and that in neither of them is there to be discovered a single ray of that brightness which beams so strongly in the author's moral and political essays. Did it become a man of his discernment, endowed with such powers of reasoning and eloquence as he possessed, to adopt vulgar prejudices, or, in the cant of the opposition, to clamor against place-men, and pensioners and standing armies? to ridicule the apprehension of that invasion in favour of the pretender, which himself, but a few years after became a witness to, or to compare the improbability of such an event with that of a general insurrection of all who were prohibited the use of gin?

Of all the modes of satire, I know none so feeble as that of uninterrupted irony. The reason of this seems to be, that in that kind of writing the author is compelled to advance positions which no reader can think he believes, and to put questions that can be answered in but one way, and that such an one as thwarts the sense of the propounder. Of this kind of interrogatories the pamphlet I am speaking of seems to be an example; "Is the man without pension or place to suspect the impartiality or the judgment of those who are entrusted with the administration of public affairs? Is he, when the law is not strictly observed in regard to him, to think himself aggrieved, to tell his sentiments in print, to assert his claim to better usage, and fly for redress to another tribunal?"[195]

Who does not see that to these several queries the answer must be in the affirmative? and, if so, the point of the writer's wit is, in this instance, blunted, and his argument baffled.

In the course of this mock vindication of power, Johnson has taken a wide scope, and adopted all the vulgar topics of complaint as they were vented weekly in the public papers, and in the writings of Bolingbroke, flimsy and malignant as they are. And here let me note a curious sophism of that superficial thinker, which I remember to have seen in his celebrated "Dissertation on Parties"; but which, not having the book by me, I cite by memory: it is to this purpose: "The advocates of the minister," says his Lordship, "defy us to shew, that, under his administration, any infraction had been made of the original contract."[196] To this we answer, that between such an infraction and the loss of our liberties, there can no point of time intervene; such a cause and

such an effect being so closely connected, that we cannot see the one till we feel the other.

Such was the conduct of opposition[197] at this time, and by such futile arguments as the above were the silly people of three kingdoms deluded into a belief, that their liberties were in danger, and that nothing could save this country from impending ruin, and that the most formidable of all the evils they had to dread, was the continuance of the then administration, of which they had nothing worse to say than that they hated it.

The truth is, that Johnson's political prejudices were a mist that the eye of his judgment could not penetrate: in all the measures of government he could see nothing right; nor could he be convinced, in his invectives against a standing army, as the Jacobites affected to call it, that the peasantry of a country was not an adequate defence against an invasion of it by an armed force. He almost asserted in terms, that the succession to the crown had been illegally interrupted, and that from whig-politics none of the benefits of government could be expected. He could but just endure the opposition to the minister because conducted on whig principles; and I have heard him say, that during the whole course of it, the two parties were bidding for the people. At other times, and in the heat of his resentment, I have heard him assert, that, since the death of Queen Anne, it had been the policy of the administration to promote to ecclesiastical dignities none but the most worthless and undeserving men: nor would he then exclude from this bigotted censure those illustrious divines, Wake, Gibson, Sherlock, Butler, Herring, Pearce, and least of all Hoadly; in competition with whom he would set Hickes, Brett, Leslie, and others of the nonjurors, whose names are scarcely now remembered.[198] From hence it appears, and to his honour be it said, that his principles cooperated with his necessities, and that the prostitution of his talents, taking the term in one and that its worst sense, could not, in justice, be imputed to him.

But there is another, and a less criminal sense of the word prostitution, in which, in common with all who are called authors by profession, he may be said to stand in need of an excuse. When Milton wrote the "Paradise Lost," the sum he received for the copy was not his motive, but was an adventitious benefit that resulted from the exercise of his poetical faculty. In Johnson's case, as well in the instances above given as almost all the others that occurred during the course of his life, the impulse of genius was wanting: had that alone operated in his choice of subjects to write on, mankind would have been indebted to him for a variety of original, interesting and useful compositions; and translations of some, and new editions of others of the ancient authors. The truth of which assertion I think I may safely ground on

a catalogue of publications[199] projected by him at different periods, and now lying before me, a copy whereof is given below.*

Under this notion of works written with a view to gain, and those that owe their existence to a more liberal motive, a distinction of literary productions arises which Johnson would never allow; on the contrary, to the astonishment of myself who have heard him, and many others, he has frequently declared, that the only true and genuine motive to the writing of books was the assurance of pecuniary profit. Notwithstanding the boldness of this assertion, there are but few that can be persuaded to yield to it; and, after all, the best apology for Johnson will be found to consist in his want of a profession, the pressure of his necessities, and the example of such men as Castalio, Gesner, and Salmasius, among foreigners; and Fuller, Howel, L'Estrange, Dryden, Chambers, and Hume, not to mention others now living, among ourselves.

* "Divinity.

"A small book of precepts and directions for piety: the hint taken from the directions in the [countess of] 'Morton's' [daily] exercise.

"Philosophy, History, and Literature in general.

"History of Criticism as it relates to judging of authors, from Aristotle to the present age. An account of the rise and improvements of that art; of the different opinions of authors ancient and modern.

"Translation of the History of Herodian.

"New edition of Fairfax's Translation of Tasso, with notes, glossary, &c.

"Chaucer, a new edition of him, from manuscripts and old editions, with various readings, conjectures, remarks on his language, and the changes it had undergone from the earliest times to his age, and from his to the present. With notes explanatory of customs, &c. and references to Boccace and other authors from whom he has borrowed, with an account of the liberties he has taken in telling the stories, his life, and an exact etymological glossary.

"Aristotle's Rhetoric, a translation of it into English.

"A Collection of Letters, translated from the modern writers, with some account of the several authors.

"Oldham's Poems, with notes historical and critical.

"Roscommon's Poems, with notes.

"Lives of the Philosophers, written with a polite air, in such a manner as may divert as well as instruct.

"History of the Heathen Mythology, with an explication of the fables, both allegorical and historical, with references to the poets.

"History of the State of Venice, in a compendious manner.

"Aristotle's Ethicks, an English translation of them with notes.

"Geographical Dictionary from the French.

"Hierocles upon Pythagoras, translated into English, perhaps with notes. This is done by Norris.

The principle here noted was not only in the above instance avowed by Johnson, but seems to have been wrought by him into a habit. He was never greedy of money, but without money could not be stimulated to write. I have been told by a clergyman of some eminence with whom he had been long acquainted, that, being to preach on a particular occasion, he applied, as others under a like necessity had frequently done, to Johnson for help. "I will write a sermon for thee," said Johnson, "but thou must pay me for it."[200]

Yet was he not so indifferent to the subjects that he was requested to write on, as at any time to abandon either his religious or political principles. He would no more have put his name to an Arian or Socinian[201] tract than to a defence of Atheism. At the time when "Faction Detected"[202] came out, a pamphlet of which the late lord Egmont is now generally understood to have been the author, Osborne the bookseller, held out to him a strong tempta-

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"A book of Letters upon all kinds of subjects.

"Claudian, a new edition of his works, cum notis variorum in the manner of Burman.

"Tully's Tusculan Questions, a translation of them.

"Tully de Natura Deorum, a translation of those books.

"Benzo's New History of the New World, to be translated.

"Machiavel's History of Florence, to be translated.

"History of the Revival of Learning in Europe, containing an account of whatever contributed to the restoration of literature, such as controversies, printing, the destruction of the Greek empire, the encouragement of great men, with the lives of the most eminent patrons, and most eminent early professors of all kinds of learning in different countries.

"A Body of Chronology, in verse, with historical notes.

"A table of the Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians, distinguished by figures into six degrees of value, with notes giving the reasons of preference or degradation.

"A Collection of Letters from English authors, with a preface giving some account of the writers, with reasons for selection and criticism upon stiles, remarks on each letter, if needful.

"A Collection of Proverbs from various languages:—Jan. 6—53.

"A Dictionary to the Common Prayer in imitation of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible. March—52.

"A Collection of Stories and Examples like those of Valerius Maximus. Jan. 10—53.

"From Aelian, a volume of select stories, perhaps from others. Jan. 28—53.

"Collection of Travels, Voyages, Adventures, and Descriptions of Countries.

"Dictionary of Ancient History and Mythology.

"Treatise on the Study of Polite Literature, containing the history of learning, directions for editions, commentaries, &c.

"Maxims, Characters and Sentiments, after the manner of Bruyére, collected out of ancient authors, particularly the Greek, with Apophthegms.

"Classical Miscellanies, Select Translations from ancient Greek and Latin authors.

tion to answer it, which he refused, being convinced, as he assured me, that the charge contained in it was made good, and that the argument grounded thereon was unanswerable.

Indeed whoever peruses that masterly performance must be convinced that a spirit similar to that which induced the Israelites, when under the conduct of their wise legislator, to cry out "Ye take too much upon ye,"[203] is the most frequent motive to opposition, and that whoever hopes to govern a free people by reason, is mistaken in his judgment of human nature. "He," says Hooker, "that goeth about to persuade a people that they are not well governed, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers": and the same author speaking of legislation in general, delivers this as his sentiment: "Laws politic ordained for external order and regimen amongst men are never framed as they should be, unless presuming the will of man to be obstinate, rebellious and averse from all obedience unto the sacred laws of his nature: In a word, unless presuming man, in regard of his depraved mind, little better than a wild beast, they do accordingly provide, notwithstanding, so to frame his outward actions as that they be no hindrance unto the common good, for which societies were instituted. Unless they do this they are not perfect." "Eccles. Pol." Lib. I. Sect. 1. Ibid. Sect. 10.

That these were the sentiments of Johnson also, I am warranted to say, by frequent declarations to the same purpose, which I have heard him make;

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"Lives of illustrious persons, as well of the active as the learned, in imitation of Plutarch.

"Judgment of the learned upon English authors.

"Poetical Dictionary of the English tongue.

"Considerations upon the present state of London.

"Collection of Epigrams, with notes and observations.

"Observations on the English language, relating to words, phrases, and modes of Speech.

"Minutiae Literariae, Miscellaneous reflections, criticisms, emendations, notes.

"History of the Constitution.

"Comparison of Philosophical and Christian Morality by sentences collected from the moralists and fathers.

"Plutarch's Lives in English, with notes.

"POETRY and works of IMAGINATION.

"Hymn to Ignorance.

"The Palace of Sloth—a vision.

"Coluthus, to be translated.

"Prejudice—a poetical essay.

"The Palace of Nonsense—a vision."

and to these I attribute it, that he ever after acquiesced in the measures of government through the succession of administrations.

It has already been mentioned in the account above given of Savage, that the friends of that ill-starred man had set on foot a subscription for his support, and that Swansea was the place they had fixed on for his residence: the same was completed at the end of the year 1739. Johnson at that time lodged at Greenwich, and there parted with that friend and companion of his midnight rambles, whom it was never his fortune again to see. The event is antedated in the poem of "London"; but in every particular, except the difference of a year, what is there said of the departure of Thales[204] must be understood of Savage, and looked upon as true history. In his life of Savage, Johnson has mentioned the circumstances that attended it, and deplored this separation as he would have done a greater misfortune than it proved: that it was, in reality, none, may be inferred from Savage's inability, arising from his circumstances, his course of life, and the laxity of his mind, to do good to any one: it is rather to be suspected that his example was contagious, and tended to confirm Johnson in his indolence[205] and those other evil habits which it was the labour of his life to conquer. They who were witnesses of Johnson's persevering temperance in the article of drinking, for, at least, the latter half of his life, will scarcely believe that, during part of the former, he was a lover of wine, that he not only indulged himself in the use of it when he could procure it, but, with a reflex[206] delight, contemplated the act of drinking it, with all the circumstances that render it grateful to the palate or pleasing to the eye: in the language of Solomon "he looked upon the wine when it was red, when it gave his colour in the cup, and when it moved itself aright."*[207] In contradiction to those, who, having a wife and children, prefer domestic enjoyments to those which a tavern affords, I have heard him assert, that a tavern-chair was the throne of human felicity.—"As soon," said he, "as I enter the door of a tavern, I experience an oblivion of care, and a freedom from solicitude:† when I am seated, I find the master courteous, and the servants

* Proverbs, chap. xxiii. ver. 31.

† It is worthy of remark by those who are curious in observing customs and modes of living, how little these houses of entertainment are now frequented, and what a diminution in their number has been experienced in London and Westminster in a period of about forty years backward. The history of taverns in this country may be traced back to the time of Henry IV. for so ancient is that of the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, the rendezvous of Prince Henry and his lewd companions, as we learn from Shakespeare. Of little less antiquity is the White Hart without Bishop's-gate, which now bears in the front of it the date of its erection, 1480.

Anciently there stood in Old Palace-yard, Westminster, a tavern known by the sign

obsequious to my call; anxious to know and ready to supply my wants: wine there exhilarates my spirits, and prompts me to free conversation and an interchange of discourse with those whom I most love: I dogmatise and am contradicted, and in this conflict of opinions and sentiments I find delight."

How far his conversations with Savage might induce him thus to delight in tavern-society, which is often a temptation to greater enormities than excessive drinking, cannot now be known, nor would it answer any good purpose to enquire. It may, nevertheless, be conjectured, that whatever habits he had contracted of idleness, neglect of his person, or indifference in the choice of his company, received no correction or check from such an example as Savage's conduct held forth; and farther it is conjectured, that he would have been less troubled with those reflections, which, in his latest hours, are known to have given him uneasiness, had he never become acquainted with one so loose in his morals, and so well acquainted with the vices of the town as this man appears to have been. We are to remember that Johnson was, at this time, a husband: can it therefore be supposed that the society of such a man as Savage had any tendency to improve him in the exercise of the domestic virtues? nay rather we must doubt it, and ascribe to an indifference in the discharge of them, arising from their nocturnal excursions, the incident of a temporary separation of Johnson from his wife,[208] which soon took place, and that, while he was in a lodging in Fleet-street, she was harboured by a friend near the Tower. It is true that this separation continued but a short time, and that if indeed his affection, at that instant, was alienated from her, it soon returned; for his attachment to her appears, by a variety of notes and memorandums concerning her in books[209] that she was accustomed to read in, now in my custody, to have been equal to what it ought to be: nay Garrick

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of the White Rose, the symbol of the York faction. It was near the chapel of our Lady behind the high altar of the abbey-church. Together with that chapel it was, in 1503, pulled down, and on the scite of both was erected the chapel of Henry the Seventh. At the restoration, the Cavaliers and other adherents to the royal party, for joy of that event were for a time incessantly drunk; and from a picture of their manners in Cowley's comedy, "Cutter of Coleman-street,"[210] must be supposed to have greatly contributed to the increase of taverns. When the frenzy of the times was abated, taverns, especially those about the Exchange, became places for the transaction of almost all manner of business: there accounts were settled, conveyances executed, and there attornies sat, as at inns in the country on market days, to receive their clients. In that space near the Royal Exchange which is encompassed by Lombard, Gracechurch, part of Bishop's-gate and Threadneedle streets, the number of taverns was not so few as twenty, and on the scite of the Bank there stood four. At the Crown, which was one of them, it was not unusual in a morning to draw a butt of mountain,[211] a hundred and twenty gallons, in gills.

would often risque offending them both, by mimicking his mode of gallantry and his uxorious behaviour towards her.

The little profit, or indeed reputation, that accrued to Johnson by the writing of political pamphlets, led him to think of other exercises for his pen. He had, so early as 1734, solicited employment of Cave;[212] but Cave's correspondents were so numerous that he had little for him till the beginning of the year 1738, when Johnson conceived a thought of enriching the Magazine with a biographical article, and wrote for it the "Life of Father Paul,"[213] an abridgment, as it seems to be, of that life of him which Johnson intended to have prefixed to his translation of the "History of the Council of Trent." The motive to this and other exertions of the same talent in the lives of Boerhaave, Blake, Barretier,[214] and other eminent persons, was his wants, which at one time were so pressing as to induce him in a letter to Cave, hereinbefore inserted, to intimate to him that he wanted a dinner.[215]

Johnson who was never deficient in gratitude, for the assistance which he received from Cave became his friend; and, what was more in Cave's estimation than any personal attachment whatever, a friend to his Magazine, for he being at this time engaged in a controversy with a knot of booksellers the proprietors of a rival publication, the *London Magazine*, Johnson wrote and addressed to him the following Ode:

AD URBANUM.[216]

Urbane, nullis fesse laboribus,
Urbane, nullis victe calumniis,
  Cui fronte sertum in erudita
    Perpetuo viret et virebit.

Quid moliatur gens imitantium,
Quid et minetur, sollicitus parum,
  Vacare solis perge musis
    Juxta animo studiisque felix.

Linguae procacis plumbea spicula,
Fidens, superbo frange silentio;
  Victrix per obistantes catervas
    Sedulitas animosa tendet.

Intende nervos fortis inanibus
Risurus olim nisibus Aemuli;
  Intende jam nervos, habebis
    Participes operae Camoenas.

Non ulla Musis pagina gratior
Quam quae severis ludicra jungere
Novit fatigatamque nugis
Utilibus recreare mentem.

Texente nymphis serta Lycoride
Rosae ruborem sic viola adjuvat
Immista, sic Iris refulget
Aethereis variata fucis.

It was published in the Magazine for March 1738, and imitated in the following stanzas in that for the month of May following:

Hail Urban! indefatigable man,
Unwearied yet by all thy useful toil!
Whom num'rous slanderers assault in vain;
Whom no base calumny can put to foil.
But still the laurel on thy learned brow
Flourishes fair, and shall for ever grow.

What mean the servile imitating crew,
What their vain blust'ring, and their empty noise,
Ne'er seek: but still thy noble ends pursue,
Unconquer'd by the rabble's venal voice.
Still to the Muse thy studious mind apply,
Happy in temper as in industry.

The senseless sneerings of an haughty tongue,
Unworthy thy attention to engage,
Unheeded pass: and tho' they mean thee wrong,
By manly silence disappoint their rage.
Assiduous diligence confounds its foes,
Resistless, tho' malicious crouds oppose.

Exert thy powers, nor slacken in the course,
Thy spotless fame shall quash all false reports:
Exert thy powers, nor fear a rival's force,
But thou shalt smile at all his vain efforts;
Thy labours shall be crown'd with large success;
The muse's aid thy Magazine shall bless.

No page more grateful to th' harmonious Nine
Than that wherein thy labours we survey:

Where solemn themes in fuller splendor shine,
(Delightful mixture!) blended with the gay.
Where in improving various joys we find,
A welcome respite to the wearied mind.

Thus when the nymphs in some fair verdant mead,
Of various flow'rs a beauteous wreath compose,
The lovely violet's azure-painted head
Adds lustre to the crimson-blushing rose.
Thus splendid Iris, with her varied dye,
Shines in the aether, and adorns the sky.

May 22, 1738. BRITON.

The provocation that gave rise to this furious contest, as it will presently appear to have been, was the increasing demand for Cave's publication, and the check it gave to the sale of its rival, which at one time was so great as to throw back no fewer than seventy thousand copies on the hands of the proprietors.[217] To revenge this injury, the confederate booksellers gave out, that Sylvanus Urban, whom, for no conceivable reason, they dignified with the appellation of Doctor, was become mad, assigning as the cause of his insanity, his publication in the Magazine of sundry mathematical problems, essays and questions on abstruse subjects, sent him by many of his learned correspondents. Cave who for some months had been rebutting the calumnies of his adversaries, and that with such success as provoked them to the outrage above-mentioned, now felt that he had them at mercy. With that sagacity which we frequently observe, but wonder at in men of slow parts, he seemed to anticipate the advice contained in the second and third stanzas of Johnson's ode, and forbore a reply, though not his revenge, which he gratified in such a manner as seems to absolve him from the guilt imputable in most cases to that passion; this he did by inserting as an article of public intelligence in his Historical Chronicle[218] for the month of February 1738, the following paragraph: "Monday 20. About 8 o'clock the famous Dr. Urban, having some time past been possessed with a violent frenzy, broke loose from his nurse, and run all through the streets of London and Westminster distributing quack bills, swearing he would go visit his beautiful *Garden of Eden*; raving against *Common Sense*,* and the London Magazine, and singing a mad song set to music by Peter the Wild Youth; but being at last secured, was conveyed to his lodgings in Moorfields, where he continues uttering horrid

* A party paper so intitled.

Frontispiece to the 1747 volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.
(Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, 2003J-SJ950)

imprecations against several booksellers and printers. 'Tis thought this *poor* man's misfortune is owing to his having lately perplexed himself with *biblical questions, mathematical problems, astronomical equations, and* methods to find the longitude."—"*This silly paragraph, and such like buffoonry, inserted in the news-papers at the charge of the proprietors of the* London Magazine*, is all the answer given to the remarks on their inimitable preface, some passages of which are quoted in the beginning of this magazine.*"*

The publication in the manner above-mentioned of this senseless and malignant fiction, and the care and attention of Cave in the compilation of his Magazine, together with the assistance he received from a variety of ingenious and learned correspondents, enabled him in a short time to triumph over his rivals, and increased the sale thereof to a number that no other could ever equal.

It was no part of Cave's original design to give the debates in either house of parliament,[219] but the opposition to the minister, and the spirit that conducted it, had excited in the people a great eagerness to know what was going forward in both, and he knew that to gratify that desire was to encrease the demand for his pamphlet. Indeed the experiment had already been made, for the speeches in parliament had for some time been given in the "Political State of Great Britain," a publication above spoken of, and though drawn up by persons no way equal to such an undertaking, were well received. These for the most part were taken by stealth, and were compiled from the information of listeners and the under-officers and door-keepers of either house; but Cave had an interest with some of the members of both, arising from an employment he held in the post-office, that of inspector of the franks, which not only gave him the privilege of sending his letters free of postage, but an acquaintance with, and occasions of access to many of them.

Of this advantage he was too good a judge of his own interest not to avail himself. He therefore determined to gratify his readers with as much of this

* In the course of many years observation I am able to recollect one, and only one, instance of this method of treating a scurrilous adversary. An ingenious mechanic,[220] of the name of Newsham, who with the assistance of the late Dr. Desaguliers, had made many considerable improvements in the construction of engines for extinguishing fires, had obtained a patent for one in particular which conjoined in one and the same machine the active powers of both the hands and feet: an ignorant and impudent pretender invaded his right, and the more to exasperate him, wrote with his own hand and subscribed a letter to Mr. Newsham, made up of the foulest abuse and a discussion of the principles of mechanics in language, which for its nonsense and bad spelling, conveyed no ideas. Mr. Newsham printed and dispersed some thousand copies verbatim et literatim of this letter, and without a single remark thereon sunk the reputation of his adversary so low as ever after to be irretrievable.

kind of intelligence as he could procure and it was safe to communicate: his resolution was to frequent the two houses whenever an important debate was likely to come on, and from such expressions and particulars in the course thereof as could be collected and retained in memory, to give the arguments on either side. This resolution he put into practice in July 1736. His method of proceeding is variously reported; but I have been informed by some who were much about him, that taking with him a friend or two, he found means to procure for them and himself admission into the gallery of the house of commons, or to some concealed station in the other, and that then they privately took down notes of the several speeches, and the general tendency and substance of the arguments. Thus furnished, Cave and his associates would adjourn to a neighbouring tavern, and compare and adjust their notes, by means whereof and the help of their memories, they became enabled to fix at least the substance of what they had so lately heard and remarked.

The reducing this crude matter into form, was the work of a future day, and of an abler hand, viz. Guthrie, the historian, a writer for the booksellers, whom Cave retained for the purpose: the speeches thus composed were given monthly to the public, and perused and read with great eagerness; those who contemplated them thought they discovered in them not merely the political principles, but the stile and manner of the speaker; the fact is, that there was little discrimination of the latter between the speeches of the best and the worst orators in either assembly, and in most instances the persons to whom they were ascribed were here made to speak with more eloquence and even propriety of diction, than, in the place of debate they were able to do: Sir John Barnard, for instance, a man of no learning or reading, and who by the way had been bred a quaker, had a stile little better than an ordinary mechanic, and which abounded with such phrases as, if so be—set case—and—nobody more so—and other such vulgarisms, yet was he made in the Magazine to debate in language as correct and polished as that of Sir William Wyndham or Mr. Pulteney; though it must be confessed that so weighty was his matter on subjects of commerce, that Sir Robert Walpole, as I have been credibly informed, was used to say, that when he had answered Sir John Barnard, he looked upon that day's business in the house of commons to be as good as over.

The vigorous opposition to the minister, and the motion in both houses of the thirteenth of February, 1740–1, to remove him,[221] were a new aera in politics; and, as the debates on that occasion were warmer than had ever then been known, the drawing them up required, in Cave's opinion, the pen of a more nervous writer than he who had hitherto conducted them. Johnson, who, in his former publications in prose, had given no very favourable specimens of stile, had by this time, by the study of the best of our old English

writers, such as Sir Thomas More, Ascham, Hooker, Spenser, archbishop Sandys, Jewel, Chillingworth, Hales of Eton, and others, formed a new one, consisting in original phrases and new combinations of the integral parts of sentences, which, with the infusion of words derived from the Latin and accommodated to our idiom, were such an improvement of the language as greatly tended to enrich it: Cave therefore thought him a fit person to conduct this part of his monthly publication, and, dismissing Guthrie, committed the care of it to Johnson.

Before this change of hands, Cave had been checked by some intimations from the clerks of the house of commons, that his printing the debates had given offence to the speaker, and might subject him to censure; this he, for some time, regarded but little, relying possibly upon the indulgence that had been shewn as well to the publishers of the "Political State of Great Britain," who were the first that ventured on this practice, as to himself; but a resolution of the house at length gave him to understand, that it would be prudence in him to desist from it. The thought of putting his readers on short allowance was very unpleasing to him, and this, with the apprehension that the sale of his Magazine might be affected by the omission of a kind of intelligence which they had been accustomed to, drove him to many contrivances to evade the prohibition, out of which he chose one that scarce any man but himself would have thought of: it was the giving to the public the debates in the British senate under a fictitious designation. Every one, he knew, was acquainted with "Gulliver's Travels"; he therefore, in his Magazine for June 1738, begins the month by feigning, that the debates in the senate of Magna Lilliputia were then extant; and referring to the resolution of the house of commons, above-mentioned, whereby he was forbidden to insert any account of the proceedings of the British parliament, he pretends to doubt not but his readers will be pleased with the insertion of what he calls the appendix to captain Gulliver's account of Lilliput, in their room. A change of fictitious for real names of persons, countries, and provinces, was absolutely necessary for the carrying on this design, and accordingly, by transposing the letters, and otherwise anagrammatizing proper names, he has, through the medium of nonsense, given light to that which he would be thought to conceal.

Farther to aid his reader as to the names of countries, &c. he published, at the end of his Magazine for 1738, a fictitious proposal for printing, by subscription, a work, intitled, "Anagrammata Rediviva," or the art of composing and resolving anagrams, with a reference to the booksellers, agents, and masters of ships, in the cities, countries, and provinces therein described by barbarous names opposed to those which they are meant to signify: he also, at the end of the Magazines for 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, and 1743, gave a list of

christian and surnames pretendedly synonimous, forming thereby a key to that otherwise unintelligible jargon which Cave, by this subterfuge, had introduced into the debates.

The proprietors of the "London Magazine," who also gave the debates, but from documents less authentic than those of Cave, compelled by the same necessity that forced him to this artifice, took another course: they feigned to give the debates in the Roman senate, and by adapting Roman names to the several speeches, rendered them more plausible than they appear under Cave's management.

The artifice however succeeded in both instances: the resolution of the commons was never enforced, and the debates were published with impunity. I will not disgrace my page by the insertion of any of those barbarous appellations which Cave had invented, and which, I dare say, were music to his ear; but content myself with saying, that Guthrie acquiesced in Cave's fiction and the nonsense which it involved, and as it was found to answer its end, Johnson scrupled not to adopt it.

The debates penned by Johnson were not only more methodical and better connected than those of Guthrie, but in all the ornaments of stile superior: they were written at those seasons when he was able to raise his imagination to such a pitch of fervour as bordered upon enthusiasm,[222] which, that he might the better do, his practice was to shut himself up in a room assigned him at St. John's gate, to which he would not suffer any one to approach, except the compositor or Cave's boy for matter, which, as fast as he composed it, he tumbled out at the door.

Never were the force of reasoning or the powers of popular eloquence more evidently displayed, or the arts of sophistry more clearly detected than in these animated compositions. Nor are they more worthy of admiration for these their excellencies than for that peculiarity of language which discriminates the debates of each assembly from the other, and the various colouring which he has found the art of giving to particular speeches. The characteristic of the one assembly we know is Dignity; the privilege of the other Freedom of Expression. To speak of the first, when a member thereof endowed with wisdom, gravity, and experience, is made to rise, the stile which Johnson gives him is nervous, his matter weighty, and his arguments convincing; and when a mere popular orator takes up a debate, his eloquence is by him represented in a glare of false rhetoric, specious reasoning, an affectation of wit, and a disposition to trifle with subjects the most interesting. With great judgment also does Johnson adopt the unrestrained oratory of the other house, and with equal facility imitate the deep-mouthed rancour[223] of Pulteney, and the yelping pertinacity of Pitt.

As an illustration of the former part of this position, I shall here give two speeches,[224] the one of the lord-chancellor Hardwicke on the motion of lord Carteret for an address to his Majesty, beseeching him to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever; and the other of lord Chesterfield on a bill, intitled, "An act for repealing certain duties on spirituous liquors, and on licences for retailing the same, and for laying other duties on spirituous liquors and on licences for retailing the said liquors." That of lord Hardwicke is as follows:

"My Lords,

"Though I very readily admit that crimes ought to be punished, that a treacherous administration of public affairs is in a very high degree criminal, that even ignorance, where it is the consequence of neglect, deserves the severest animadversion, and that it is the privilege and duty of this house to watch over the state of the nation, and inform his Majesty of any errors committed by his ministers; yet I am far from being convinced either of the justice or necessity of the motion now under consideration.

"The most flagrant and invidious part of the charge against the right honourable gentleman appears to consist in this, that he has engrossed an exorbitant degree of power, and usurped an unlimited influence over the whole system of government, that he disposes of all honours and preferments, and that he is not only first but sole minister.[225]

"But of this boundless usurpation, my lords, what proof has been laid before you? what beyond loud exaggerations, pompous rhetoric, and specious appeals to common fame?[226] common fame which at least may sometimes err, and which though it may afford sufficient ground for suspicion and enquiry, was never yet admitted as conclusive evidence, where the immediate necessities of the public did not preclude the common forms of examination, where the power of the offender did not make it dangerous to attack him by a legal prosecution, or where the conduct of the accuser did not plainly discover that they were more eager of blood than of justice, and more solicitous to destroy than to convict.

"I hope none of these circumstances, my lords, can at present obstruct a candid and deliberate enquiry; with regard to the public, I am not able to discover any pressing exigences that demand a more compendious method of proceeding than the established laws of the land and the wisdom of our ancestors have prescribed. I know not any calamity that will be aggravated, nor any danger that will become more formidable by suffering this question to be legally tried.

"Nor is there, my lords, in the circumstances of the person accused, any thing that can incite us to a hasty process, for if what is alledged by the noble

lords is not exaggerated beyond the truth, if he is universally detested by the whole nation, and loaded with execrations by the public voice, if he is considered as the author of all our miseries, and the source of all our corruptions, if he has ruined our trade and depressed our power, impoverished the people and attempted to enslave them, there is at least no danger of an insurrection in his favour, or any probability that his party will grow stronger by delays. For, my lords, to find friends in adversity and assertors in distress, is only the prerogative of innocence and virtue.

"The gentleman against whom this formidable charge is drawn up, is, I think, not suspected of any intention to have recourse either to force or flight: he has always appeared willing to be tried by the laws of his country, and to stand an impartial examination; he neither opposes nor eludes enquiry, neither flies from justice nor defies it.

"And yet less, my lords, can I suspect, that those by whom he is accused act from any motive that may influence them to desire a sentence not supported by evidence or conformable to truth, or that they can wish the ruin of any man whose crimes are not notorious and flagrant, that they persecute from private malice, or endeavour to exalt themselves by the fall of another.

"Let us therefore, my lords, enquire before we determine, and suffer evidence to precede our sentence. The charge, if it is just, must be by its own nature easily proved, and that no proof is brought may perhaps be sufficient to make us suspect that it is not just.

"For, my lords, what is the evidence of common fame, which has been so much exalted and so confidently produced? Does not every man see that on such occasions two questions may be asked, of which perhaps neither can easily be answered, and which yet must both be resolved before common fame can be admitted as a proof of facts?

"It is first to be enquired, my lords, whether the reports of fame are necessarily or even probably true. A question very intricate and diffusive, entangled with a thousand and involving a thousand distinctions:—a question, of which it may be said, that a man may very plausibly maintain either side, and of which, perhaps, after months or years wasted in disputation, no other decision can be obtained than what is obvious at the first view, that they are often true and often false, and therefore can only be grounds of enquiry, not reasons of determination.

"But if it appear, my lords, that this oracle cannot be deceived, we are then to enquire after another difficulty, we are to enquire, What is fame?

"Is fame, my lords, that fame which cannot err, a report that flies on a sudden through a nation, of which no man can discover the original? a sudden

blast of rumour that inflames or intimidates a people, and obtains, without authority, a general credit? No man versed in history can enquire whether such reports may not deceive. Is fame rather a settled opinion prevailing by degrees, and for some time established? How long then, my lords, and in what degree must it have been established to obtain undoubted credit? and when does it commence infallible? If the people are divided in their opinions, as in all public questions it has hitherto happened, fame is, I suppose, the voice of the majority. For if the two parties are equal in their numbers, fame will be equal, then how great must be the majority before it can lay claim to this powerful auxiliary? and how shall that majority be numbered?

"These questions, my lords, may be thought, perhaps with justice, too ludicrous in this place; but in my opinion they contribute to shew the precarious and uncertain nature of the evidence so much confided in.

"Common fame, my lords, is to every man only what he himself commonly hears, and it is in the power of any man's acquaintance to vitiate the evidence which they report, and to stun him with clamours, and terrify him with apprehensions of miseries never felt, and dangers invisible.

"But without such a combination, we are to remember that most men associate with those of their own opinions, and that the rank of those that compose this assembly naturally disposes such as are admitted to their company, to relate or to invent such reports as may be favourably received, so that what appears to one lord the general voice of common fame, may by another be thought only the murmur of a petty faction, despicable with regard to their numbers, and detestable if we consider their principles.

"So difficult is it, my lords, to form any solid judgment concerning the extent and prevalence of any particular report, and the degree of credit to be given to it. The industry of a party may supply the defect of numbers, and some concurrent circumstances may contribute to give credit to a false report.

"But, my lords, we are ourselves appealed to as witnesses of the truth of facts which prove him to be sole minister, of the number of his dependants, the advancement of his friends, the disappointments of his opponents, and the declarations made by his followers of adherence and fidelity.

"If it should be granted, my lords, that there is nothing in these representations exaggerated beyond the truth, and that nothing is represented in an improper light, what consequence can we draw but that the followers of this gentleman make use of those arts which have always been practised by the candidates of preferment; that they endeavour to gain their patron's smile by flattery and panegyric, and to keep it by assiduity and an appearance of gratitude? And if such applications exalted any man to the authority and title

of first minister, the nation has never, in my memory, been without some man in that station, for there is always some one to whom ambition and avarice have paid their court, and whose regards have been purchased at the expence of truth.

"Nor is it to be wondered at, my lords, that posts of honour and profit have been bestowed upon the friends of the administration, for who enriches or exalts his enemies? Who will encrease the influence that is to be exerted against him, or add strength to the blow that is levelled at himself?

"That the right honourable gentleman is the only disposer of honours has never yet appeared; it is not pretended, my lords, that he distributes them without the consent of his Majesty, nor even that his recommendation is absolutely necessary to the success of any man's applications. If he has gained more of his Majesty's confidence and esteem than any other of his servants, he has done only what every man endeavours, and what therefore is not to be imputed to him as a crime.

"It is impossible, my lords, that Kings like other men should not have particular motions of inclination or dislike; it is possible that they may fix their affection upon objects not in the highest degree worthy of their regard, and overlook others that may boast of greater excellencies and more shining merit, but this is not to be supposed without proof, and the regard of the King as of any other man, is one argument of desert more than he can produce who has endeavoured after it without effect.

"This imputed usurpation must be proved upon him either by his own confession or by the evidence of others, and it has not yet been pretended that he assumes the title of Prime Minister, or indeed that it is applied to him by any but his enemies, and it may easily be conceived how weakly the most uncorrupted innocence would be supported if all the aspersions of its enemies were to be received as proofs against it.

"Nor does it appear, my lords, that any other evidence can be brought against him on this head, or that any man will stand forth and affirm, that either he has been injured himself by this gentleman, or known any injury done by him to another, by the exertion of authority with which he was not lawfully invested; such evidence, my lords, the laws of our country require to be produced before any man can be punished, censured or disgraced. No man is obliged to prove his innocence, but may call upon his prosecutors to support their accusation, and why this honourable gentleman, whatever may have been his conduct, should be treated in a different manner than any other criminal, I am by no means able to discover.

"Though there has been no evidence offered of his guilt, your lordships

have heard an attestation of his innocence from the noble Nardac* who spoke first against the motion, of whom it cannot be suspected that he would voluntarily engage to answer for measures which he pursued in blind compliance with the direction of another. The same testimony, my lords, can I produce, and affirm with equal truth, that in the administration of my province I am independent, and left entirely to the decisions of my own judgment.

"In every government, my lords, as in every family, some, either by accident, or a natural industry, or a superior capacity, or some other cause, will be engaged in more business and treated with more confidence than others; but if every man is willing to answer for the conduct of his own province, there is all the security against corruption that can possibly be obtained; for if every man's regard to his own safety and reputation will prevent him from betraying his trust or abusing his power, much more will it incite him to prevent any misconduct in another for which he must himself be accountable. Men are usually sufficiently tenacious of power, and ready to vindicate their separate rights, when nothing but their pride is affected by the usurpation, but surely no man will patiently suffer his province to be invaded, when he may himself be ruined by the conduct of the invader.

"Thus, my lords, it appears to me to be not only without proof, but without probability, and the first minister can, in my opinion, be nothing more than a formidable illusion, which, when one man thinks he has seen it, he shews to another as easily frighted as himself, who joins with him in propagating the notion, and in spreading terror and resentment over the nation, till at last the panic becomes general, and what was at first only whispered by malice or prejudice in the ears of ignorance or credulity, is adopted by common fame, and echoed back from the people to the senate.

"I have hitherto, my lords, confined myself to the consideration of one single article of this complicated charge, because it appears to me to be the only part of it necessary to be examined, for if once it be acknowledged that the affairs of the nation are transacted, not by the minister but the administration, by the council, in which every man who sits there has an equal voice and equal authority, the blame or praise of all the measures must be transferred from him to the council, and every man that has advised or concurred in them, will deserve the same censure or the same applause; as it is unjust to punish one man for the crimes of another, it is unjust to chuse one man out for punishment from among many others equally guilty.

"But I doubt not, my lords, when all those measures are equitably consid-

* Duke.

ered, there will be no punishment to be dreaded, because neither negligence nor treachery will be discovered. For, my lords, with regard to the treaty of Vinena,*[227] let us suppose our ministers deceived by ignorant or corrupt intelligence; let us admit that they were cautious where there was no danger, and neglected some opportunities which, if they had received better information, they might have improved to the advantage and security of the nation: what have they done even under all these disadvantageous suppositions, but followed the lights which they judged most clear, and by which they hoped to be conducted to honour and to safety?

"Policy,[228] my lords, is very different from prescience, the utmost that can be attained is probability, and that, for the most part, in a low degree. It is observed that no man is wise, but as you take into consideration the weakness of another; a maxim more eminently true of political wisdom, which consists very often only in discovering designs which could never be known but by the folly or treachery of those to whom they are trusted. If our enemies were wise enough to keep their own secrets, neither our ministers nor our patriots would be able to know or prevent their designs, nor would it be any reproach to their sagacity that they did not know what nobody would tell them.

"If therefore, my lords, the princes whose interest is contrary to our own, have been at any time served by honest and wise men, there was a time when our ministers could act only by conjecture, and might be mistaken without a crime.

"If it was always in our power to penetrate into the intentions of our enemies, they must necessarily have the same means of making themselves acquainted with our projects, and yet, when any of them are discovered, we think it just to impute it to the negligence of the minister.

"Thus, my lords, every man is inclined to judge with prejudice and partiality. When we suffer by the prudence of our enemies, we charge our ministers with want of vigilance, without considering that very often nothing is necessary to elude the most penetrating sagacity but obstinate silence.

"If we enquire into the transactions of past times, shall we find any man, however renowned for his abilities, not sometimes imposed upon by falshoods, and sometimes betrayed by his own reasonings into measures destructive of the purposes which he endeavoured to promote? There is no man of whose penetration higher ideas have been justly formed, or who gave more frequent proofs of an uncommon penetration into futurity than Clewmro,† and yet succeeding times have sufficiently discovered the weakness of ag-

* Vienna.

† Cromwell.

grandizing Blefuscu* by depressing Iberia,† and we wonder now how so much policy could fall into so gross an error, as not rather to suffer power to remain in the distant enemy, than transfer it to another equally divided from us by interest, and far more formidable by the situation of his dominions.

"Clewmro, my lords, suffered himself to be hurried away by the near prospect of present advantages, and the apprehension of present dangers, and every other man has been in the same manner sometimes deluded into a preference of smaller present advantage to a greater which was more remote.

"Let it not be urged, my lords, that politics are advanced since the time of Clewmro, and that errors which might then be committed by the wisest administration, are now gross and reproachful: we are to remember that every part of policy has been equally improved, and that, if more methods of discovery have been struck out, there have been likewise more arts invented of eluding it.

"When therefore we enquire into the conduct, or examine the abilities of a minister, we are not to expect that he should appear never to have been deceived, but that he should never be found to have neglected any proper means of information, nor ever to have willingly given up the interest of his country; but we are not to impute to his weakness what is only to be ascribed to the wisdom of those whom he opposed.

"If this plea, my lords, is reasonable, it will be necessary for those who support the motion, to prove, not only that the treaty of Vinena was never made, but that the falshood of the report either was or might have been known by our ministers, otherwise those who are inclined to retain a favourable opinion of their integrity and abilities, may conclude, that they were either not mistaken, or were led into error by such delusions as would no less easily have imposed on their accusers, and that by exalting their enemies to their stations they shall not much consult the advantage of their country.

"This motion therefore, my lords, founded upon no acknowledged, no indisputable facts, nor supported by legal evidence, this motion, which by appealing to common fame as the ultimate judge of every man's actions, may bring every man's life or fortune into danger, this motion, which condemns without hearing and decides without examining, I cannot but reject, and hope your lordships will concur with me."‡

This nervous speech was occasioned by one of the earl of Abingdon in support of the motion, which he grounded on the evidence of common fame. The drift of lord Hardwicke's speech is to invalidate that kind of testimony,

* France.

† Spain.

‡ "Gent. Mag." 1741, page 402.

and in this he displays the talents of a sound lawyer and an eloquent orator; but the private virtues of Sir Robert Walpole were such, that few of his enemies wished for a greater punishment on him than the divesting him of power, and accordingly the motion contained no specific charge of crimes that called for public justice: it tended to shew that the minister had been inattentive to the complaints of the merchants,[229] averse to the prosecution of the war, and unskilful in the conduct of it, and that the councils of the nation had not prospered under his influence, and that these facts were notorious: these were surely reasons for his removal, and superseded the necessity of legal forms, and that kind of evidence which is required to support a bill of attainder or an impeachment.[230] Lord Hardwicke's argument may therefore seem fallacious, but it was admirably calculated to elude the charge; he wilfully mistook the design of the motion, and set himself to invalidate the kind of evidence on which it was grounded, and to shew its insufficiency to support a legal prosecution, and succeeding therein, his opponents thought their arguments refuted when in truth they were not.

The speech of Lord Chesterfield on a different subject, and against a measure of a succeeding, and, as it was pretended, a purer administration, is as follows.

"My Lords,

"The bill now under our consideration appears to me to deserve a much closer regard than seems to have been paid to it in the other house, through which it was hurried with the utmost precipitation, and where it passed almost without the formality of a debate; nor can I think that earnestness with which some lords seem inclined to press it forward here, consistent with the importance of the consequences which may be, with great reason, expected from it.

"It has been urged that where so great a number have formed expectations of a national benefit from any bill, so much deference at least is due to their judgment, as that the bill should be considered in a committee. This, my lords, I admit to be, in other cases, a just and reasonable demand, and will readily allow that the proposal, not only of a considerable number, but even of any single lord, ought to be fully examined and regularly debated, according to the usual forms of this assembly. But in the present case, my lords, and in all cases like the present, the demand is improper because it is useless, and it is useless because we can do now all that we can do hereafter in a committee. For the bill before us is a money-bill, which, according to the present opinion of the clinabs,* we have no right to amend, and which there-

* Commons.

fore we have no need of considering in a committee, since the event of all our deliberations must be, that we are either to reject or pass it in its present state; for I suppose no lord will think this a proper time to enter into a controversy with the clinabs for the revival of those privileges to which, I believe, we have a right, and such a controversy, the least attempt to amend a money-bill will certainly produce.

"To desire, therefore, my lords, that this bill may be considered in a committee, is only to desire that it may gain one step without opposition, that it may proceed through the forms of the house by stealth, and that the consideration of it may be delayed till the exigencies of the government shall be so great, as not to allow time for raising the supplies by any other method.

"By this artifice, gross as it is, the patrons of this wonderful bill hope to obstruct a plain and open detection of its tendency. They hope, my lords, that the bill shall operate in the same manner with the liquor which it is intended to bring into more general use; and that as those that drink spirits are drunk before they are well aware that they are drinking, the effects of this law shall be perceived, before we know that we have made it. Their intent is to give us a dram of policy[231] which is to be swallowed before it is tasted, and which, when once it is swallowed, will turn our heads.

"But, my lords, I hope we shall be so cautious as to examine the draught which these state-empirics have thought proper to offer us, and I am confident that a very little examination will convince us of the pernicious qualities of their new preparation, and shew that it can have no other effect than that of poisoning the public.

"The law before us, my lords, seems to be the effect of that practice of which it is intended likewise to be the cause, and to be dictated by the liquor of which it so effectually promotes the use, for surely it never before was conceived by any man intrusted with the administration of public affairs, to raise taxes by the destruction of the people.

"Nothing, my lords, but the destruction of all the most laborious and useful part of the nation, can be expected from the license which is now proposed to be given, not only to drunkenness, but to drunkenness of the most detestable and dangerous kind, to the abuse not only of intoxicating but of poisonous liquors.

"Nothing, my lords, is more absurd than to assert, that the use of spirits will be hindered by the bill now before us, or indeed that it will not be in a very great degree promoted by it. For what produces all kind of wickedness but the prospect of impunity on one part, or the solicitation of opportunity on the other? Either of these have too frequently been sufficient to overpower the sense of morality, and even of religion, and what is not to be feared from

them when they shall unite their force, and operate together, when temptations shall be increased and terror taken away?

"It is allowed by those who have hitherto disputed on either side of this question, that the people appear obstinately enamoured of this new liquor: it is allowed, on both parts, that this liquor corrupts the mind and enervates the body, and destroys vigour and virtue, at the same time that it makes those who drink it too idle and too feeble for work, and while it impoverishes them by the present expence, disables them from retrieving its ill consequences by subsequent industry.

"It might be imagined, my lords, that those who had thus far agreed, would not easily find any occasion of dispute, nor would any man, unacquainted with the motives by which senatorial debates are too often influenced, suspect, that after the pernicious qualities of this liquor, and the general inclination among the people to the immoderate use of it had been generally admitted, it could be afterwards enquired, whether it ought to be made more common, whether this universal thirst for poison ought to be encouraged by the legislature, and whether a new statute ought to be made to secure drunkards in the gratification of their appetites.

"To pretend, my lords, that the design of this bill is to prevent or diminish the use of spirits, is to trample upon common sense, and to violate the rules of decency as well as of reason. For when did any man hear that a commodity was prohibited by licensing its sale, or that to offer and refuse is the same action.

"It is indeed pleaded that it will be made dearer by the tax which is proposed, and that the increase of the price will diminish the numbers of the purchasers, but it is at the same time expected, that this tax shall supply the expence of a war on the Continent. It is asserted therefore, that the consumption of spirits will be hindered, and yet, that it will be such as may be expected to furnish, from a very small tax, a revenue sufficient for the support of armies, for the re-establishment of the Auristan* family, and the repression of the attempts of Blefuscu.†

"Surely, my lords, these expectations are not very consistent, nor can it be imagined that they are both formed in the same head, though they may be expressed by the same mouth. It is, however, some recommendation of a statesman, when, of his assertions, one can be found reasonable or true, and in this, praise cannot be denied to our present ministers; for though it is undoubtedly false that this tax will lessen the consumption of spirits, it is

* Austrian.

† France.

certainly true that it will produce a very large revenue, a revenue that will not fail but with the people from whose debaucheries[232] it arises.

"Our ministers will therefore have the same honour with their predecessors, of having given rise to a new fund, not indeed for the payment of our debts, but for much more valuable purposes, for the exaltation of our hearts under oppression, for the elevation of our spirits amidst miscarriages and disappointments, and for the chearful support of those debts which we have lost hopes of paying. They are resolved, my lords, that the nation, which nothing can make wise, shall, while they are at its head, at least be merry, and since public happiness is the end of government, they seem to imagine that they shall deserve applause, by an expedient, which will enable every man to lay his cares asleep, to drown sorrow, and lose, in the delights of drunkenness, both the public miseries and his own.

"Surely, my lords, men of this unbounded benevolence and this exalted genius, deserve such honours as were never paid before; they deserve to bestride a butt upon every sign-post in the metropolis, or to have their countenances exhibited as tokens where this liquor is to be sold by the license which they have procured. They must be at least remembered to future ages as the happy politicians, who after all expedients for raising taxes had been employed, discovered a new method of draining the last reliques of the public wealth, and added a new revenue to the government; nor will those who shall hereafter enumerate the several funds now established among us, forget, among the benefactors to their country, the illustrious authors of the drinking fund.

"May I be allowed, my lords, to congratulate my countrymen and fellow-subjects upon the happy times which are now approaching, in which no man will be disqualified for the privilege of being drunk? when all discontent and disloyalty shall be forgotten, and the people, though now considered by the ministry as their enemies, shall acknowledge the lenity of that government under which all restraints are taken away.

"But to a bill for such desirable purposes, it would be proper, my lords, to prefix a preamble in which the kindness of our intentions should be more fully explained, that the nation may not mistake our indulgence for cruelty, nor consider their benefactors as their persecutors. If therefore this bill be considered and amended, (for why else should it be considered?) in a committee, I shall humbly propose that it shall be introduced in this manner: Whereas the designs of the present ministry, whatever they are, cannot be executed without a great number of mercenaries, which mercenaries cannot be hired without money; and whereas the present disposition of this nation to drunkenness, inclines us to believe, that they will pay more chearfully for

the undisturbed enjoyment of distilled liquors, than for any other concession that can be made by the government; be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, that no man shall hereafter be denied the right of being drunk on the following conditions.

"This, my lords, to trifle no longer, is the proper preamble to this bill, which contains only the conditions on which the people of this kingdom are to be allowed henceforward to riot in debauchery, in debauchery licensed by law, and countenanced by the magistrates, for there is no doubt but those on whom the inventors of this tax shall confer authority, will be directed to assist their masters in their design, to encourage the consumption of that liquor from which such large revenues are expected, and to multiply, without end, those licenses which are to pay an yearly tribute to the crown.

"By this unbounded license, my lords, that price will be lessened, from the increase of which the expectations of the efficacy of this law are pretended, for the number of retailers will lessen the value as in all other cases, and lessen it more than this tax will increase it. Besides, it is to be considered, that at present the retailer expects to be paid for the danger which he incurs by an unlawful trade, and will not trust his reputation or his purse to the mercy of his customer, without a profit proportioned to the hazard; but when once the restraint shall be taken away, he will sell for common gain, and it can hardly be imagined, that at present he subjects himself to informations and penalties for less than six-pence a gallon.

"The specious pretence on which this bill is founded, and indeed the only pretence that deserves to be termed specious, is the propriety of taxing vice; but this maxim of government has, on this occasion, been either mistaken or perverted. Vice, my lords, is not, properly, to be taxed but suppressed, and heavy taxes are sometimes the only means by which that suppression can be attained. Luxury,[233] my lords, or the excess of that which is pernicious only by its excess, may very properly be taxed, that such excess, though not strictly unlawful, may be made more difficult; but the use of those things which are simply hurtful, hurtful in their own nature and in every degree, is to be prohibited. None, my lords, ever heard in any nation of a tax upon theft or adultery, because a tax implies a license granted for the use of that which is taxed, to all who shall be willing to pay it.

"Drunkenness, my lords, is universally, and in all circumstances an evil, and therefore ought not to be taxed, but punished, and the means of it not to be made easy by a slight impost which none can feel, but to be removed out of the reach of the people, and secured by the heaviest taxes levied with the utmost rigour. I hope those to whose care the religion of the nation is particularly consigned will unanimously join with me in maintaining the

necessity not of taxing vice but suppressing it, and unite for the rejection of a bill, by which the future as well as the present happiness of thousands must be destroyed."*

This speech is a contrast to that of lord Hardwicke, and to him who uttered it may be applied the character which bishop Burnet gives of Waller, viz. "That he was only concerned to say that which should make him applauded; he never laid the business of the house to heart, being a vain and empty, though a witty man."[234]

The subject of this important debate was a bill to restrain the use of spirituous liquors, founded on evidence that no less a quantity than seven millions of gallons thereof were yearly distilled and consumed in this country, and that in many parishes within the bills of mortality,[235] exclusive of London and Southwark, every sixth house retailed them. The bill, under the influence of the duke of Newcastle, lord Carteret, Mr. Sandys, and others, the then ministry, passed the commons with little or no opposition, and money was immediately raised on the tax thereby imposed. In the house of lords it was vehemently opposed by the bishops and many of the lay lords, with great force of reasoning, and by lord Chesterfield in the above speech, which has little of argument in it, though it goes to prove, that the practice ought to have been suppressed rather than tolerated. It however passed, and notwithstanding the subsequent laws since made to palliate it, the evil to a great degree subsists at this day.

In the perusal of these debates, as written, we cannot but wonder at the powers that produced them. The author had never passed those gradations that lead to the knowledge of men and business: born to a narrow fortune, of no profession, conversant chiefly with books, and, if we believe some, so deficient in the formalities of discourse, and the practices of ceremony, as in conversation to be scarce tolerable; unacquainted with the stile of any other than academical disputation, and so great a stranger to senatorial manners, that he never was within the walls of either house of parliament. That a man, under these disadvantages, should be able to frame a system of debate, to compose speeches of such excellence, both in matter and form, as scarcely to be equalled by those of the most able and experienced statesmen, is, I say, matter of astonishment, and a proof of talents that qualified him for a speaker in the most august assembly on earth.

Cave, who had no idea of the powers of eloquence over the human mind, became sensible of its effects in the profits it brought him: he had long thought that the success of his Magazine proceeded from those parts of it that were

* "Gent. Mag." 1743, page 625.

conducted by himself, which were the abridgement of weekly papers written against the ministry, such as the "Craftsman," "Fog's Journal," "Common Sense," the "Weekly Miscellany," the "Westminster Journal," and others, and also marshalling the pastorals, the elegies, and the songs, the epigrams, and the rebuses that were sent him by various correspondents, and was scarcely able to see the causes that at this time increased the sale of his pamphlet from ten to fifteen thousand copies a month.[236] But if he saw not, he felt them, and manifested his good fortune by buying an old coach and a pair of older horses; and, that he might not incur the suspicion of pride in setting up an equipage, he disclosed to the world the source of his affluence, by a representation of St. John's-gate, instead of his arms, on the door-pannel. This he told me himself was the reason of distinguishing his carriage from others, by what some might think a whimsical device, and also for causing it to be engraven on all his plate.

Johnson had his reward, over and above the pecuniary recompence vouchsafed him by Cave, in the general applause of his labours, which the increased demand for the Magazine implied; but this, as his performances fell short of his powers, gratified him but little; on the contrary, he disapproved the deceit he was compelled to practice; his notions of morality were so strict, that he would scarcely allow the violation of truth in the most trivial instances, and saw, in falshood, of all kinds, a turpitude[237] that he would never be thoroughly reconciled to: and though the fraud was perhaps not greater than the fictitious relations in Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," lord Bacon's "Nova Atlantis," and bishop Hall's "Mundus alter et idem," Johnson was not easy till he had disclosed the deception.[238]

In the mean time it was curious to observe how the deceit operated. It has above been remarked, that Johnson had the art to give different colours to the several speeches, so that some appear to be declamatory and energetic, resembling the orations of Demosthenes; others like those of Cicero, calm, persuasive; others, more particularly those attributed to such country-gentlemen, merchants, and seamen as had seats in parliament, bear the characteristic of plainness, bluntness, and an affected honesty as opposed to the plausibility of such as were understood or suspected to be courtiers: the artifice had its effect; Voltaire was betrayed by it into a declaration,[239] that the eloquence of ancient Greece and Rome was revived in the British senate, and a speech of the late earl of Chatham when Mr. Pitt, in opposition to one of Mr. Horatio Walpole, received the highest applause, and was by all that read it taken for genuine;* and we are further told of a person in a high office under

* The speech[240] here alluded to, taking it to have been spoken as it is printed, was uttered in a debate on a bill for the encouragement and encrease of seamen, containing

the government, who being at breakfast at a gentleman's chambers in Gray's inn, Johnson being also there, declared, that by the stile alone of the speeches in the debates, he could severally assign them to the persons by whom they were delivered. Johnson upon hearing this, could not refrain from undeceiving him, by confessing that himself was the author of them all.

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a clause for a register of seamen, and was intended to take away the necessity of impressing for the sea-service, which bill, as being a ministerial measure, was vehemently opposed. It is a reply, void of argument and loaded with abuse, to a sober reproof of a grave and experienced senator. To judge of its merits, and as a specimen of the speaker's method of debating at that early period of his life, it is necessary to compare it with that to which it pretends to be an answer, and for that purpose both are here inserted, and first that of Mr. Walpole.

"Sir,

"I was unwilling to interrupt the course of this debate while it was carried on with calmness and decency by men who do not suffer the ardour of opposition to cloud their reason, or transport them to such expressions as the dignity of this assembly does not admit. I have hitherto deferred to answer the gentleman who declaimed[241] against the bill with such fluency of rhetoric, and such vehemence of gesture, who charged the advocates for the expedients now proposed, with having no regard to any interest but their own, and with making laws only to consume paper, and threatened them with the defection of their adherents, and the loss of their influence, upon this new discovery of their folly and their ignorance.

"Nor, Sir, do I now answer him for any other purpose than to remind him how little the clamours of rage, and petulancy of invectives contribute to the purposes for which this assembly is called together; how little the discovery of truth is promoted, and the security of the nation established by pompous diction and theatrical emotions.

"Formidable sounds and furious declamations, confident assertions, and lofty periods, may affect the young and unexperienced, and perhaps the gentleman may have contracted his habits of oratory by conversing more with those of his own age than with such as have had more opportunities of acquiring knowledge, and more successful methods of communicating their sentiments.

"If the heat of his temper, Sir, would suffer him to attend to those whose age and long acquaintance with business give them an indisputable right to deference and superiority, he would learn, in time, to reason rather than declaim, and to prefer justness of argument, and an accurate knowledge of facts, to sounding epithets and splendid superlatives, which may disturb the imagination for a moment, but leave no lasting impression on the mind.

"He will learn, Sir, that to accuse and prove are very different, and that reproaches, unsupported by evidence, affect only the character of him that utters them. Excursions of fancy and flights of oratory are indeed pardonable in young men, but in no other, and it would surely contribute more, even to the purpose for which some gentlemen appear to speak, that of depreciating the conduct of the administration, to prove the inconveniences and injustice of this bill, than barely to assert them, with whatever magnificence of language or appearance of zeal, honesty or compassion."

It must be owned, that with respect to the general principles avowed in the speeches, and the sentiments therein contained, they agree with the characters of the persons to whom they are ascribed. Thus, to instance in those of the upper house, the speeches of the duke of Newcastle, the lords Carteret and Ilay, are calm, temperate and persuasive; those of the duke of Argyle

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To this sober and temperate speech uttered by a grave senator, who had served his country in various capacities, and whose moral character was irreproachable, the following was the answer of Mr. William Pitt:

"Sir,

"The atrocious crime of being a young man, which the honourable gentleman has with such spirit and decency charged upon me, I shall neither attempt to palliate nor deny, but content myself with wishing, that I may be one of those whose follies may cease with their youth, and not of that number who are ignorant in spite of experience.

"Whether youth can be imputed to any man as a reproach, I will not, Sir, assume the province of determining; but surely age may become justly contemptible, if the opportunities which it brings have passed away without improvement, and vice appears to prevail when the passions have subsided. The wretch that, after having seen the consequences of a thousand errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his grey head should secure him from insults.

"Much more, Sir, is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation, who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country.

"But youth, Sir, is not my only crime; I have been accused of acting a theatrical part. A theatrical part may either imply some peculiarities of gesture, or a dissimulation of my real sentiments, and an adoption of the opinions and language of another man.

"In the first sense, Sir, the charge is too trifling to be confuted, and deserves only to be mentioned that it may be despised. I am at liberty, like every other man, to use my own language; and though I may perhaps have some ambition to please this gentleman, I shall not lay myself under any restraint, not very solicitously copy his diction or his mien, however matured by age, or modelled by experience.

"If any man shall, by charging me with theatrical behaviour, imply, that I utter any sentiments but my own, I shall treat him as a calumniator and a villain, nor shall any protection shelter him from the treatment which he deserves. I shall, on such an occasion, without scruple, trample upon all those forms with which wealth and dignity intrench themselves, nor shall any thing but age restrain my resentment. Age, which always brings one privilege, that of being insolent and supercilious without punishment.

"But with regard, Sir, to those whom I have offended, I am of opinion, that if I had acted a borrowed part, I should have avoided their censure; the heat that offended them is the ardour of conviction, and that zeal for the service of my country, which neither hope nor fear shall influence me to suppress. I will not sit unconcerned while my liberty is invaded, nor look in silence upon public robbery. I will exert my endeavours, at whatever hazard, to repel the aggressor and drag the thief to justice, whoever may protect

and lord Talbot, furious and declamatory, and lord Chesterfield's and lord Hervey's florid but flimsy.[242] In the other house the speeches may be thus characterised; the minister's mild and conciliatory, Mr. Pulteney's nervous, methodical and weighty, Mr. Shippen's blunt and dogmatical,[243] Sir John Barnard's clear, especially on commercial subjects, Lyttelton's stiff and imitative of the Roman oratory, and Pitt's void of argument but rapsodically and diffusively eloquent.† In other particulars the debates of Johnson are liable to the same objections, but in a greater degree, as those of Guthrie; the language of them is too good, and the style such as none of the persons to whom the speeches are assigned were able to discourse in.

The confession of Johnson above-mentioned, was the first that revealed the secret that the debates inserted in the "Gentleman's Magazine" were fictitious, and composed by himself. After that, he was free, and indeed industrious, in the communication of it, for being informed that Dr. Smollet was writing a history of England,[244] and had brought it down to the last reign, he cautioned him not to rely on the debates as given in the Magazine, for that they were not authentic, but, excepting as to their general import, the work of his own imagination.

As the subjects of these debates are at this time become very little interesting, I shall not attempt, farther than I have already done, to embellish these memoirs by a selection of any of those nervous arguments, or eloquent pas-

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them in their villany, and whoever may partake of their plunder. And if the honourable gentleman"—At these words Mr. Winnington rose up, and calling Mr. Pitt to order, made a short speech, to which Mr. Pitt made this answer:

"If this be to preserve order, there is no danger of indecency from the most licentious tongue, for what calumny can be more atrocious, or what reproach more severe, than that of speaking with regard to any thing but truth. Order may sometimes be broken by passion or inadvertency, but will hardly be re-established by monitors like this, who cannot govern his own passion, whilst he is restraining the impetuosity of others.

"Happy, Sir, would it be for mankind, if every one knew his own province; we should not then see the same man at once a criminal and a judge, nor would this gentleman assume the right of dictating to others, what he has not learned himself.

"That I may return in some degree the favour which he intends me, I will advise him never hereafter to exert himself on the subject of order, but whenever he finds himself inclined to speak on such occasions, to remember how he has now succeeded, and condemn in silence, what his censures will never reform."*

* "Gent. Mag." 1741, page 568 et seqq.

† Mr. Pitt professed himself to be no reasoner. In the meetings of his party to settle the method of conducting a debate, in opposition to the minister, he declined the enforcing particular charges of mal-administration, and always chose what he called the peroration.

sages with which they abound, and the rather as it is impossible in the relation of a conflict between two contending parties, to determine the merits of their several pretensions, or distinguish between specious, and sound reasoning. In the attempts to remove the minister, experience has however convinced us, that ambition and personal resentment were the motives that actuated his opponents, for neither when they attained to power did they manifest greater integrity, nor did they cease to practise those methods for the maintaining their influence over the public councils, which were imputed to him as criminal.

It is beside my purpose to enter into a formal defence of the administration of this servant of the public, or to attempt a detection of the arts that were practised to render him odious: I will nevertheless mention a few facts respecting him that have come to my own knowledge, and may serve to exculpate him, in some degree, from the charge of being an enemy to the constitution or the interests of this country.

When he first came into power, he found it his duty to undertake the arduous task of reconciling the people to the dominion of a prince born in a foreign country, and securing the succession to his descendants, and this he lived to see effected. War he hated as much as some of his successors did peace, and from a war with Spain he foresaw that no good could follow: the settlements abroad of that power are very remote, and in a climate destructive to Englishmen; so that what we were ever able to take from them we never could hold. The extension of empire was never his wish; but the encouragement of commerce and the improvement of the revenue, in both which subjects his skill was unrivalled, engrossed his attention. To effect the one, a greater number of laws in its favour were framed and passed under his sanction, than had ever been enacted in any known period of equal duration with his ministry; and to carry the other into practice, he projected a scheme for an extension of the excise, as the only means of putting a stop to the frauds of merchants and illicit traders, and making the receipts of that branch of the public income equal to what they were computed at. This scheme, it is true, subjected him to much obloquy, and he was necessitated to abandon it; but in a succeeding administration it was partly carried into execution, at the express solicitation of the principal persons concerned in that article of trade which it was suggested would have been most affected had the scheme passed into a law: and afterwards the most popular minister that ever directed the councils of this country,[245] scrupled not to declare in full senate, that if ever a time should arrive that was likely to render the project feasible, himself would recommend an extension of the excise-laws as a measure big

with advantage to commerce, to the revenue, and to the general interests of the kingdom.

The question whether he was in principle an enemy to his country or not, will possibly be decided by the following fact, which the best authority warrants me in relating: When he was seized with the disorder that put a period to his days, and from its violence he had abandoned the hope of living much longer, he called one of his sons to him, gave him his blessing, and with tears in his eyes told him, that from intelligence he had obtained, he would assure him that within a twelvemonth's time the crown of England would be fought for upon English ground: the subsequent rebellion in 1745,[246] and the irruptions of the enemy beyond the borders of the north, verified this prediction.

As I shall have but little occasion to say more of the debates in parliament as they appear in the Magazine, I shall close the account above given of them with saying, that Johnson continued to write them till the passing the bill for restraining the sale of spirituous liquors, which was about the end of the year 1743. After that they were written by Dr. Hawkesworth, and by him continued to about 1760, within which period the plan of the Magazine was enlarged by a review of new publications. In this, Mr. Owen Ruffhead[247] was first employed, but he being, in about two years, invited to superintend a republication of the Statutes at large, the office of reviewer dropped into the hands of Dr. Hawkesworth, who, though he was thought to exercise it with some asperity, continued in it till about the year 1772, when he was employed to digest the papers of sundry late navigators, and to become the editor of that collection of voyages which in the catalogues of booksellers is distinguished by his name.[248]

About this time Johnson was solicited to undertake an employment of a kind very different from any he had ever been accustomed to: it was to compile a catalogue of books;[249] a task, which at first view, seems to be not above the capacity of almost the lowest of literary artificers,[250] but on a nearer was found to require the abilities of one of the highest. Osborne the bookseller, had ventured on the purchase of the earl of Oxford's library of printed books, at the price of £13,000 and meaning to dispose of them by sale at his shop in the ordinary way, projected a catalogue thereof distributed into commonplaces, in five octavo volumes, which being sold for five shillings each, would pay itself, and circulate throughout the kingdom and also abroad.

It is probable that Osborne had consulted Maittaire, then one of the masters of Westminster school, and who had formerly assisted in making out the "Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Angliae & Hiberniae,"[251] on the subject of his intended catalogue, and that Maittaire might have furnished

the general heads or classes under which the several books are arranged, a work of some labour, and that required no small stock of erudition. This at least is certain, that he drew up a Latin dedication of the whole to Lord Carteret, then secretary of state, and subscribed it with his name; but the under-workmen were, as I conjecture, first Oldys, and afterwards Johnson, who while he was engaged in so servile an employment resembled a lion in harness. The former of these persons was a natural son of Dr. Oldys, a civilian[252] of some eminence, and subsisted by writing for the booksellers. Having a general knowledge of books, he had been long retained in the service of Edward Earl of Oxford, and was therefore by Osborne thought a fit person for his purpose; but whether they disagreed, or that Oldys was hindered by the restraint of his person in the Fleet, a misfortune that he laboured under some time about that period, he desisted, after having proceeded to the end of the second volume. The third and fourth I conceive to be the work of Johnson:* the fifth is nothing more than a catalogue of Osborne's old stock.

The catalogue of the Harleian printed books, for of the manuscripts there is another in being, drawn up by an able hand, is of that kind which philologists call Bibliotheque Raisonnée, in which besides the title, and the colophon containing the place and year of publication, a description of each article is given, serving to shew both its intrinsic and extrinsic worth, the hands through which it has passed, and various other particulars that tend to recommend it. I will select a few examples of this kind from the third volume, and leave the reader to applaud the judgment of Osborne in appointing so able a man as Johnson to this laborious task, and the industry and perseverance of the latter in the performance of it.

"No. 412. The Antiquities of Stone-Henge on Salisbury plain restored by Inigo Jones, architect-general to the King, published by J. Webb, 1655.

> "This book has its margins (sides, tops and bottoms, in many leaves) almost written throughout, with some of the strangest notes, perhaps,

* At what part of the catalogue Oldys's labours ended and Johnson's begin I have no express authority for saying: It is related of Johnson, by a person who was very likely to know the fact, that he was employed by Osborne to make "a catalogue of the Harleian Library," and if not to make such remarks on the books as are above inserted, an ordinary hand would have done as well; but it required the learning of a scholar to furnish such intelligence as the catalogue contains. This is one of the facts on which I ground my assertion that Johnson worked on the catalogue: to discriminate between his notes and those of Oldys, is not easy; as literary curiosities, and as a specimen of a great work, they nevertheless deserve attention.

to be met with, no ways relating to the subject-matter, nor to one another, except in one or two places. The book is inscribed by *J. Webb* to *Philip* earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, some time lord-chamberlain to King *Charles* I. and chancellor of *Oxford*. And it had been his own copy; for the said earl has, in the next leaf, writ his own name, which is apparently the same hand with that in which all those marginal eruptions of his memory and imagination were written. Some following possessor, or reader of this book, discovering the said writing to be his lordship's, has written in the margin against his name 'This *Philip* earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery* was the writer of these wild notes. *A. Wood* would have less belied him in calling him a madman, than in saying he was illiterate and could not write his name.' The notes are written in *Latin*, *French* and *English*, in prose and verse, containing truth, fiction, trifles, matters of useful intelligence, some enough to make you merry, others melancholy. He seems to have been under the displeasure of *Cromwell* and his daughters. Of the former he says, '*Ravilliac Cromwell* is to be pulled a pieces with wild horses, upon *London* streets, and then to be hanged, drawn, &c. not decapitated in jest.' p. 31. In the same page where he has writ his name, he has these words: 'If he be mad, as my lady *Harwood* sais, (whose tongue is no slaunder,) it is rather for wanting the 10000 pounds a year his father promised to give him, than that he thinks 6000 pounds a year too much for him to manage, with Wilton and Ramsbury; for he is very learnedly proud, and proudly learned.' In several places he has mentioned *Inigo Jones*, the King's surveyor, affirming in one place, 'He had, for 20 years together, sixteen thousand pounds a year, for keeping the King's houses in repair, and yet they lay worse than any house in *Turnball* street.' p. 3. But in one place he augments his salary very much, when he says, '*Hinnico Jones*, alias *Iniquity Jones*, a justice of peace, and of the *Quorum*, i and *Custos Rotulorum*, hath for keeping the King's houses in repair, *deux cens mil escu per an*. threescore thousand pounds sterling a year, i and well paid: He is fourscore years ould.' p. 34. &c. &c."

"No. 1168. Glossarium Archaiologicum, Authore Henrico Spelmanno, Equite—1664.

"Because it had been intimated as if the latter part of this famous work, now first published with the former, and makes it complete, was not that learned author's own to whom it is ascribed, Dr. *Robert Brady* has satisfied the world of this particular in the following curious anecdote: 'The first part of the *Glossary*, to the letter N, was published in

the year 1626, the whole being then finished and offered by Sir *Henry Spelman* to Mr. *Bill*, the King's printer, for the value of five pounds in books only; but he refusing to give him that small rate for the copy, he ventured to print the first part of it at his own charge, and most of the books lay upon his hands until the latter end of the year 1637, when Mr. *Stephens* and Mr. *Meredith* (booksellers in St. *Paul*'s church-yard) took them off. The next year, Sir *William Dugdale* being with Sir *Henry Spelman*, and telling him that many learned men were very desirous to see the remaining part of that work, Sir *Henry* then told him what is here related, and produced *both parts* of the *Glossary*, the first whereof was printed, and interleaved with blank leaves, as also was the second, which was in manuscript, wherein he had added and altered much. After his Majesty's *restauration*, the earl of *Clarendon*, then lord-chancellor, and Dr. *Sheldon*, then bishop of *London*, inquired of Sir *William Dugdale* what was become of the remaining part of the *Glossary*, or whether ever it was finished? He told them it was finished, and in the hands of Mr. *Charles Spelman*, grandchild to Sir *Henry*, and youngest son to Sir John. Whereupon they desired Sir *William* to move him to print it, which he did: but finding that the booksellers would give *nothing* for the copy, and that he was not able to print it at his own charge, and returning this answer to the lord chancellor and bishop of *London*, they contributed liberally themselves; and procuring many subscriptions to that purpose, desired Sir *William Dugdale* to receive the money, and deal with a printer to perform the work; which he did, and caused it to be printed as he received it, all under the proper handwriting of Sir *Henry Spelman*, without alteration or addition. And had it not been for the dreadful fire in *London*, wherein both the copy and the greatest part of the impression were consumed, it might at this day have been produced, to have confirmed what is here reported. For the truth whereof, Sir *William Dugdale*, a person of great learning, worth, and integrity, and now a living testimony, without exception, may be consulted if any man doubts what is here delivered. See *Animadversions upon a book called Jani Anglorum Facies Nova*, p. 96, annexed to an *Answer to a book written by William Petit, Esq*; 8vo. 1681.'"

"No. 1528. Missale Mixtum Secundum Regulam Beati Isidori dictum Mozarbes. Toleti 1500.

"This is the scarcest book in the whole *Harleian* collection. At the end of it are the following words, which deserve to be inserted here:

"'*Ad laudem omnipotentis Dei, nec non Virginis* Mariae *matris ejus, omnium sanctorum sanctarumq; expletum est missale mixtum secundum regulam beati* Isidori *dictum* Mozarabes: *Maxima cum diligentia perlectum et emendatum, per reverendum in utroq; jure doctorem dominum* Alfonsum Ortiz *canonicum* Toletanum. *Impressum in regal. civitate* Toleti *jussu reverendissimi in* Christo *Patris Domini* D. Francisci Ximenii, *ejusdem civitatis archiepiscopi. Impensis nobilis* Melchioris Gorriccii Novariensis, *per* Magistrum Petrum Hagembach, Alemanum, *anno salutis nostrae* 1500. Die 29° *mensis* Januarii.'

"This is supposed to be the ancient missal amended and purged by St. *Isidore*, archbishop of *Sevil*, and ordered by the council of *Toledo* to be used in all churches, every one of which, before that time, had a missal peculiar to itself. The *Moors* afterwards committing great ravages in *Spain*, destroying the churches, and throwing every thing there, both civil and sacred, into confusion, all St. *Isadore*'s missals, excepting those in the city of *Toledo*, were lost. But those were preserved, even after the *Moors* had made themselves masters of that city; since they left six of the churches there to the *Christians*, and granted them the free exercise of their religion. *Alphonsus* the sixth, many ages afterwards, expelled the *Moors* from *Toledo*, and ordered the *Roman* missal to be used in those churches where St. *Isidore*'s missal had been in vogue, ever since the council above mentioned. But the people of *Toledo* insisting that their missal was drawn up by the most ancient bishops, revised and corrected by St. *Isidore*, proved to be the best by the great number of saints who had followed it, and been preserved during the whole time of the *Moorish* government in *Spain*, he could not bring his project to bear without great difficulty. In short, the contest between the *Roman* and *Toletan* missals came to that height, that, according to the genius of the age, it was decided by a single combat, wherein the champion of the *Toletan* missal proved victorious. But King *Alphonso*, say some of the Spanish writers, not being satisfied with this, which he considered as the effect of chance only, ordered a fast to be proclaimed, and a great fire to be then made, into which, after the King and people had prayed fervently to God for assistance in this affair, both the missals were thrown, but the *Toletan* only escaped the violence of the flames. This, continue the same authors, made such an impression upon the King, that he permitted the citizens of *Toledo* to use their own missal in those churches that had been granted the *Christians* by the *Moors*. However, the copies of this missal grew afterwards so scarce, that cardinal *Ximenes* found it

extremely difficult to meet with one of them, which induced him to order this impression, and to build a chapel, in which this service was chanted every day, as it had at first been by the ancient *Christians*. But notwithstanding this, the copies of the *Toletan* missal are become now so exceeding rare, that it is at present almost in as much danger of being buried in oblivion, as it was when committed to the press by cardinal *Ximenes*."

"No. 3517. All the workes of John Taylor the water poet, being sixty and three in number, collected into one volume by the author, with sundry new additions; corrected, revised, and newly imprinted—1630.

"These works consist of several pieces, partly serious, but mostly comical, in prose as well as verse, which the author had published from time to time in single pamphlets. He frankly owns himself no scholar, but being a man of good natural parts, of a ready and copious invention, and having travelled much, and seen company of all sorts, he has in many things made good use, especially in the satirical vein of his fancy and observations. Several of the nobility, &c. encouraged him, and to them he dedicates several of these tracts. There are also commendatory verses before many of them, by some ingenious writers. Among the pieces for which he was most noted, may be reckoned his *Whip of Pride*, the *Travels of Twelve Pence, Taylor's Goose, Taylor's Motto, his Chronicles in Verse, the Cormorant, Praise of Hempseed, Praise of Clean Linen, the Peace with France in praise of Archy, several Elegies*, &c. Among the prose pieces: His *Pennyless Pilgrimage from London to Edinburgh*, in which he travelled a mile underneath the sea. *The acts of Nich. Wood the Kentish Gormund. His pieces upon Tho. Coriat the Odcumbian Traveller. Wit and Mirth, or Pleasant Jests*, &c. As to the author, he is said to have been a *Gloucestershire* man, and was bred a sailor; he was at the taking of *Cadiz* under the earl of *Essex*, in 1596, and at *Flores*, in the *Island-Voyage*, next year: he was besides in Germany, Bohemia, Scotland, &c. He was many years collector for the lieutenant of the tower, of the wines which were his fee from all ships which brought them up the Thames: but was at last discharged because he would not purchase *the place at more than it was worth. He calls himself the King's Water-poet and the Queen's Water-man*, and did wear the badge of the royal arms. After the beheading of King Charles, he kept a public-house in *Phoenix* alley, near *Long-acre*, and set up the *Mourning-Crown*, for his sign; but found it safer to take

it down again and hang up his own head instead of it. It is said he died about the year 1654."*

Of this stupendous work the Harleian catalogue, it is difficult to give an idea, save by such extracts as those above, and others in Latin of a like kind. Prefixed to it is a Latin dedication to lord Carteret by Mr. Michael Maittaire, dated February 1742–3, and after that, a preface, doubtless drawn up by Johnson, beginning "To solicit a subscription for a catalogue of books exposed to sale," wherein with great learning and no less judgment, he points out the excellence and extent of the collection, urges those arguments which should induce men of learning to become purchasers, and anticipates whatever objections could be made to this uncommon species of catalogue, and the method of circulating it.

The several articles are distributed in the order of a common place, that does honour to Johnson and Maittaire, who are supposed to have been jointly the framers of it. Here follows a specimen of the subdivision of the first of the heads therein contained, viz. Theology.

Biblia Sacra Polyglotta.
Hebraica.
Graeca.
Nov. Testamentum.
Biblia Vulgata.
Latina variorum Interpretum.
Gallica.
Italica.
Hispanica, Germanica, &c.

* Taylor, though illiterate, was a man of understanding, but a singular humourist. In his account of Wood the great eater,[253] above-mentioned, he relates, that he was very near engaging him to eat at one time as much black pudding as would reach cross the Thames, at any place to be fixed on by Taylor himself, betwixt London and Richmond. Being a waterman by trade, he had a mortal hatred to coaches, and wrote a bitter but very diverting invective against them; and upon a suggestion that the watermen were starving for want of employment, preferred a petition to King James I. which was referred to certain commissioners, of whom Sir Francis Bacon was one, the object whereof was, to obtain a prohibition of all playhouses but those on the bank side, that the greater part of those who were desirous of seeing plays might be compelled to go by water. Taylor himself solicited this petition, and was prepared to oppose before the commissioners the reasons of the players, but the commission was dissolved before it came to a hearing.

Anglica.
in linguis Variis Hodiernis.
Psalteria.
Psalteria Metrica.
Concordantiae & Lexica Biblica.
Comment. Biblicorum Scriptores.
Veterum.
Recentiorum.
*Patres Graeci & Scriptores Ecclesiastici.*
*Latini & Scriptores Ecclesiastici.*
Concilia.
Conciliorum Compendia.
*Hist. Ecclesiast.*
Vitae Sanctorum & Theologorum.
Pontificum Rom.
Hist. Ord. Monastic.
Eccles. Orientalis.
Linguis Hodiernis conscripta.
*Theologia Judaica.*
Scholastica.
Ascetica.
Miscellanea.
*Catecheses.*
*Controversiae Theologicae.*
Contra Judeos.
Graecorum Scripta contra Latinos.
Contra Eccles. Roman.
Scriptores pro Romana Ecclesia.
Libri de Jesuitarum Moribus.
Libri de Ritibus, Caeremoniis et Institutis Ecclesiast.
De Ritibus Graecorum.
Liturgiae Graecorum.
De Ritibus Rom. eccl. &c.
Liturgiae.
Missalia Angliae, sive ad usum Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis.
Missalia Romana.
Missalia variarum Ecclesiarum.
Liturgiae orientalium Ecclesiarum.
Breviaria.
Ritualia.

Processionalia.
Antiphonaria.
Litaniae.
Ceremonalia & Pastoralia.
Officia Mariae Virginis.
Horae Romanae.
Horae Sarisburiensis.
Manualia.
Hymnorum libri.
Scriptoris de Trinitate.
Theologia Gallica.
Scriptores de Ritibus Judaicis.

The catalogue having passed the press, turned out to be very voluminous, and being of a singular kind, Osborne hoped to be able to make the public pay for it; to this end it was, that he directed Johnson to draw up the preface, giving an account of the contents of the library, and containing a variety of arguments to vindicate a solicitation for a subscription, that is to say, a demand of five shillings for each volume of the catalogue, to defray the expence of printing it; the volume or volumes so purchased, to be taken in exchange for any book rated at the same value. This paper, of which a character has already been given, was, as I conjecture, a precursor to the catalogue, and was with great industry circulated throughout the kingdom. It answered its end; the catalogue was printed in five octavo volumes, the collectors and lovers of books bought it, and Osborne was reimbursed.

While the catalogue was compiling, Johnson was further employed by Osborne to select from the many thousand volumes of which the library consisted, all such small tracts and fugitive pieces as were of greatest value or were most scarce, with a view to the reprinting and publishing them under the title of the "Harleian Miscellany."[254] To recommend a subscription for printing the collection, proposals were published containing an account of the undertaking, and an enumeration of its contents, penned by Johnson with great art; which being very short, may itself be deemed a fugitive piece, and is therefore here inserted.

"It has been for a long time a very just complaint among the learned, that a multitude of valuable productions, published in small pamphlets, or in single sheets, are in a short time, too often by accidents or negligence, destroyed and entirely lost; and that those authors, whose reverence for the public has hindered them from swelling their works with repetitions, or incumbering them with superfluities, and who, therefore, deserve the praise and gratitude

of posterity, are forgotten, for the very reason for which they might expect to be remembered. It has been long lamented, that the duration of the monuments of genius and study, as well as of wealth and power, depends in no small measure on their bulk; and that volumes, considerable only for their size, are handed down from one age to another, when compendious treatises, of far greater importance, are suffered to perish, as the compactest bodies sink into the water, while those of which the extension bears a greater proportion to the weight, float upon the surface.

"This observation hath been so often confirmed by experience, that, in the neighbouring nation, the common appellation of small performances is derived from this unfortunate circumstance, *a flying sheet*, or *a fugitive piece*, are the terms by which they are distinguished, and distinguished with too great propriety, as they are subject, after having amused mankind for a while, to take their flight and disappear for ever.

"What are the losses which the learned have already sustained, by having neglected to fix those fugitives in some certain residence, it is not easy to say; but there is no doubt that many valuable observations have been repeated, because they were not preserved; and that, therefore, the progress of knowledge has been retarded, by the necessity of doing what had been already done, but was done for those who forgot their benefactor.

"The obvious method of preventing these losses, of preserving to every man the reputation he has merited by long assiduity, is to unite these scattered pieces into volumes, that those which are too small to preserve themselves, may be secured by their combination with others; to consolidate these atoms of learning into systems, to collect these disunited rays, that their light and their fire may become perceptible.

"Of encouraging this useful design, the studious and inquisitive have now an opportunity, which, perhaps, was never offered them before, and which, if it should now be lost, there is not any probability that they will ever recover. They may now conceive themselves in possession of the lake into which all those rivulets of science have for many years been flowing: but which, unless its waters are turned into proper channels, will soon burst its banks, or be dispersed in imperceptible exhalations.

"In the Harleian library, which I have purchased, are treasured a greater number of pamphlets and small treatises, than were perhaps ever yet seen in one place; productions of the writers of all parties, and of every age, from the reformation; collected with an unbounded and unwearied curiosity, without exclusion of any subject.

"So great is the variety, that it has been no small labour to peruse the titles, in order to reduce them to a rude division, and range their heaps under

general heads; of which the number, though not yet increased by the subdivision which an accurate survey will necessarily produce, cannot but excite the curiosity of all the studious, as there is scarcely any part of knowledge which some of these articles do not comprehend."

[Then follows an enumeration of articles to the amount of more than an hundred and fifty, which it is needless here to insert.]

"As many of these tracts must be obscure by length of time, or defective for want of those discoveries which have been made since they were written, there will be added some historical, explanatory, or supplemental notes, in which the occasion of the treatise will be shewn, or an account given of the author, allusions to forgotten facts will be illustrated, or the subject farther elucidated from other writers."

We may well conclude that the proposal met with all due encouragement, as the pieces recommended in it were in the year 1749, published in eight quarto volumes. To the first of them was prefixed, as an introduction, an essay on the origin and importance of small tracts and fugitive pieces.

Osborne was an opulent tradesman, as may be judged from his ability to make so large a purchase as that above-mentioned; he was used to boast that he was worth forty thousand pounds, but of booksellers he was one of the most ignorant: of title-pages or editions he had no knowledge or remembrance, but in all the tricks and arts of his trade he was most expert. Johnson, in his life of Pope[255] says, that he was entirely destitute of shame, without sense of any disgrace, but that of poverty. He purchased a number of unsold copies of Mr. Pope's "Iliad," of the folio size, printed on an inferior paper, and without cuts, and cutting off the top and bottom margins, which were very large, had the impudence to call them the subscription books, and to vend them as such.* His insolence to his customers was also frequently past bearing. If one came for a book in his catalogue, he would endeavour to force on him some new publication of his own, and, if he refused, would affront him.

I mention the above particulars of this worthless fellow as an introduction to a fact respecting his behaviour to Johnson, which I have often heard related, and which himself confessed to be true. Johnson, while employed in selecting pieces for the "Harleian Miscellany," was necessitated, not only to peruse the title-page of each article, but frequently to examine its contents, in order to form a judgment of its worth and importance, in the doing whereof, it must be supposed, curiosity might sometimes detain him too long, and whenever it did, Osborne was offended. Seeing Johnson one day deeply engaged in perusing a book, and the work being for the instant at a stand, he

* See a note on the "Dunciad," Book ii. verse 167, in the later editions.

reproached him with inattention and delay, in such coarse language as few men would use, and still fewer could brook: the other in his justification asserted somewhat, which Osborne answered by giving him the lie; Johnson's anger at so foul a charge, was not so great as to make him forget that he had weapons at hand: he seized a folio that lay near him, and with it felled his adversary to the ground, with some exclamation, which, as it is differently related, I will not venture to repeat.

This transaction, which has been seldom urged with any other view than to shew that Johnson was of an irascible temper, is generally related as an entertaining story: with me it has always been a subject of melancholy reflection. In our estimation of the enjoyments of this life, we place wisdom, virtue, and learning in the first class, and riches and other adventitious gifts of fortune in the last. The natural subordination of the one to the other we see and approve, and when that is disturbed we are sorry. How then must it affect a sensible mind to contemplate that misfortune, which could subject a man endued with a capacity for the highest offices, a philosopher, a poet, an orator, and, if fortune had so ordered, a chancellor, a prelate, a statesman, to the insolence of a mean, worthless, ignorant fellow, who had nothing to justify the superiority he exercised over a man so endowed, but those advantages which Providence indiscriminately dispenses to the worthy and the worthless! to see such a man, for the supply of food and raiment, submitting to the commands of his inferior, and, as a hireling, looking up to him for the reward of his work, and receiving it accompanied with reproach and contumely, this, I say, is a subject of melancholy reflection.

Having completed the Harleian catalogue and miscellany, and thereby disengaged himself from Osborne, Johnson was at liberty to pursue some scheme of profit, less irksome than that in which he had so lately been employed. Biography was a kind of writing that he delighted in; it called forth his powers of reflection, and gave him occasion to contemplate human life and manners. He had made some essays of his talent in the lives of Barretier and Boerhaave, men unknown to him, and was now prompted to give to the world that of a friend with whom he had been closely intimate, whose singular character and adverse fortunes afforded ample scope for discussion, and furnished matter for many admirable lessons of morality.

This friend was Savage,[256] of whom it has above been related, that his friends had undertaken to raise an annual subscription for his support at Swansea in Wales, but that his departure for that place was retarded by some difficulties that occurred in the course of their endeavours to raise it: these, however, were overcome, and Savage, in July 1739, took leave of London, and also of Johnson, who, as himself tells us, parted from him with tears in his

eyes. His subsequent history is, that taking his way through Bristol, he was for some time detained there by an embargo on the shipping. After some stay he was enabled to depart, and he reached Swansea; but not liking the place, and resenting the treatment of his contributors, who seem to have been slack in the performance of their engagements to support him, he returned to Bristol with an intent to come to London, a purpose he was hindered from effecting by an arrest of his person, on the 10th of January 1742–3, for the small sum of eight pounds, and carried to Newgate in that city, where, not being able to extricate himself from his confinement, he, on the 31st day of July, in the same year, died.

This event, and the affection which he had long entertained for the man, called forth Johnson to an exercise of his pen, which, as it is said, employed it only thirty-six hours, in a narrative of events so singular as could scarcely fail to gratify the curiosity of every one who wished to be instructed in the science of human life. The subject was such an one as is seldom exhibited to view; a man dropped into the world as from a cloud, committed to the care of those who had little interest in his preservation, and none in the forming his temper, or the infusing into him those little precepts of morality, which might germinate in his mind, and be productive of habitual virtue; these are advantages which children of the lowest birth enjoy, in some degree, in common with those of a higher; but of these he never participated. All the knowledge he attained to, from his infancy upwards, was self-acquired, and, bating that he was born in a city where the refinements of civil life presented to his view a rule of moral conduct, he may be said to have been little less a miracle than Hai Ebn Yokdhan[257] is feigned to be.

It has been observed of those children who owe their nurture and education to a certain benevolent institution in this metropolis,[258] that being by their misfortune strangers to those charities that arise from the relations of father, son, and brother, their characters assume a complexion that marks their conduct through life. The same may be said of Savage, and will perhaps account for that want of gratitude to his benefactors, and other defects in his temper, with which he seems to have been justly chargeable.

The manner in which Johnson has written this life is very judicious: it afforded no great actions to celebrate, no improvements in science to record, nor any variety of events to remark on. It was a succession of disappointments, and a complication of miseries; and as it was an uniform contradiction to the axiom that human life is chequered with good and evil accidents, was alone singular. The virtues and vices which like flowers and weeds sprang up together, and perhaps with an equal degree of vigour, in the mind of this unfortunate man, afforded, it is true, a subject of speculation, and Johnson has

not failed to avail himself of so extraordinary a moral phenomenon as that of a mind exalted to a high degree of improvement without the aid of culture.

But if the events of Savage's life are few, the reflections thereon are many, so that the work may as well be deemed a series of oeconomical[259] precepts as a narrative of facts. In it is contained a character, which may be said to be *sui generis*; a woman who had proclaimed her crimes,[260] and solicited reproach, disowning from the instant of his birth, and procuring to be illegitimated by parliament, her own son, dooming him to poverty and obscurity, and launching him upon the ocean of life, only that he might be swallowed by its quicksands, or dashed upon its rocks, and lastly, endeavouring to rid herself from the danger of being at any time made known to him, by secretly sending him to the American plantations.

It farther exhibits to view, a man of genius destitute of relations and friends, and with no one to direct his pursuits, becoming an author by necessity, and a writer for the stage, and forming such connections as that profession leads to, sometimes improving, and at others slighting them, but at all times acting with a spirit that better became his birth than his circumstances; for who that knew how to distinguish between one and the other, would, like Savage, have solicited assistance, and spurned at the offer of it? or repaid reiterated kindnesses with neglect or oblivious taciturnity?

Interspersed in the course of the narrative are a great variety of moral sentiments, prudential maxims, and miscellaneous observations on men and things; but the sentiment that seems to pervade the whole is, that idleness, whether voluntary or necessitated, is productive of the greatest evils that human nature is exposed to; and this the author exemplifies in an enumeration of the calamities that a man is subjected to by the want of a profession, and by shewing how far less happy such an one must be than he who has only a mere manual occupation to depend on for his support.

The concluding paragraph of the book explains the author's intention in writing it, and points out the use that may be made of it in such pointed terms, that I shall need, as I trust, no excuse for inserting so fine a specimen of stile and sentiment.

"This relation will not be wholly without its use, if those who languish under any part of his sufferings shall be enabled to fortify their patience by reflecting, that they feel only those afflictions from which the abilities of Savage did not exempt him; or if those who in confidence of superior capacities or attainments, disregard the common maxims of life, shall be reminded, that nothing will supply the want of prudence, and that negligence and irregularity long continued, will make knowledge useless, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible."[261]

This celebrated essay in biography was published in the month of February 1744, and gave occasion to Henry Fielding, the author of a periodical paper intitled "The Champion,"[262] to commend it in these words: "This pamphlet is, without flattery to its author, as just and well written a piece as, of its kind, I ever saw; so that, at the same time that it highly deserves, it stands certainly very little in need of this recommendation.——As to the history of the unfortunate person whose memoirs compose this work, it is certainly penned with equal accuracy and spirit, of which I am so much the better judge, as I knew many of the facts mentioned in it to be strictly true, and very fairly related. Besides, it is not only the story of Mr. Savage, but innumerable incidents relating to other persons and other affairs, which render this a very amusing, and withal, a very instructive and valuable performance. The author's observations are short, significant and just, as his narrative is remarkably smooth and well disposed: his reflections open to us all the recesses of the human heart, and, in a word, a more just or pleasant, a more engaging or a more improving treatise on the excellencies and defects of human nature, is scarce to be found in our own or perhaps in any other language."

The life I am now writing seems to divide itself into two periods; the first marked by a series of afflictions, the last by some cheering rays of comfort and comparative affluence. Johnson, at this time, had passed nearly the half of his days: here, therefore, let me make a stand, and having hitherto represented him in his literary, endeavour to exhibit him in his religious, moral, and oeconomical character, adverting first to such particulars respecting the course of life he had chosen, and the evils to which it exposed him, as seem properly to belong to the first member of the above division.

As the narrowness of his father's circumstances had shut him out of those professions for which an university education is a necessary qualification, and his project of an academy had failed, he had, as to his course of life, no choice but idleness or the exercise of his talents in a way that might afford him subsistence, and provide for the day that was passing over him,[263] so that the profession of an author was the only one in his power to adopt. That it was far from an eligible one, he had in some degree experienced, and his aversion to labour magnified the evils of it, by bringing to his recollection the examples of Amhurst, of Savage, of Boyse,* and many others, from which

* The lives of these three persons as they exhibit an example of the distresses to which idleness and the want of moral principles may expose men of parts, may be an useful caveat to young men of the rising generation, and prove a more powerful persuasive to industry, oeconomy, and the right use of great talents, than the most laboured argument. That of Savage presents itself to view in the works of Johnson: those of the other two are elsewhere to be found, and an abridgment of each of them is inserted, for the same

he inferred, that slavery and indigence were its inseparable concomitants, and reflecting on the lives and conduct of these men, might fear that it had a necessary tendency to corrupt the mind, and render the followers of it, with respect to religion, to politics, and even to morality, altogether indifferent. Nor could he be ignorant of that mortifying dependence which the profession itself exposes men to, a profession that leads to no preferment, and for its most laborious exertions confers no greater a reward than a supply of natural wants.

Ralph,[264] a writer of this class, and who had formed some such connections as would have flattered the hopes of any man, was the tool of that party of which the late lord Melcombe laboured to be the head. To serve the inter-

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reason that beacons are erected to point out rocks and shoals to ignorant or benighted persons.

Nicholas Amhurst was born at Marden in Kent; but in what year is uncertain: he received his education in Merchant-Taylors' school in London, and was thence removed to St. John's college, Oxford; but expelled for the libertinism of his principles and the irregularity of his conduct. After this expulsion, for which very different causes were assigned by him and those who enforced it, he satirized the learning and discipline of the university, and exposed the characters of its most respectable members, in a poem called "Oculus Britanniae," and in his "Terrae Filius," a work compounded of wit and scurrility. He, soon after, quitted Oxford, came to London, and published a volume of miscellanies: he wrote many satirical and malignant poems, and translated some of Mr. Addison's Latin pieces; but his chief fame arose from his conducting the "Craftsman," in which he was made the tool of opposition. For some extraordinarily indiscreet use of his libelling powers, the printers of this paper were seized, and Mr. Amhurst, with a view of being considered as the victim of his party, and more than indemnified for all he should suffer, surrendered himself; but the prosecution dropped, and he was disappointed. Upon the famous compromise of 1742, no terms were stipulated by his friends for him who had been the instrument of their success; the reflection whereon is thought to have precipitated his end; for he died in a few months after, as is said, of a broken heart, and was indebted to the bounty of Franklin the printer for a grave.

Samuel Boyse,[265] the son of an English dissenting minister, was born in 1708, and educated at a private school in Dublin. At eighteen he was sent to Glasgow, and before he had completed his nineteenth year, married the daughter of a tradesman there. His father, for a considerable time, supported his natural extravagance, which his wife, who was dissolute and vicious, rendered still more burthensome. This resource failing, he went to Edinburgh, where his poetical abilities procured him many friends, particularly the countess of Eglinton and lord Stormont, who assisted him in his exigencies, and were disposed to continue their bounty; but Boyse's character and deportment repelled kindness. His talents were great: he had a genius for poetry, for painting, and music; yet it was so obscured by a mean and sordid temper, that many knew him intimately without discovering his abilities: his chosen acquaintances were such as could not serve him: he was intoxicated whenever he had the means to avoid starving, and

est of it, he wrote a periodical paper, and a voluminous history of England, fraught with such principles as he was required to disseminate. This man, in a pamphlet intitled "The case of authors by profession," has enumerated all the evils that attend it, and shewn it to be the last that a liberal mind would choose.

All this Johnson knew and had duly weighed: the lesser evils of an author's profession, such as a dependence on booksellers, and a precarious income, he was able to endure, and the greater, that is to say, the prostitution of his talents, he averted; for, whatever sacrifices of their principles such men as Waller, Dryden,[266] and others, have made in their writings, or to whatever lengths they may have gone in panegyrics or adulatory addresses, his integ-

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was voluptuous, luxurious,[267] and boundlessly expensive, without the least taste for what is elegant. The contempt he drew on himself at Edinburgh made him resolve on quitting it for London, whither those who had been his patrons gave him very valuable recommendatory letters; but he slighted them, and preferred subsisting by precarious donations. In the year 1740 he was reduced to the want of necessary apparel, and having pawned whatever he could exist without, was confined by his indigence to a bed which had no sheets: here, to procure food, he wrote; his posture sitting up in bed, his only covering a blanket, in which a hole was made to admit of the employment of his arm.

In 1742, while in a spunging-house,[268] he was driven to solicit Cave for some temporary relief, and to procure it, wrote the following horrible description of the situation into which his neglect of oeconomy and his want of common prudence had plunged him.

"Inscription for St. LAZARUS's cave.[269]

Hodie, teste coelo summo,
Sine pane, sine nummo;
Sorte positus infeste,
Scribo tibi dolens moeste.
Fame, bile, tumet jecur:
Urbane, mitte opem, precor
Tibi enim cor humanum
Non a malis alienum:
Mihi mens nec male grato,
Pro a te favore dato.

"ALCAEUS

"Ex gehenna debitoria,
Vulgo, domo spongiatoria."

"SIR,

"I wrote you yesterday an account of my unhappy case. I am every moment threatened to be turned out here, because I have not money to pay for my bed two nights past, which is usually paid beforehand; and I am loth to go into the counter, till I see if my

rity was not to be warped: his religious and political opinions he retained and cherished; and in a sullen confidence in the strength of his mental powers, disdained to solicit patronage by any of the arts in common use with writers of almost every denomination. That this firmness was not affected, will appear by a retrospect to the methods he took for the attainment of knowledge, and the settling his notions as to the great duties of life.

His course of study at the university was irregular and desultory, and scarcely determined as to its object. Mathematics and physics he had but little relish for, from whence it may be inferred, that his natural powers had received comparatively but small improvement from an academical education. An habitual disposition to thought and reflection enabled him however upon his leaving it, to attain to that degree of improvement which, in many minds, is not effected without intense application and labour; and the sentiments of piety which he had imbibed in his youth, directed him to those studies, which, without attending to secular rewards, he thought of greatest importance to

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affair can possibly be made up. I hope, therefore, you will have the humanity to send me half a guinea for support, till I can finish your papers in my hands. The ode on the British nation I hope to have done to day, and want a proof copy of that part of Stowe you design for the present magazine, that it may be improved as far as possible from your assistance. Your papers are but ill transcribed. I agree with you as to St. Augustine's cave. I humbly intreat your answer, having not tasted any thing since Tuesday evening I came here; and my coat will be taken off my back for the charge of the bed, so that I must go into prison naked, which is too shocking for me to think of.

"I am, with sincere regard,
"Sir,
"Your unfortunate humble servant,
"S. BOYSE.

"Crown coffee-house, Grocer's alley,
"Poultry, July 21, 1742.

"Received from Mr. Cave the sum of half a guinea by me, in confinement, S. Boyse."

The miseries of his confinement did not teach him discretion: he was released, but his wants were little abated, and he made use of the most disgraceful arts to excite charity: he sometimes raised subscriptions for non-existent poems, and sometimes employed his wife to give out that he was dying. He was afterwards engaged, at a very low rate, in the compilation of an historical view of the transactions of Europe, by Mr. Henry of Reading; at which place his wife died. To signify his sorrow for her death, he tied a black ribbon round the neck of a lapdog, which, to acquire the character of a man of taste, he used to carry in his arms. After he left Reading, he grew more decent in his dress and behaviour; but his health was then declining, and in May 1749 he died in an obscure lodging near Shoe-lane, and was buried at the charge of the parish.

his future happiness. In conformity to this motive, he applied himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and the evidences of religion, to the writings of the fathers and of the Greek moralists, to ecclesiastical and civil history, and to classical literature and philology. The result of these his mental exercises was a thorough conviction of the truth of the Christian religion, an adherence to the doctrine and discipline of our established church, and to that form of civil government which we number among the blessings derived to us from the wisdom and bravery of our ancestors, with this farther advantage, that they rooted in his mind those principles of religion, morality, and, I will add, loyalty, that influenced his conduct during the remainder of his life.

To speak of the first, his religion, it had a tincture of enthusiasm,[270] arising, as is conjectured, from the fervour of his imagination, and the perusal of St. Augustine and other of the fathers, and the writings of Kempis[271] and the ascetics,[272] which prompted him to the employment of composing meditations and devotional exercises. It farther produced in him an habitual reverence for the name of God, which he was never known to utter but on proper occasions and with due respect, and operated on those that were admitted to his conversation as a powerful restraint of all profane discourse, and idle discussions of theological questions; and, lastly, it inspired him with that charity, meaning thereby a general concern for the welfare of all mankind, without which we are told that all pretensions to religion are vain.

To enable him at times to review his progress in life, and to estimate his improvement in religion, he, in the year 1734, began to note down the transactions of each day, recollecting, as well as he was able, those of his youth, and interspersing such reflections and resolutions as, under particular circumstances, he was induced to make. This register, which he intitled "Annales," does not form an entire volume, but is contained in a variety of little books folded and stitched together by himself, and which were found mixed with his papers. Some specimens of these notanda have been lately printed with his prayers; but to warrant what I have said, respecting his religious character, I have selected from the "Annales," and insert in the margin below, an earlier extract than any contained in that collection.*

* "Friday, August 27th," [1734] "10 at night. This day I have trifled away, except that I have attended the school in the morning. I read to night in Rogers's sermons. To night I began the breakfast law anew.

"Sept. 7th, 1736. I have this day entered upon my 28th year. Mayest thou, O God, enable me for Jesus Christ's sake, to spend this in such a manner that I may receive comfort from it at the hour of death, and in the day of judgment. Amen.

"I intend to-morrow to review the rules I have at any time laid down, in order to practise them."[273]

His moral character displayed itself in the sincerity of his friendships, his love of justice and of truth, and his placability; of all which qualities, the testimonies in his favour are innumerable. But as the character here proposed to be given him is not intended to palliate his errors in behaviour, truth obliges me to say, that his outward deportment was in many instances a just subject of censure. Before his arrival in town, he was but little accustomed to free conversation with his superiors, so that that kind of submission he had been used to pay them he seemed to exact from others, and when it was refused him he was petulent, captious, and dogged.[274] His discourse, which through life was of the didactic kind, was replete with original sentiments expressed in the strongest and most correct terms, and in such language, that whoever could have heard and not seen him, would have thought him reading. For the pleasure he communicated to his hearers, he expected not the tribute of silence: on the contrary, he encouraged others, particularly young men, to speak, and paid a due attention to what they said; but his prejudices were so strong and deeply rooted, more especially against Scotchmen and whigs, that whoever thwarted him ran the risque of a severe rebuke, or at best became entangled in an unpleasant altercation.

He was scarce settled in town before this dogmatical behaviour, and his impatience of contradiction, became a part of his character, and deterred many persons of learning, who wished to enjoy the delight of his conversation, from seeking his acquaintance. There were not wanting those among his friends who would sometimes hint to him, that the conditions of free conversation imply an equality among those engaged in it, which are violated whenever superiority is assumed: their reproofs he took kindly, and would in excuse for what they called the pride of learning, say, that it was of the defensive kind. The repetition of these had, however, a great effect on him; they abated his prejudices, and produced a change in his temper and manners that rendered him at length a desirable companion in the most polite circles.

In the lesser duties of morality he was remiss: he slept when he should have studied, and watched when he should have been at rest: his habits were slovenly, and the neglect of his person and garb so great as to render his appearance disgusting. He was an ill husband of his time, and so regardless of the hours of refection, that at two he might be found at breakfast, and at dinner at eight. In his studies, and I may add, in his devotional exercises, he was both intense and remiss, and in the prosecution of his literary employments, dilatory and hasty, unwilling, as himself confessed, to work, and working with vigour and haste.*[275]

* See his "Prayers" page 184.

His indolence, or rather the delight he took in reading and reflection, rendered him averse to bodily exertions. He was ill made for riding, and took so little pleasure in it, that, as he once told me, he has fallen asleep on his horse. Walking he seldom practised, perhaps for no better reason, than that it required the previous labour of dressing. In a word, mental occupation was his sole pleasure, and the knowledge he acquired in the pursuit of it he was ever ready to communicate: in which faculty he was not only excellent but expert; for, as it is related of lord Bacon by one who knew him,* that "in all companies he appeared a good proficient, if not a master, in those arts entertained for the subject of every one's discourse," and that "his most casual talk deserved to be written," so it may be said of Johnson, that his conversation was ever suited to the profession, condition, and capacity of those with whom he talked.

Of a mind thus stored it is surely not too much to say, that it qualified the possessor of it for many more important employments than the instruction of non-adults in the elements of literature; yet so humbly did he seem to think of himself when he published the advertisement of his little academy at Edial, that to be able to establish it, was the utmost of his ambition; but that hope failing, his necessities drove him to London, and placed him in the station of life in which we are now to contemplate him.

It has been mentioned in a preceding page, that in the course of his studies he had formed a list of literary undertakings, on which, when time should serve or occasion invite, he meant to exercise his pen: but such was the versatility of his temper, that of forty-nine articles which he had fixed on, not one appears to have engaged his future attention. Among the rest he had purposed to give a history of the revival of learning in Europe, and also a comparison of philosophical and christian morality, by sentences collected from the moralists and fathers.† The former of these, as it required the labour of deep research, and the perusal of a great variety of authors, was a work that we may suppose he was deterred from by frequent reflections on the pains it would cost him; but that he should abandon a work so easy in the execution, and so much to the credit of the religion he professed, as the latter, is not less to be wondered at than lamented.

These projects of Johnson were most of them resolved on in his early days, but it is not improbable that he was induced to give them up by the prospect of the gain that might arise from the publication of a new edition of Shakespeare, which it is certain he meditated, about the year 1745.[276] To an undertaking of this kind the temptations were very strong, for, besides that

* "Works of Francis Osborn,"[277] Esq; 8vo. 1673, page 151.

† Vide supra, page 83, 84, in not.[278]

the former editors had fallen short in their endeavours to explain and settle the text, he had great reason to hope it would be well received, for at that time it was observable, that the taste of the public was refining, and that the lovers of stage entertainments and dramatic literature had begun to nauseate the tragedies and comedies of the last age, which were formed after French models, and to discern the beauties and excellencies of this author.

That this hope was not ill-grounded, may reasonably be inferred from the success of those many editions of this author that have appeared since the above time, of one whereof above eleven thousand copies have been sold, and next, from the effects of Mr. Garrick's acting, which had revived the exhibition of Shakespeare's plays, and excited readers of every class to the perusal of them.

But, perhaps, the greatest of Johnson's temptations to this undertaking, saving at all times his necessities, was, a desire to display his skill in English literature and rational criticism in their widest extent, in both which requisites the deficiencies of the former editions were obvious. Of those of the players and others, down to the year 1685, little in favour can be said: the first that made any pretensions to correctness was that of Rowe in 1709, and next to that, Mr. Pope's in 4to, 1723. Whatever other were the merits of these two persons, it is certain that neither of them was sufficiently qualified for the task he had undertaken; not that they wanted the power of discerning the excellences of their author, or clearing his page of many corruptions that had long obscured his sense, but that they were deficient in that lower kind of literature, without which all endeavours to fix or explain the text of an old writer will ever be found to be vain.

To this kind of knowledge, as far as may be judged from the course of his studies, and indeed from the preface to his edition, Rowe had not the least pretension. Nor does it appear that Pope was at all conversant with, or that he understood the phraseology of the writers contemporary with his author. So little was he used to that kind of reading, that, as himself confessed, he had never heard of the "Virgidemiarum" of bishop Hall,[279] a collection of the wittiest and most pointed satires in our language, till it was shewn to him, and that so late in his life, that he could only express his approbation of it by a wish that he had seen it sooner. That vernacular[280] erudition, contemptible as it has been represented, is an indispensable qualification for the restoring or explaining the sense of corrupted or obsolete authors, and even of those more recent, is most clearly evidenced in one case by the later editions of our great dramatic poet, and in the other by Dr. Grey's edition of "Hudibras,"[281] without the assistance whereof, the many allusions to facts, circumstances, and situations therein contained, must for ever have remained unintelligible.

Theobald was the first of this class of editors. For the purpose of publishing Shakespeare, he, in the preface to his first edition,[282] asserts, that he had read no fewer than eight hundred old English plays, besides histories and novels to a great amount; and the same kind of study has, with different degrees of assiduity, been pursued by others, even to the last of his successors.

With these inducements, and the aid of two valuable editions then extant, Theobald's and that of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Johnson projected a new one, and, as a specimen of his abilities for the undertaking, published in the year 1745, "Miscellaneous observations of the tragedy of Macbeth, with remarks on Sir Thomas Hanmer's edition of Shakespeare," with proposals for one by himself. These observations, as they go rather to adjust the various readings, and settle the text by conjectural[283] notes, than explain allusions, did not enough attract the notice of the public to induce him actually to engage in the work; they were however evidences of great sagacity, and drew from Dr. Warburton a testimony[284] that set him above all other competitors; for thus does he speak of Johnson: "As to all those things which have been published under the titles of Essays, Remarks, Observations, &c. on Shakespeare, (if you except some critical notes on Macbeth, given as a specimen of a projected edition, and written as appears by a man of parts and genius) the rest are absolutely below a serious notice"; and Johnson, who never forgot a kindness, remembered it by mentioning Warburton in terms of great respect, as occasion offered, in his edition of Shakespeare, which he published many years after.

By this and other of Johnson's writings, his reputation as a scholar and a philologist was so well established, that the booksellers of greatest opulence in the city, who had long meditated the publication of a dictionary,[285] after the model of those of France and the Academia della Crusca, looked upon him as a fit person to be employed in such an undertaking. He was at that time in the vigour of his life, and by the offer of a liberal reward from men of such known worth as those were who made it, was tempted to engage with them, and accordingly set himself to compile that work, which, he living to complete it, does him and all concerned in it great honour.

Nor can we suppose but that he was in a great measure incited to the prosecution of this laborious work by a reflection on the state of our language at this time, from the imperfection of all English dictionaries then extant, and the great distance in point of improvement in this kind of literature between us and some of our neighbours. And here let me take occasion, by an enumeration of the several authors that had gone before him, to point out the sources of that intelligence which Johnson's voluminous work contains.

Of Latin dictionaries[286] and such as give the significations of English ap-

pellatives with a view only to illustrate the Latin, he must be supposed to have made some use, and of these the earliest is Sir Thomas Elyot's "Bibliotheca Eliotae," published in 1541. This was improved by Cooper after many years' labor, by the addition of 33000 words, and published in 1565 in a large folio, and was a reason with Queen Elizabeth for promoting him to the bishopric of Lincoln.*

In 1572 was published an "Alvearie" or quadruple dictionary of four sundry tongues, namely, English, Latin, Greek and French, by John Baret of Cambridge, compiled with the assistance of his pupils, but arranged and methodized by himself. This fact he ingenuously confessed in his preface, which, as a literary curiosity, is inserted below.†

To Baret's succeeding John Minsheu's "Guide into the tongues," first published in 1617 in eleven, and in 1627 in nine languages, but with a considerable increase in the number of radical words. In this the author undertakes to give the etymologies or derivations of the greater part of the words therein

* The following fact respecting this work remains upon record, viz. that his wife burnt the notes that he had been eight years gathering, and that he was other eight years in gathering the same notes wherewith he composed his dictionary. Her pretence was fear that he should kill himself with study; but she was a shrew and infamous for lewdness.

† "About eighteene yeeres agone, having pupils at Cambridge studious of the Latine tongue, I vsed them often to write epistles and theames together, and dailie to translate some peece of English into Latine, for the more speedie and easie attaining of the same. And after we had a little begun, perceiuing what great trouble it was to come running to me for eurie worde they missed, (knowing then of no other dictionarie to help vs, but Sir *Thomas Eliot*'s librarie, which was come out a little before:) I appointed them certaine leaues of the same booke euerie daie to write the English before the Latin, and likewise to gather a number of fine phrases out of *Cicero, Terence, Caesar, Liuie*, &c. & to set them vnder severall titles, for the more readie finding them againe at their neede. Thus within a yeere or two, they had gathered together a great volume, which (for the apt similitude betweene the good scholers and diligent bees in gathering their waxe and honie into their hive) I called then their *Aluearie*, both for a memoriall, by whom it was made, and also by this name to incourage other to the like diligence, for that they should not see their worthie praise for the same, vnworthilie drowned in obliuion. Not long after, diuers of our friends borrowing this our worke which we had thus contriued and wrought only for our owne priuate vse, often and many waies moued me to put it in print, for the common profit of others, and the publike propagation of the Latine tongue, or els to suffer them to get it printed at their proper costes and charges. But I both vnwilling, and halfe ashamed to haue our rude notes come abroad vnder the view of so manie learned eies, & especiallie finding no leasure from my prefixed studies for the polishing of the same, vtterlie denied their request, vntil at length comming to London, the right worshipfull maister *Powle*, & maister *Garth*, with other, singular sauourers of all good learning, and my verie especiall friends, with their importunate and earnest exhortations had cleane ouercome my contrarie mind. Then immediatelie laieing aside all other studies, I was

contained, but as they amount at the most to no more than 14713, the work must be deemed not sufficiently copious.

In 1656, Thomas Blount[287] a lawyer of the Inner Temple, published a small volume, intitled "Glossographia, or a dictionary interpreting such hard words, whether Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, &c. that are now used in our refined English tongue, &c." in which the articles though few are well explained. This book, as far as it went, was of singular use to Edward Philips,[288] a nephew and pupil of Milton, in the compilation of a dictionary by him published in folio, 1657, intitled "The New World of Words," which, as it is much more copious than that of Blount, and comprehends a great quantity of matter, must be looked on as the basis of English lexicography.

Of technical as also of etymological dictionaries,[289] many have long been extant, namely, "The Interpreter" or Law Dictionary of Dr. Cowell a civilian, a Common-Law Dictionary of the above Thomas Blount, the "Etymologicum" of Junius, and another of Skinner, both well known and frequently referred to, and of these did Johnson avail himself.

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faine to seeke for writers and workemen about the same, to make it readie for the presse. Therefore I went to diuers of mine old pupils then being at the Innes of Court, delivering ech of them some part of their old discontinued worke to see it written faire againe, and for other peeces which I thought vnperfect, I gat certaine of the best scholers of two or three scholes in London, to write after my prescription: but in the French tables, although I had before trauelled in diuers countries beyond the seas, both for language and learning: yet not trusting to mine owne skill, I used the helpe of M. *Chaloner,* and M. *Claudius*. Upon this occasion I being much conuersant about the Innes of Court, and also sometime occupied among scholers in the scholes, there came vnto me a printer shewing me *Huloets* dictionarie (which before I neuer sawe) and told me he intended to print it out of hand, augmented with our notes also if I would. But this bargaine went not forward with him for diuers causes which here it were to long to reherse. And surelie, had not the right honourable Sir *Thomas Smith* knight, principall secretarie to the Queenes Majestie, that noble *Theseus* of learning, and comfortable patrone to all students, and the right worshipfull M. *Nowell* deane of Pawles, manie waies encouraged me in this wearie worke (the charges were so great, and the losse of my time so much grieued me) I had never bene able alone to haue wrestled against so manie troubles, but long ere this had cleane broken off our worke begun, and cast it by for euer.

"Now therefore (gentle reader) looke not to finde in this booke euerie thing whatsoeuer thou wouldst seeke for, as though all things were here so perfect that nothing lacked, or were possible to be added hereunto. But if thou maiest onelie find here the most wordes that thou needest, or at the least so manie as no other dictionarie yet extant, or made hath the like: take then I saie in good part this our simple *Aluearie* in the meane time, and geue God the praise that first moued me to set my pupils on worke thereabout, and so mercifullie also hath strengthened vs (thus as it is) at length to atchieue and finish the same."

The dictionary of Nathan Bailey a schoolmaster, was first published in a thick octavo volume, so well disposed with respect to the character and method of printing, as to contain more matter than could otherwise have been comprized in a volume of that size. After it had passed many editions with improvements by the author himself, he meditated an enlargement of it, and being assisted in the mathematical part by Mr. Gordon, in the botanical by the famous gardener Philip Miller, and in the etymological by Mr. Lediard, a professor of the modern languages, it was published in a folio size. The last improvement of it was by Dr. Joseph Nicoll Scott, who, of a dissenting teacher had become a physician and a writer for the booksellers.

Johnson, who before this time, together with his wife, had lived in obscurity, lodging at different houses in the courts and alleys in and about the Strand and Fleet street, had, for the purpose of carrying on this arduous work, and being near the printers employed in it, taken a handsome house in Gough square, and fitted up a room in it with desks and other accommodations for amanuenses, who, to the number of five or six, he kept constantly under his eye. An interleaved copy of Bailey's dictionary[290] in folio he made the repository of the several articles, and these he collected by incessant reading the best authors in our language, in the practice whereof, his method was to score with a black-lead pencil the words by him selected, and give them over to his assistants to insert in their places. The books he used for this purpose were what he had in his own collection, a copious but a miserably ragged one, and all such as he could borrow; which latter, if ever they came back to those that lent them, were so defaced as to be scarce worth owning, and yet, some of his friends were glad to receive and entertain them as curiosities.

It seems that Johnson had made a considerable progress in his work when he was informed, that the earl of Chesterfield had heard and spoken favourably of his design. He had never till this time experienced the patronage of any other than booksellers, and though he had but an indistinct idea of that of a nobleman, a reputed wit, and an accomplished courtier, and doubted whether he was to rate it among the happy incidents of his life, it might mean a liberal present or an handsome pension to encourage him in the prosecution of the work; he therefore resolved not to reject it by a supercilious comparison of his own talents with those of his lordship, or to slight a favour which he was not able to estimate. Accordingly, he in the year 1747, drew up and dedicated to lord Chesterfield, then a secretary of state, a plan of his dictionary,[291] the manuscript whereof he delivered to Mr. Whitehead the late laureat, who undertook to convey it to his lordship, but he having communicated it first to another person, it passed through other hands before it

reached that to which it was immediately directed: the result was an invitation from lord Chesterfield to the author.[292]

Never could there be a stronger contrast of characters than this interview produced: a scholar and a courtier, the one ignorant of the forms and modes of address, the other, to an affected degree, accomplished in both: the one in a manly and sententious stile directing his discourse to a weighty subject; the other dreading to incur the imputation of pedantry, and by the interposition of compliments and the introduction of new topics as artfully endeavouring to evade it. The acquaintance thus commenced was never improved into friendship. What his lordship thought of Johnson we may learn from his letters to an illegitimate son,[293] now extant.* Johnson was so little pleased with his once supposed patron, that he forbore not ever after to speak of him in terms of the greatest contempt.

How far Johnson was right in his opinion of this popular nobleman, or whether he is to be suspected of having resented more than he ought to have done, the coldness of his reception, or the disappointment of his hopes, will best appear by a survey of his character, as it arises out of the memoirs of his life prefixed to his miscellaneous works,[294] and the sentiments and principles which, for the instruction of his son, he, in a course of letters to him, from time to time communicated, and with the utmost solicitude laboured to inculcate and enforce.

His lordship's descent was from an illustrious, though not a very ancient family. Being, as himself relates, rather neglected by his father, and in his tender years bereft of his mother, the care of his education devolved on his grandmother, the marchioness of Halifax, a woman of exemplary virtue and discretion, who fearing, perhaps, the contagion of a public seminary, kept him in her family, and with the best assistance of instructors that she could procure, conferred on him all the benefits that could be hoped for in a course of domestic education.

At the age of eighteen he was sent to Trinity hall, Cambridge, where, as he informs us, he had a great deal of business on his hands, for he spent above an hour every day in studying the civil law, and as much in philosophy, and attended the mathematical lectures of the blind man (professor Saunderson) so that, adds he, I am now fully employed. But notwithstanding this intense application to his studies, this hopeful young nobleman seems to have brought from the university less of what all such seminaries profess to teach, sound learning and good morals, than a hatred of that pedantry and

* Letter 220.

illiberality of manners, which, throughout his writings, he reprobates as the inseparable concomitant of all academical institutions.

As I have not taken upon me the office of his lordship's biographer, I shall content myself with mentioning only those circumstances of his life and conduct that may serve to display his genuine character, and enable the world to determine whether it was such a one as a wise man would chuse as a model for imitation, or the standard by which he would form his own.

After about two years stay at the university, lord Stanhope, for that was then his only title, went abroad to travel, and at that enchanting place the Hague, began to be acquainted with the world. The college rust, which, if we may believe his panegyrist, he contracted in the university during so long a residence there, he found means to rub off, and exchanged for the polish of gaming, which rendered him the dupe of knaves and sharpers almost throughout his life, and this not from any real propensity to this pernicious vice, arising either from avarice or the exercise of those mental powers that make it a delight to many, but to acquire, what throughout his life he seems to have above all things been desirous of, the insipid character of a man of fashion.

Nature, it must be owned, had endowed him with fine parts, and these he cultivated with all the industry usually practised by such as prefer the semblance of what is really fit, just, lovely, honourable, to the qualities themselves; thus he had eloquence without learning, complaisance without friendship, and gallantry[295] without love.

Not much to his honour, he, in the year 1715, suffered himself to be chosen for a Cornish borough, and took his seat in the house of commons, at an age when it was in the power of any single member, by the speaking of a very few words, to have turned him out of it. Upon a hint of his incapacity, occasioned by a pert speech of his making, he had the prudence to quit the house and retire to Paris, glad of an opportunity of finishing his noviciate in a city that abounded with those pleasures and amusements that best suit with a mind to which study and the rational exercise of its faculties are labour.

Upon the death of his father in 1726, he succeeded to his title, and his seat in the house of peers. His speeches in that assembly, which were, though flimsy, florid, gave him, as that species of eloquence will ever do, the reputation of a fine orator; and in this he was so confident, that he has not scrupled to confess, that he has spoken with great applause, as on the bill for reforming the calendar, on subjects that he understood not. "For my own part," says he, "I could just as soon have talked Celtic or Sclavonian to them (the lords) as astronomy, and they would have understood me full as well; so I resolved

to do better than speak to the purpose, and to please instead of informing them";* and for this he gives as a reason, what perhaps will be found to be a true one, that every numerous assembly is a mob, and to such a one reason and good sense are never to be talked.

In addition to his character of an orator and a statesman, he was emulous of that of a poet, his pretensions to which were founded on sundry little compositions in verse that from time to time appeared in collections of that kind; elegant it must be confessed; but generally immoral and oft times profane.

His dissimulation, deep and refined as it was, did not lead him to profess any sincere regard to virtue or religion: the grosser immoralities he affects to speak of with abhorrence; but such as might be practised without the loss of health and reputation he seemed to think there was no law against. He was therefore, if secret, vain in his amours,[296] and though, setting aside his mien, his person had little to recommend it, for he was low of stature, had coarse features, and a cadaverous complexion,† his confidence in the prosecution of them was such as exposed him to greater risques of personal safety than most men would chuse to run; and of this I shall now produce an instance.

A lady of high quality,[297] and a relation of one who had the story from her own mouth and told it me, having been married some few years but never having brought her lord a child, was surprized one morning by a visit from lord Chesterfield, whom she had frequently seen and conversed with at court. After the usual compliments had passed, his lordship in that easy gay style which he so strongly recommends to his son, gave her to understand, that he should be happy to form such a connection with her ladyship, as it was more than probable might give being to an heir to the honours and possessions of that noble family into which she had matched. I will not attempt to describe the indignation which the lady felt at such an unexampled instance of impudence as the proposal indicated. She rose from her chair, and with all the dignity of insulted modesty, commanded this well-bred lover, this minion of the graces, to quit her house, with this menace, "Think yourself well off, my lord, that for this affront I do not order my servants to push you headlong out of doors."

It is a refinement in modern gallantry, but an affront to human policy, to recognize in public, by the unqualified appellation of son, those to whom

* Letters to his son, number 215.[298]

† He was also long-visaged and long-necked, but from the shoulders to the waist very short, which a wit once observing, said, he was a giant cut down, alluding to the practice of cutting down ships of war to render them more active.

the laws of most civilized countries deny not only that but the privilege of heirs; yet this has this slave to forms and usages done in a series of letters to a young gentleman begotten by him out of wedlock, and in the life-time of one to whom we must suppose he once tendered himself, his honours, his possessions, and his heart. With a solicitude for his welfare, commendable it must be said in its general intention, he takes on himself to mold his person, to form his manners, and to furnish his mind. In the first of these particulars his lordship had great difficulties to encounter: the clay he had chosen to work upon was stiff, and resisted the plastic touch: the boy was encumbered with flesh, and nature had so carelessly compacted his limbs as scarcely to leave them the power of flexure. In a word, in infancy he was shapeless, and in youth a looby.[299] Never did a she-bear with more anxious assiduity labour to lick her cub into shape than this fond parent did to correct the errors of nature in the formation of this his darling: the head, the shoulders and the hands, were, by turns, the objects of his care; but the legs and feet seem to have engaged most of his attention: these upon his being sent abroad, were committed to the care of a dancing-master at Paris, whose instructions he estimates at a higher rate than the precepts of Aristotle.*[300] He recommends to form his manners les agrémens et les graces,† les manieres, la tournure, et les usages du beau monde;‡ and is perpetually reminding him of that trite maxim "Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re."§[301]

The best furniture[302] of a young man's mind are the precepts of religion and sound morality. Not a word of either of these do we meet with in two quarto volumes of those letters which I am now citing, but in them precepts of a different kind, such as respect his pleasures, abound. Assuming an air of sapience, which was not very natural to his lordship, he remarks, that in the course of the world the qualifications of the cameleon are often necessary, nay, they must be carried a little farther, and exerted a little sooner; "for you should," adds he "to a certain degree take the hue of either the man or woman that you want and wish to be upon terms with." Fatherly curiosity then prompts him to an enquiry into certain particulars, which these his own words will go near to explain:—"Apropos: have you yet found out at Paris any friendly and hospitable Madame de Lursay, qui veut bien se charger du soin de vous éduquer? And have you had any occasion of representing to her, qu'elle faisoit donc des noeuds? But I ask your pardon, Sir, for the abruptness of the question, and acknowledge that I am meddling with matters that are out of my department.

* Letter 215.
† Letter 214.
‡ Letter 217.
§ Letter 213.

However, in matters of less importance I desire to be de vos secrets le fidele dépositaire. Trust me with the general turn and colour of your amusements at Paris. Is it le fracas du grand monde, comédies, bals, opéras, cour, &c.? Or is it des petites societés moins bruiantes mais pas pour cela moins agréables? Where are you the most établi? Where are you le petit Stanhope? Voyez vous encore jour, à quelque arrangement honnête?" Letter 212.[303]

Farther to initiate him into vice, he recommends to him the "turning over men by day and women by night," for thus it pleases him to render the precept Nocturna versate manu versate diurna;*[304] and with matchless effrontery and total disregard for the personal safety of him whom he is instructing, advises him, in effect, to risque being run through the body, or the breaking his neck out of a bed chamber window, by commencing an intrigue[305] with a new-married and virtuous young lady. Hear the documents of our Mentor to this purpose: "Go," says he, "among women, with the good qualities of your sex, and you will acquire from them the softness and the graces of theirs. Men will then add affection to the esteem which they before had for you.—Women are the only refiners of the merit of men: it is true they cannot add weight; but they polish and give lustre to it. Apropos: I am assured that Madame de Blot, although she has no great regularity of features, is notwithstanding, excessively pretty, and that for all that, she has as yet been scrupulously constant to her husband, though she has now been married above a year. Surely she does not reflect that woman wants polishing. I would have you polish one another reciprocally. Assiduities, attentions, tender looks, and passionate declarations on your side, will produce some irresolute wishes at least on hers, and when even the slightest wishes arise, the rest will soon follow."†[306]

Finally, to attain these and the other ends which his lordship points out as the objects of his son's pursuit, he inculcates in the strongest terms the practice of those arts of crooked cunning, which, as lord Bacon has remarked,[307] oftner defeat than effect their purpose, and together with these, the general exercise of that dissimulation which was one of the most prominent features in his own character.

The letters from lord Chesterfield to his son are two hundred and eighty-five in number. The precepts contained in them are multifarious, and it is to be feared that they have not only been adopted by many ignorant parents and indiscreet tutors, but that they have greatly tended to corrupt the morals of the rising generation. As an antidote to the poison which they must be sup-

* Letter 217.

† Letter 218.

posed to have diffused, I shall here insert a letter of moral instruction from one of the wisest and greatest men that this nation ever had to boast of, to his son, and leave the reader to make the comparison between it and those of the nobleman of whom I am now speaking. It is from Sir Henry Sydney to his son Philip,[308] afterwards the famous Sir Philip, who, when arrived at the age of manhood, combining the qualities of a soldier, a scholar, a poet, and a courtier, was confessedly one of the most accomplished gentlemen in Europe.

"I have received two letters from you, one written in Latin, the other in French, which I take in good part, and will you to exercise that practice of learning often, for that will stand you in most stead in that profession of life that you are born to live in. And since this is my first letter that ever I did write to you, I will not that it be all empty of some advices, which my natural care of you provoketh me to wish you to follow, as documents to you in this your tender age. Let your first action be the lifting up of your mind to Almighty God by hearty prayer, and feelingly digest the words you speak in prayer with continual meditation and thinking of him to whom you pray, and of the matter for which you pray, and use this as an ordinary, at, and at an ordinary hour, whereby the time itself will put you in remembrance to do that which you are accustomed to do. In that time apply your study to such hours as your discreet master doth assign you, earnestly, and the time I know he will so limit as shall be both sufficient for your learning, and safe for your health: and mark the sense and the matter of that you read, as well as the words; so shall you both enrich your tongue with words, and your wit with matter, and judgment will grow as years grow in you. Be humble and obedient to your master; for unless you frame yourself to obey others, yea and feel in yourself what obedience is, you shall never be able to teach others how to obey you. Be courteous of gesture, and affable to all men, with diversity of reverence according to the dignity of the person: there is nothing that winneth so much with so little cost. Use moderate diet, so as after your meat you may find your wit fresher and not duller, and your body more lively and not more heavy. Seldom drink wine, and yet sometime do, lest being inforced to drink upon the sudden you should find yourself inflamed. Use exercise of body, but such as is without peril of your joints or bones: it will increase your force and enlarge your breath. Delight to be cleanly as well in all parts of your body as in your garments: it shall make you grateful in each company, and otherwise loathsome. Give yourself to be merry; for you degenerate from your father if you find not yourself most able in wit and body to do any thing when you be most merry: but let your mirth be ever void of all scurrility and biting words to any man, for a wound given by a word is oftentimes harder to be cured than

that which is given with the sword. Be you rather a hearer and bearer away of other mens' talk than a beginner or procurer of speech, otherwise you shall be counted to delight to hear yourself speak. If you hear a wise sentence or an apt phrase, commit it to your memory, with respect of the circumstances when you shall speak it. Let never oath be heard to come out of your mouth nor word of ribaldry: detest it in others; so shall custom make to yourself a law against it in yourself. Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuked of light fellows for maidenlike shamefacedness, than of your sad friends for pert boldness. Think upon every word that you will speak before you utter it, and remember how nature hath rampired up (as it were) the tongue with teeth, lips, yea and hair without the lips, and all betokening reins or bridles for the loose use of that member. Above all things tell no untruth, no not in trifles. The custom of it is naught, and let it not satisfy you that for a time the hearers take it for a truth, for after it will be known as it is, to your shame, for there cannot be a greater reproach to a gentleman than to be accounted a liar. Study and endeavour yourself to be virtuously occupied; so shall you make such an habit of well-doing in you that you shall not know how to do evil, though you would. Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of by your mother's side, and think that only by virtuous life and good action you may be an ornament to that illustrious family, and otherwise, through vice and sloth you shall be counted labes generis, one of the greatest curses that can happen to man. ——Well (my little Philip) this is enough for me, and too much I fear for you: but if I shall find that this light meal of digestion nourish any thing the weak stomach of your young capacity, I will, as I find the same grow stronger, feed it with tougher food.

"Your loving father, so long as
"you live in the fear of God,
"H. Sydney."*

The hopeful documents contained in this institute[309] of politeness, lord Chesterfield's letters to his son, failed in a great measure of their end. His lordship's interest with the ministry, founded on a seat in parliament, which, though a great declaimer against corruption, he bought as he would have done a horse, procured him the appointment of an envoy-extraordinary to the court of Dresden. We find not that the young man had any female attachments, but that on the contrary he had more grace than his father. He married a woman, who becoming a widow, and provoked by real or imaginary ill treatment of lord Chesterfield, published those letters, which, had he

* Sydney Papers, vol. I. page 8.

been living, he would have given almost any thing to have suppressed, as they shew him to have been a man devoted to pleasure, and actuated by vanity, without religious, moral, or political principles, a smatterer in learning, and in manners a coxcomb.[310]

Such was the person whom Johnson in the simplicity of his heart chose for a patron,[311] and was betrayed to celebrate as the Maecenas of the age;[312] and such was the opinion he had conceived of his skill in literature, his love of eloquence, and his zeal for the interests of learning, that he approached him with the utmost respect, and that he might not err in his manner of expressing it, the stile and language of that address which his plan includes are little less than adulatory. With a view farther to secure his patronage, he waited on him in person, and was honoured by him with conversations on the subject of literature, in which he found him so deficient as gave him occasion to repent the choice he had made, and to say, that the labour he had bestowed in his address to lord Chesterfield resembled that of gilding a rotten post, that he was a wit among lords and a lord among wits, and that his accomplishments were only those of a dancing-master.[313]

It is pretty well understood that, as Johnson had chosen this nobleman for his patron, he meant to have dedicated to him his work, and he might possibly have done so, even after he had discovered that he was unworthy of that honour; but the earl's behaviour in a particular instance prevented him. Johnson one day made him a morning visit, and being admitted into an anti-chamber, was told, that his lordship was engaged with a gentleman, but would see him as soon as the gentleman went. It was not till after an hour's waiting that Johnson discovered that this gentleman was Colley Cibber,[314] which he had no sooner done, than he rushed out of the house with a resolution never to enter it more.

What impression Johnson's visits made upon his lordship, we are told by the latter in a character of him, which, as well for the sake of the one as the other, I wish to be held forth to the public. Speaking, as his lordship is ever doing, to his son of the engaging manners, the pleasing attentions, the graces, with the rest of that nonsense which was ever floating in his mind, he thus delineates the person, who, in language the most nervous and elegant had endeavoured to render him respectable in the republic of letters, and in that particular to do for him what he was never able to do for himself. "There is a man whose moral character, deep learning, and superior parts, I acknowledge, admire, and respect; but whom it is so impossible for me to love, that I am almost in a fever whenever I am in his company. His figure (without being deformed) seems made to disgrace or ridicule the common structure of the human body. His legs and arms are never in the position which, according to the situation of his

body, they ought to be in, but constantly employed in committing acts of hostility upon the graces. He throws any where, but down his throat, whatever he means to drink, and only mangles what he means to carve. Inattentive to all the regards of social life, he mis-times and mis-places every thing. He disputes with heat, and indiscriminately, mindless of the rank, character, and situation of them with whom he disputes: absolutely ignorant of the several gradations of familiarity and respect, he is exactly the same to his superiors, his equals, and his inferiors; and therefore, by a necessary consequence, absurd to two of the three. Is it possible to love such a man? No. The utmost I can do for him, is, to consider him as a respectable Hottentot."*[315] Had Socrates been living, and not learned, as we are told he did in his old age, to dance, lord Chesterfield had passed the same censure on him.

Johnson was, by this time, able to determine on a fact which, in his address to this nobleman, he expresses a doubt of, viz. whether the unexpected distinction his lordship had shewn him, was to be rated among the happy incidents of his life: he was now convinced that it was not, and that, far from every thing like encouragement or assistance, or what else is included in the idea of patronage, his lordship's approbation of his plan was to be the only recompence for the labour of drawing it out and reducing it to form. Besides declaring, whenever occasion required it, his mistake in supposing that lord Chesterfield was either a judge of or a friend to literature, he expressed in a letter to his lordship[316] himself his resentment of the affront he had received at his last visit, and concluded it with a formal renunciation for ever of his lordship's patronage.

If Johnson had reflected a moment on the little effect likely to be produced by a letter in which he professed to reject that which he could not retain, he would never have wrote it. Those evils which cannot be remedied must be borne with patience, and to resent injuries when we cannot enforce redress, is to give our adversaries an occasion of triumph: lord Chesterfield knew this, and made no reply: when the dictionary was completed and about to be published, he wrote two essays in a periodical paper, intitled "The World," that contain some forced compliments of the author, which being mentioned to Johnson he rejected with scorn.

Further to appease him, his lordship sent two persons, the one a specious but empty man, Sir Thomas Robinson, more distinguished by the tallness of his person than for any estimable qualities;† the other an eminent painter

* Letter 212.

† This person who is now at rest in Westminster-abbey, was, when living, distinguished by the name of long Sir Thomas Robinson. He was a man of the world or rather

now living.[317] These were instructed to apologize for his lordship's treatment of him, and to make him tenders of his future friendship and patronage. Sir Thomas, whose talent was flattery, was profuse in his commendations of Johnson and his writings, and declared that were his circumstances other than they were, himself would settle five hundred pounds a year on him. "And who are you," asked Johnson, "that talk thus liberally?" "I am," said the other, "Sir Thomas Robinson, a Yorkshire baronet." "Sir," replied Johnson, "if the first peer of the realm were to make me such an offer, I would shew him the way down stairs."

No one will commend this manner of declining an intentional kindness, even where the sincerity of the intention might be doubtful, but the rejecting it with a menace was both unnecessary and insolent. The pride of independence was most strong in Johnson at those periods of his life when his wants were greatest, and though at other times he would subject himself to great obligations, he was uniform, except only in one instance, in an opinion that an offer of pecuniary assistance was an insult, and not seldom rejected it with such indignation, that were I to characterise it more particularly, I should do it by an allusion to the following apologue:[318] A gardener's dog had fallen into a well and was unable to get out: his master passing by, and seeing his distress, put down his arm to save him: the dog bit his hand, and the gardener left him to drown.

The uneasiness which Johnson felt, at the time when he wrote the abovementioned letter, gave way to a call of his friend Garrick, who in the same year, 1747, was, by a series of occurrences, become master of Drury-lane theatre. I was never much conversant with the history of the stage, and therefore can give but a slight account of an event, which, at that time, interested many, and was deemed a very important one. Mr. Fleetwood's extravagance had reduced him to the necessity of seeking out for some one or more persons to whom, for an adequate consideration, he might relinquish his interest in the patent. At that time a man of the name of Lacy[319] had attracted the

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of the town, and a great pest to persons of high rank or in office. He was very troublesome to the earl of Burlington, and when in his visits to him he was told that his lordship was gone out, would desire to be admitted to look at the clock, or to play with a monkey that was kept in the hall, in hopes of being sent for in to the earl. This he had so frequently done, that all in the house were tired of him. At length it was concerted among the servants that he should receive a summary answer to his usual questions, and accordingly at his next coming, the porter as soon as he had opened the gate and without waiting for what he had to say, dismissed him with these words, "Sir, his lordship is gone out, the clock stands, and the monkey is dead."

notice of the town by a competition with orator Henley, which he began at the great room in York buildings, with a satirical discourse of great licence, which he advertised by the name of Peter's visitation. The liberties he had taken with the clergy and the principal officers of state in this ludicrous discourse gave great offence: he was seized, dealt with as a vagrant, and, in short, silenced. This man had lived among players, and was supposed to understand stage-management, and had some friends. Mr. Garrick had many, and those opulent men: three of them, Mr. Draper the partner of Mr. Tonson the bookseller, Mr. Clutterbuck a mercer, and Mr. Samuel Sharpe one of the surgeons of Guy's hospital, negociated a partnership between those two persons, and by purchasing of them and assisting them to dispose of what are called renters' shares, enabled them to buy out Fleetwood, and before the commencement of the acting season, they were become joint-patentees of the theatre above-mentioned.

Mr. Garrick's province in the management was to appoint the plays and to cast the parts; Lacy's was to superintend the workmen and servants, to order the scenery, and, with the assistance of artists, to adjust the ornaments and decorations. It was their resolution to banish from their stage, pantomimes and all grotesque representations, and to exhibit such only as a rational and judicious audience might be supposed inclined to approve.

To notify this their intention to the town, it seemed to them that a prologue[320] was necessary: Johnson was easily prevailed upon by Mr. Garrick to write one, and at the opening of the theatre in 1747, it was spoken by the latter in a manner that did equal honour to the author and himself.

Prologues are addresses from the stage to the people, and either respect merely the drama that is to follow, or are of more general import setting forth to the audience the views and designs of managers, their anxiety to please, and the methods by which they hope to obtain the favour of the public: these latter are for the most part occasional, and adapted to such circumstances as the opening a new theatre, a change of management, or any other of those great theatrical revolutions in which the players affect to think all men as much interested as themselves. In the addresses of this kind the powers of wit seem to have been nearly exhausted: sometimes the audience has been cajoled, at others, betrayed into good humour; and by the help of allegory, the stage has been made to resemble every thing unlike it. One poet feigns that the town is a sea, the playhouse a ship, the manager the captain, the players sailors, and the orange-girls powder-monkies; and Mr. Garrick, in one of his prologues,[321] would make his audience believe, that his theatre is a tavern, himself the master, the players waiters, and his entertainment wines suited

to all palates: one of his liquors, in particular, he strongly recommends, and calls Shakespeare, which that he may be constantly able to supply, he says it is

"———————— his wish, his plan,
To lose no drop of that immortal man."*

And, to be more particular, that

"———————— to delight ye,
Bardolph is gin, and Pistol aqua-vitae."†

Johnson's prologue is of a very different cast. It is a sober, rational, and manly appeal to the good sense and candour of the audience, and contains a brief history of theatric representations from the time of Shakespeare and Jonson to their decline, when, as he says, the writers of pantomime and song had confirmed the sway of folly. It states the hardships which those lye under, whose business it is to furnish entertainment for the public, in being obliged to watch the wild vicissitudes of taste, and exhorts the hearers to patronize virtue and reviving sense.

To justify the above character of this nervous composition I here insert it:

"When Learning's triumph o'er her barb'rous foes
First rear'd the stage, immortal Shakespeare rose;
Each change of many-colour'd life he drew,
Exhausted worlds, and then imagin'd new:
Existence saw him spurn her bounded reign,
And panting Time toil'd after him in vain.
His powerful strokes presiding Truth impress'd,
And unresisted Passion storm'd the breast.
"Then Jonson came, instructed from the school
To please in method, and invent by rule;
His studious patience, and laborious art,
By regular approach, essay'd the heart:
Cold approbation gave the lingering bays;
For those who durst not censure, scarce could praise.
A mortal born, he met the general doom,
But left, like Egypt's kings, a lasting tomb.
"The wits of Charles found easier ways to fame,

* Prologue to the "Winter's Tale" and "Catherine and Petruchio."
† Ibid.

Nor wish'd for Jonson's art, or Shakespeare's flame.
Themselves they studied; as they felt, they writ:
Intrigue was plot, obscenity was wit.
Vice always found a sympathetic friend;
They pleas'd their age, and did not aim to mend:
Yet bards like these aspir'd to lasting praise,
And proudly hop'd to pimp in future days.
Their cause was general, their supports were strong;
Their slaves were willing, and their reign was long;
Till Shame regain'd the post that Sense betray'd,
And Virtue call'd Oblivion to her aid.

"Then crush'd by rules, and weaken'd as refin'd,
For years the pow'r of tragedy declin'd;
From bard to bard the frigid caution crept,
Till declamation roar'd, whilst passion slept;
Yet still did Virtue deign the stage to tread,
Philosophy remain'd, though Nature fled.
But forc'd, at length, her ancient reign to quit,
She saw great Faustus lay the ghost of wit;
Exulting Folly hail'd the joyous day,
And Pantomime and Song confirm'd her sway.

"But who the coming changes can presage,
And mark the future periods of the stage?
Perhaps, if skill could distant times explore,
New Behns, new Durfeys, yet remain in store;
Perhaps, where Lear has rav'd, and Hamlet dy'd,
On flying cars new sorcerers may ride;
Perhaps (for who can guess the effects of chance?)
Here Hunt may box, or Mahomet* may dance.

"Hard is his lot that here by fortune plac'd,
Must watch the wild vicissitudes of Taste;
With every meteor of Caprice must play,
And chace the new-blown bubbles of the day.
Ah! let not censure term our fate our choice,
The stage but echoes back the public voice;
The drama's laws the drama's patrons give,
For we that live to please, must please to live.

* A rope-dancer, a real or pretended Turk, that exhibited on Covent-garden stage a winter or two before.

"Then prompt no more the follies you decry,
As tyrants doom their tools of guilt to die;
'Tis yours, this night, to bid the reign commence
Of rescu'd Nature, and reviving Sense;
To chace the charms of sound, the pomp of show,
For useful mirth and salutary woe;
Bid scenic Virtue form the rising age,
And Truth diffuse her radiance from the stage."

This masterly and spirited address failed in a great measure of its effect; the town, it is true, submitted to the revival of Shakespeare's plays, recommended as they were by the exquisite acting of Mr. Garrick; but in a few winters they discovered an impatience for pantomimes and ballad-farces, and were indulged with them. From that time Mr. Garrick gave up the hope of correcting the public taste, and at length became so indifferent about it, that he once told me, that if the town required him to exhibit the "Pilgrim's Progress"[322] in a drama, he would do it.

Two years after, the management of Drury-lane theatre being in the hands of his friends, Johnson bethought himself of bringing his tragedy on the stage.[323] It was not only a juvenile composition, but was written before he had become conversant with Shakespeare, indeed before he had ever read "Othello," and having now, for more than ten years, lain by him, in which time his judgment had been growing to maturity, he set himself to revise and polish it, taking to his assistance Mr. Garrick, whose experience of stage decorum, and the mechanic operation of incidents and sentiments on the judgment and passions of an audience, was, by long attention, become very great. With these advantages and all those others which Mr. Garrick's zeal prompted him to supply, such as magnificent scenery, splendid and well-chosen dresses, and a distribution of the principal parts, himself taking a very active one, to the best performers then living, namely, Barry, Mrs. Cibber and Mrs. Pritchard; it was, in the winter of the year 1749, presented to a polite, a numerous, and an unprejudiced audience. Never was there such a display of eastern magnificence as this spectacle exhibited, nor ever were fine moral sentiments more strongly enforced by correct and energetic utterance and just action, than in the representation of this laboured tragedy; but the diction of the piece was cold and philosophical; it came from the head of the writer, and reached not the hearts of the hearers. The consequence whereof was, that it was received with cold applause, and having reached to a ninth night's performance, was laid by. During the representation Johnson was behind the scenes, and think-

ing his character of an author required upon the occasion some distinction of dress, he appeared in a gold-laced waistcoat.

The truth of the above assertion, as to the language of this tragedy, is to be judged of by the perusal of it; for, notwithstanding its ill success as a dramatic representation, Johnson found his account in giving it to the world as a poem. Of the fable, the characters, and the sentiments, it is beside my purpose to speak; they are also now open to examination. It is nevertheless worthy of a remark, that the author has shewn great judgment in deviating from historical verity, as will appear by a comparison of the drama with the story as related by Knolles, and abridged in a foregoing page; for whereas the historian describes Irene as endowed with the perfections as well of the mind as of the body, and relates that she was an innocent victim to the ferocity of a tyrant, Johnson thought that such a catastrophe was too shocking for representation, and has varied the narrative by making the lady renounce her religion, and subjecting her to the suspicion of being a joint conspirator in a plot to assassinate the Sultan; but of which he is afterwards convinced she is innocent.

In thus altering the story, it must however be confessed, that much of its beauty is destroyed, and the character of Mahomet represented with none of those terrible graces that dignify the narrative: his public love and command over himself are annihilated, and he is exhibited as a tyrant and a voluptuary.

The world soon formed an opinion of the merit of "Irene," which has never fluctuated: a representation during nine nights, was as much as a tragedy which excited no passion could claim; for, however excellent its precepts, and however correct its language, that it wants those indispensable qualities in the drama, interest and pathos, cannot be denied. We read it, admit every position it advances, commend it, lay it by, and forget it: our attention is not awakened by any eminent beauties, for its merit is uniform throughout: all the personages, good or bad, are philosophers: those who execute and those who issue the orders talk the same language: the characters cause no anxiety, for the virtuous are superior to all mortal calamity, and the vicious beneath our care: the fate of Irene, though deplorable, is just; notwithstanding she suffers by a false accusation, her apostacy and treachery to her friend deserve punishment: the morality, it is needless to say of Johnson's spontaneous productions, is excellent; but how were unimpassioned precepts to make their way alone, where variety, business[324] and plot are always expected? where lively nonsense and pathetic imbecillity[325] often succeed against the conviction of reason? Or how could it be hoped that frigid virtue could attract those

who suffer their pity to be easily moved either by the hero or the villain, if he has the address first to engage their passions?

Of the expectations that Johnson had entertained of the success of his tragedy, no conjecture can now be formed. If they are to be judged of by his outward demeanour after the town had consigned it to oblivion, they were not very sanguine; indeed the receipt of three nights must have afforded him some consolation; and we must suppose that he increased the emolument thence arising, by the sale of the copy. We are therefore not to impute it to the disappointment of a hope that the play would be better received than it was, that in the winter of the same year he published another imitation of Juvenal, viz. of his tenth satire, with the title of "The vanity of human wishes";[326] the subject whereof, as it is an enumeration of the evils to which mankind are exposed, could not, at any period of his life, have been other than a tempting one. Pursuing the track of his author, he expatiates on the miseries that await empire, grandeur, wealth, and power, and the disappointments that frustrate the hopes of ambition, learning, eloquence, and beauty; in all which instances he has been able to point out examples the most striking and apposite.

The poem concludes with an answer to an enquiry that must necessarily result from the perusal of the foregoing part of it, viz. what are the consolations that human life affords? or, in other words, in whom or on what is a virtuous man to rest his hope? the resolution of this question is contained in the following lines, which for dignity of sentiment, for pious instruction, and purity of style, are hardly to be equalled by any in our language.

"Where then shall hope and fear their objects find?
Must dull suspense corrupt the stagnant mind?
Must helpless man, in ignorance sedate,
Roll darkling down the torrent of his fate?
Must no dislike alarm, no wishes rise,
No cries invoke the genius of the skies?
Enquirer, cease, petitions yet remain,
Which Heav'n may hear, nor deem religion vain,
Still raise for good the supplicating voice,
But leave to Heav'n the measure and the choice,
Safe in his pow'r, whose eyes discern afar
The secret ambush of a specious pray'r;
Implore his aid, in his decisions rest,
Secure, whate'er he gives, he gives the best.
Yet when the sense of sacred presence fires,
And strong devotion to the skies aspires,

Pour forth thy fervours for a healthful mind,
Obedient passions, and a will resign'd;
For love, which scarce collective man can fill;
For patience, sov'reign o'er transmuted ill;
For faith, that panting for a happier seat,
Counts death kind nature's signal of retreat.
These goods for man, the laws of Heav'n ordain;
These goods he grants, who grants the pow'r to gain;
With these celestial wisdom calms the mind,
And makes the happiness she does not find."

In the following year, it having been discovered, that a grand-daughter of Milton was living, Mr. Garrick was prevailed on to permit the representation of the "Masque of Comus" at his theatre, for her benefit. Upon this occasion, Johnson, forgetting the enmity which he had always borne towards Milton, wrote a prologue,[327] wherein he calls the attention of the audience to his memory, and without imputing to his descendant any other merit than industrious poverty and conjugal fidelity, implores them to crown desert beyond the grave.

Johnson's beneficence was of the most diffusive kind: Distress was the general motive, and merit, whether in the object or any to whom he claimed relation, the particular incentive to it. There was living at this time, a man of the name of De Groot,[328] a painter by profession, and no contemptible artist, who, after having travelled over England, and at low prices painted as many persons as could be persuaded to sit to him, settled in London, and became reduced to poverty: him Oldys, or some one other of his friends, introduced to Johnson, who found out by his conversation that he was a descendant of Grotius; and thereupon exerting his interest in his behalf, he procured for him an admission into the Charterhouse, in which comfortable retreat he died.

Johnson was all this while working at the dictionary, having to assist him a number of young persons whose employment it was to distribute the articles with sufficient spaces for the definitions, which it is easy to discern are of his own composition.

Of these his assistants, some were young men of parts, others mere drudges. Among the former was one of the name of Shiells,[329] a Scotchman, the author of a poem in blank verse, intitled "Beauty," and also of a collection of the lives of the poets, in four volumes, which for a gratuity of ten guineas, Theophilus Cibber suffered to be printed with his name, a book of no authority other than what it derives from Winstanley, Langbaine, and Jacob, and in other respects of little worth; but concerning which it is fit that the following

fact should be made known: Cibber at the time of making this bargain, was under confinement for debt in the king's-bench prison, and with a view to deceive the public into a belief that the book was of his father's writing, it was concerted between the negotiators of it and himself to suppress his christian name, and that it should be printed as a work of Mr. Cibber.

The intense application with which he was obliged to pursue his work, deprived Johnson of many of the pleasures he most delighted in, as namely, reading in his desultory manner, and the conversation of his friends. It also increased his constitutional melancholy, and at times excited in him a loathing of that employment to which he could not but look upon himself as doomed by his necessities. The sum for which he had stipulated with the booksellers, was by the terms of the agreement, to be paid as the work went on, and was indeed his only support. Being thus compelled to spend every day like the past, he looked on himself as in a state of mental bondage, and reflecting that while he was thus employed, his best faculties lay dormant, was unwillingly willing to work.

And here we cannot but reflect on that inertness and laxity of mind which the neglect of order and regularity in living, and the observance of stated hours, in short, the waste of time, is apt to lead men to: this was the source of Johnson's misery throughout his life; all he did was by fits and starts, and he had no genuine impulse to action, either corporal or mental. That the compilation of such a work as he was engaged in, was necessarily productive of that languor, which, in the prosecution of it he manifested, is by no means clear: all employments, all occupations whatever, are intrinsically indifferent, and excite neither pain nor pleasure, but as the mind is disposed towards them. Fame, mere posthumous fame has engaged men to similar undertakings, and they have pursued them with zeal and even delight. Canne,[330] the editor of a bible printed in 1664, spent many years in collecting parallel passages in the Old and New Testament, to such a number as to croud the margin of the book, and in the preface thereto he declares that it was the most delightful employment of his life; and what but a real pleasure in that kind of labour, and the consideration of its benefit to mankind, could be the inducement with such a man as Hoffman[331] to compile a lexicon more than twice as voluminous as that of Johnson?

And, to speak more at large, viz. of men who have benefited the world by their literary labours, avowing as their motive the desire of gain, we find not all infected with that disease, which as it affected Johnson, may almost be said to have converted all his mental nutriment to poison: on the contrary, there have been many who mixed with the world, and by a good use of their time, were capable of great application and enjoying the benefits of society;

and of these I shall mention three persons, his contemporaries, men of very different characters from each other; all authors by profession, and of great eminence in literature.

The first was the reverend Dr. Thomas Birch,[332] a divine of the church of England, but originally a quaker. In his youth he was passionately fond of reading, and being indulged in it by his father, became successively usher to two schools in which the sons of quakers were educated. He married at the age of twenty-three; but in less than a year became a widower. Having had the happiness of a recommendation to Sir Philip Yorke, then attorney-general, and being honoured with his favour and patronage, he, in 1730, entered into holy orders, and was presented to a rectory and also to a vicarage in Gloucestershire. Soon after this, in conjunction with the reverend Mr. Bernard, the well-known Mr. John Lockman, and Mr. George Sale the translator of the Koran, he compiled a general biographical dictionary in ten volumes in folio, including therein a translation of that of Bayle, and collected and published Thurloe's state papers, in seven folio volumes, and was the editor of lord Bacon's, Mr. Boyle's and archbishop Tillotson's works, as also of the prose writings of Milton, and the miscellaneous pieces of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the works of Mrs. Elizabeth Cockburn.[333] He was first a fellow of and afterwards secretary to the royal society, and wrote a history thereof. In 1753, the Marischal college at Aberdeen conferred on him the degree of doctor in divinity, and, the year after, he received the same honour from archbishop Herring. The above is but a partial enumeration of his publications, for he wrote the lives of Henry prince of Wales, of Bacon, Boyle, Milton, and Tillotson, and other persons, and many tracts not here noticed. In the midst of all this employment, Dr. Birch was to be seen, at home, at the Royal and Antiquarian societies, at Sion college, at the academy of antient music, which had long subsisted at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, at Tom's coffee-house in Devereux court; in short, in all places where a clergyman might with propriety appear. Nor was this all; he found time for the exercise of walking, before many people were stirring. I have been with him at nine in a winter's morning, and have found him just returned from an excursion of some miles.* He held a conversation on Sunday evenings with his friends, who were men of

* I heard him once relate, that he had the curiosity to measure the circuit of London by a perambulation thereof: the account he gave was to this effect: He set out from his house in the Strand towards Chelsea, and having reached the bridge beyond the waterworks, he directed his course to Marybone, from whence pursuing an eastern direction, he skirted the town, and crossed the Islington road at the Angel. There was at that time no city-road, but passing through Hoxton, he got to Shoreditch, thence to Bethanal green, and from thence to Stepney, where he recruited his spirits with a glass of brandy.

the first eminence for learning and intelligence, at his house in Norfolk-street in the Strand,* in which all, particularly the library, was neat and elegant, without litter or disorder.

The mental endowments of Dr. Birch were singular; he had a great eagerness after knowledge, and a memory very retentive of facts; but his learning, properly so called, bore no proportion to his reading; for he was in truth neither a mathematician, a natural philosopher, a classical scholar, nor a divine; but, in a small degree, all, and though lively in conversation, he was but a dull writer. Johnson was used to speak of him in this manner: "Tom is a lively rogue; he remembers a great deal, and can tell many pleasant stories; but a pen is to Tom a torpedo, the touch of it benumbs his hand and his brain: Tom can talk; but he is no writer."——And indeed whoever peruses his writings will be much of the same opinion: his life of Tillotson is a mere detail of unconnected facts, without the intermixture of sentiment or disquisition; and of the style, let this citation serve as a specimen. Speaking of Wilkins, he makes a transition to Tillotson, whom he characterizes in these words, and meaner he could not have found: "He went into all the very best things that were in that great man; but so as he improved every one of them."[334]

In the midst of all his labours and pursuits, Dr. Birch preserved an even temper of mind, and a great chearfulness of spirits. Ever desirous to learn,

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From Stepney he passed on to Limehouse, and took into his rout the adjacent hamlet of Poplar, when he became sensible that to complete his design he must take in Southwark: this put him to a stand; but he soon determined on his course, for taking a boat he landed at the red house at Deptford, and made his way to Say's court, where the great wet-dock is, and keeping the houses along Rotherhithe to the right, he got to Bermondsey, thence by the south end of Kent-street to Newington, and over St. George's fields to Lambeth, and crossing over to Millbank, continued his way to Charing cross, and along the Strand to Norfolk-street, from whence he had set out. The whole of this excursion took him up from nine in the morning to three in the afternoon, and, according to his rate of walking, he computed the circuit of London at above twenty-miles. With the buildings erected since, it may be supposed to have encreased five miles, and if so, the present circumference of this great metropolis is about half that of ancient Rome.

* Formerly the habitation of the famous William Penn the quaker, of whom it is well known that his circumstances at a certain period of his life were so involved, that it was not safe for him to go abroad. He chose this house, it being at the south west corner of the street, as one from whence he might, upon occasion, slip out by water. In the entrance to it he had a peeping-hole, through which he could see any persons that came to him. One of these who had sent in his name, having been made to wait more than a reasonable time, knocked for the servant, whom he asked, "Will not thy master see me?" "Friend," answered the servant, "he has seen thee, but he does not like thee." The fact was, that Penn had from his station taken a view of him, and found him to be a creditor.

and willing to communicate, he was uniformly affable, courteous, and disposed to conversation. His life was spent without reproach, but terminated by an unhappy accident, a fall from his horse on the Hampstead road, on the 9th day of January, 1766. His preferments in the church, though successively numerous, were small and never reached to dignities: the last of them were the rectories of St. Margaret Pattens, London, and of Depden in Essex.

Dr. John Campbell[335] was an eminent writer, and a labourer in a voluminous work undertaken at the expence and risque of the booksellers, the "Universal History." Besides many other books, he wrote the lives of the English admirals in four octavo volumes. He had a considerable hand in the "Biographia Britannica," and was the author of a valuable work in two quarto volumes intitled, "A political survey of Britain"; being a series of reflections on the situation, lands, inhabitants, revenues, colonies, and commerce of this island; intended to shew that they have not as yet approached to near the summit of improvement, but that it will afford employment for many ages, before they push to their utmost extent the natural advantages of Great Britain. The reputation of this work extended to the most remote parts of Europe, and induced the empress of Russia in the year 1774, to honour the author with a present of her picture. By the exercise of his pen alone, and a good use of his time, he was for many years enabled to support himself, and enjoy the comforts of domestic life in the society of an excellent wife and a numerous offspring. In 1765, he was appointed his majesty's agent for the province of Georgia in North America, and was thereby raised to a state of comparative affluence. His residence for some years before his death, was the large new-built house situate at the north-west corner of Queen square, Bloomsbury, whither, particularly on a Sunday evening, great numbers of persons of the first eminence for science and literature were accustomed to resort for the enjoyment of conversation. He died in 1775, having nearly completed the sixty-eighth year of his age, leaving behind him the character of a learned, an ingenious, and a pious man.

Dr. John Hill[336] was originally an apothecary and a student in botany, in which he was encouraged by the late duke of Richmond, and lord Petre; but finding that an unprofitable pursuit, he made two or three attempts as a writer for the stage: a failure in them drove him back to his former study, in the course whereof he got introduced to Mr. Martin Folkes and Mr. Henry Baker, leading members of the royal society, who finding him a young man of parts and well skilled in natural history, recommended him among their friends. His first publication was a translation from the Greek of a small tract, Theophrastus on gems, which being printed by subscription, produced him some money, and such a reputation as induced the booksellers to engage him

in writing a general natural history in two volumes in folio, and soon after, a supplement to Chambers's dictionary. He had received no academical education; but his ambition prompting him to be a graduate, he obtained, from one of those universities which would scarce refuse a degree to an apothecary's horse, a diploma for that of doctor of physic. After this, he engaged in a variety of works, the greater part whereof were mere compilations, which he sent forth with incredible expedition; and though his character was never in such estimation with the booksellers as to entitle him to an extraordinary price for his writings, he has been known by such works as those above-mentioned, by novels, pamphlets, and a periodical paper called "The Inspector," the labour of his own head and hand, to have earned, in one year, the sum of £1500. He was vain, conceited, and in his writings disposed to satire and licentious scurrility, which he indulged without any regard to truth, and thereby became engaged in frequent disputes and quarrels that always terminated in his own disgrace. For some abuse in his "Inspector," of a gentleman of the name of Brown, he had his head broke in the circus of Ranelagh gardens. He insulted Woodward the player in the face of an audience, and engaged with him in a pamphlet-war, in which he was foiled.* He attacked the royal society in a review of their transactions, and abused his old friends Mr. Folkes and Mr. Baker for opposing, on account of his infamous character, his admission among them as a member. In the midst of all this employment, he found time and means to drive about the town in his chariot, and to appear abroad and at all public places, at Batson's coffee-house,[337] at masquerades, and at the opera and playhouses, splendidly dressed, and as often as he could, in the front row of the boxes. Towards the end of his life, his reputation as an author was so sunk by the slovenliness of his compilations, and his disregard to truth in what he related, that he was forced to betake himself to the vending a few simple medicines, namely, essence of water-dock, tincture of Valerian, balsam of honey, and elixir of Bardana, and by pamphlets ascribing to them greater virtues than they had, imposed on the credulity of the public, and thereby got, though not an honest, a competent livelihood.

Two years before his death, he had received from the king of Sweden, the investiture of knight of one of the orders of that kingdom, in return for a

* It was said of Hill, that when he met, in any botanic garden, with a curious plant that was portable, he would convey it away, and that he was once detected in an attempt of that kind. Woodward, in a pamphlet written against him, alluded to this fact by prefixing to it, as a motto, this apposite citation from Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet":

"I do remember an apothecary

— — — — — —

Culling of simples."

present to that monarch of his "Vegetable system" in twenty-six folio volumes. With all his folly and malignity, he entertained a sense of religion, and wrote a vindication of God and nature against the shallow philosophy of lord Bolingbroke.

Besides these, there was another class of authors who lived by writing, that require to be noticed: the former were, in fact, pensioners of the booksellers: these vended their compositions when completed, to those of that trade who would give most for them. They were mostly books of mere entertainment that were the subjects of this kind of commerce, and were and still are distinguished by the corrupt appellation of novels and romances. Though fictitious, and the work of mere invention, they pretended to probability, to be founded in nature, and to delineate social manners. The first publication of the kind was the "Pamela" of Mr. Richardson,*[338] which being read with great eagerness by the young people of the time, and recommended from the pulpit, begat such a craving for more of the same stuff, as tempted some men whose necessities and abilities were nearly commensurate, to try their success in this new kind of writing.

At the head of these we must, for many reasons, place Henry Fielding,[339] one of the most motley of literary characters. This man was, in his early life, a writer of comedies and farces, very few of which are now remembered; after that, a practising barrister with scarce any business; then an anti-ministerial writer, and quickly after, a creature of the duke of Newcastle, who gave him a nominal qualification of £100 a year, and set him up as a trading-justice, in which disreputable station he died. He was the author of a romance, intitled "The history of Joseph Andrews," and of another, "The Foundling, or the history of Tom Jones," a book seemingly intended to sap the foundation of that morality which it is the duty of parents and all public instructors to inculcate in the minds of young people, by teaching that virtue upon principle is imposture, that generous qualities alone constitute true worth, and that a young man may love and be loved, and at the same time associate with the loosest women. His morality, in respect that it resolves virtue into good affections, in contradiction to moral obligation and a sense of duty, is that of lord Shaftesbury vulgarised, and is a system of excellent use in palliating the vices

* Pamela is the name of a lady, one of the principal characters in Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia," and is thus accented Pamēla. So Mr. Pope,

"The Gods, to curse Pamēla with her pray'rs,
Gave the gilt coach and dappled Flanders mares."

But Richardson, whether through ignorance or design, and also all his female pupils, constantly pronounced it Pamĕla.

most injurious to society. He was the inventor of that cant-phrase, goodness of heart, which is every day used as a substitute for probity, and means little more than the virtue of a horse or a dog; in short, he has done more towards corrupting the rising generation than any writer we know of.

He afterwards wrote a book of the same kind, but of a less mischievous tendency, his "Amelia." For each of these he was well paid by Andrew Millar the bookseller, and for the last he got six hundred pounds.

Dr. Tobias Smollet,[340] another writer of familiar romance, and a dealer with the booksellers, was originally a surgeon's mate, and served at the siege of Carthagena. His first publication of this kind was "The adventures of Roderick Random," and his next those of Peregrine Pickle, in which is introduced the history of a well-known woman of quality, written, as it is said, by herself, under the name of lady Frail. These, and other compositions of the like kind, Smollet sold to the booksellers at such rates as enabled him to live without the exercise of his profession. He had a hand in "The universal history," and translated "Gil Blas" and also "Telemachus." The success of the former of these tempted him to translate "Don Quixote," which, as he understood not the Spanish language, he could only do through the medium of the French and the former English versions, none of which do, as it is said, convey the humour of the original. It might seem that Jarvis's translation[341] was one impediment to such an undertaking; but that, though it gives the sense of the author, was performed by persons whose skill in the language was not great. The fact is, that Jarvis laboured at it many years, but could make but little progress, for being a painter by profession, he had not been accustomed to write, and had no style. Mr. Tonson the bookseller seeing this, suggested the thought of employing Mr. Broughton, the reader at the Temple church, the author and editor of sundry publications, who, as I have been informed by a friend of Tonson, sat himself down to study the Spanish language, and, in a few months, acquired, as was pretended, sufficient knowledge thereof, to give to the world a translation of "Don Quixote" in the true spirit of the original, and to which is prefixed the name of Jarvis.

I might here speak of Richardson[342] as a writer of fictitious history, but that he wrote for amusement, and that the profits of his writings, though very great, were accidental. He was a man of no learning nor reading, but had a vivid imagination, which he let loose in reflections on human life and manners, till it became so distended with sentiments, that for his own ease, he was necessitated to vent them on paper. In the original plan of his "Clarissa," it was his design, as his bookseller once told me, to continue it to the extent of twenty-four volumes, but he was, with great difficulty, prevailed on to comprise it in six. The character of Richardson as a writer is to this day

undecided, otherwise than by the avidity with which his publications are by some readers perused, and the sale of numerous editions. He has been celebrated as a writer similar in genius to Shakespeare, as being acquainted with the inmost recesses of the human heart, and having an absolute command of the passions, so as to be able to affect his readers as himself is affected, and to interest them in the successes and disappointments, the joys and sorrows of his characters. Others there are who think that neither his "Pamela," his "Clarissa," nor his "Sir Charles Grandison" are to be numbered among the books of rational and instructive amusement, and they are not to be compared to the novels of Cervantes, or the more simple and chaste narrations of Le Sage, that they are not just representations of human manners, that in them the turpitude of vice is not strongly enough marked, and that the allurements to it are represented in the gayest colours; that the texture of all his writings is flimsy and thin, and his style mean and feeble; that they have a general tendency to inflame the passions of young people, and to teach them that which they need not to be taught; and that though they pretend to a moral, it often turns out a bad one. The cant terms of him and his admirers are sentiment and sentimentality.

Johnson was inclined, as being personally acquainted with Richardson, to favour the former opinion of his writings, but he seemed not firm in it, and could at any time be talked into a dissapprobation of all fictitious relations, of which he would frequently say they took no hold of the mind.

I am tired of adducing instances of men who lived by the profession of writing and thought it an eligible one, and should now proceed to relate the subsequent events of Dr. Johnson's life, and mark the state of his mind at different periods, but that I find myself detained by a character, which, as it were, obtrudes itself to view, and is of importance enough to claim notice.

Laurence Sterne,[343] a clergyman and a dignitary of the cathedral church of York, was remarkable for a wild and eccentric genius, resembling in many respects that of Rabelais. The work that made him first known as a writer, was, "The life and opinions of Tristram Shandy," a whimsical rhapsody, but abounding in wit and humour of the licentious kind. He too was a sentimentalist, and wrote sentimental journies and sentimental letters in abundance, by which both he and the booksellers got considerably.* Of the writers of this class or sect it may be observed, that being in general men of loose principles,

* Of his conversation, his morals, and the sense he entertained of the clerical profession, a judgment may be formed by the following saying of Johnson's. See his "Works," Vol. IX. Page 214. I was, says he, but once in the company of Sterne, and then his only attempt at merriment was the display of a drawing too grossly indecent to have delighted even in a brothel.

bad oeconomists, living without foresight, it is their endeavour to commute for their failings by professions of greater love to mankind, more tender affections and finer feelings than they will allow men of more regular lives, whom they deem formalists,[344] to possess. Their generous notions supersede all obligation; they are a law to themselves, and having good hearts and abounding in the milk of human kindness, are above those considerations that bind men to that rule of conduct which is founded in a sense of duty. Of this new school of morality, Fielding, Rousseau, and Sterne are the principal teachers, and great is the mischief they have done by their documents.

To these I might add the names of sundry persons of the same occupation, the authors of the "Universal history" in twenty-six folio volumes, but that only a few of them are at this distance of time known: those are Psalmanaazar, George Sale, the above Dr. Campbell, and Mr. George Shelvocke,[345] who, of a boy bred to the sea, became a man of learning, a travelling tutor, and at length attained to the lucrative employment of secretary of the post-office. Of these men it may be said that they were miners in literature, they worked, though not in darkness, under ground; their motive was gain; their labour silent and incessant.

From the above enumeration of characters and particulars it may be inferred, that Johnson's indolence and melancholy were diseases of his mind, and not the necessary consequence of the profession he had taken up, that he saw human life through a false medium, and that he voluntarily renounced many comforts, gratifications, and even pleasures, obviously in his power. One effort however he made to soothe his mind and palliate the fatigue of his labours, which I here relate.

The great delight of his life was conversation and mental intercourse. That he might be able to indulge himself in this, he had, in the winter of 1749, formed a club that met weekly at the King's head, a famous beef-steak house, in Ivy-lane[346] near St. Paul's, every Tuesday evening. Thither he constantly resorted, and, with a disposition to please and be pleased, would pass those hours in a free and unrestrained interchange of sentiments, which otherwise had been spent at home in painful reflection. The persons who composed this little society were nine in number: I will mention their names, and, as well as I am able, give a slight sketch of the several characters of such of them as cannot now be affected by either praise or blame: they were, the reverend Dr. Salter, father of the late master of the Charterhouse,—Dr. Hawkesworth,—Mr. Ryland a merchant, a relation of his,—Mr. John Payne then a bookseller, but now or very lately chief accountant of the bank,—Mr. Samuel Dyer a learned young man intended for the dissenting ministry,—Dr. William

M'Ghie a Scots physician,—Dr. Edmund Barker, a young physician,—Dr. Richard Bathurst also a young physician, and myself.

Dr. Samuel Salter was a Cambridge divine, whom some disagreement between him and his children had driven from his abode at Norwich, at the age of seventy, to settle in London. Being thus far advanced in years, he could carry his recollection back to the time when Dr. Samuel Clarke was yet a member of that university, and would frequently entertain us with particulars respecting him. He was a dignitary of the church, I think archdeacon of Norfolk, a man of general reading, but no deep scholar: he was well-bred, courteous, and affable, and enlivened conversation by the relation of a variety of curious facts, of which his memory was the only register.

Dr. Hawkesworth[347] is a character well known in the literary world: I shall not attempt a delineation of it, as I find in the biographic dictionary an article for him in the words following:

"John Hawkesworth, an English writer of a very soft and pleasing cast, was born about the year 1719, though his epitaph, as we find it in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' for August 1781, makes him to have been born in 1715. He was brought up to a mechanical profession, that of a watchmaker, as is supposed.* He was of the sect of presbyterians, and a member of the celebrated Tom Bradbury's meeting, from which he was expelled for some irregularities. He afterwards devoted himself to literature, and became an author of considerable eminence. In the early part of his life, his circumstances were rather confined. He resided some time at Bromley in Kent, where his wife kept a boarding-school. He afterwards became known to a lady, who had great property and interest in the East-India company; and, through her means, was chosen a director of that body. As an author, his 'Adventurer' is his capital work; the merits of which, if we mistake not, procured him the degree of L.L.D. from Herring, archbishop of Canterbury. When the design of compiling a narrative of the discoveries in the South seas was on foot, he was recommended as a proper person to be employed on the occasion; but, in truth, he was not a proper person, nor did the performance answer expectation. Works of taste and elegance, where imagination and the passions were to be affected, were his province; not works of dry, cold, accurate narrative. However, he executed his task, and is said to have received for it the enormous sum of £6000. He died in 1773, some say of high living, others,

* This is a mistake. He had been taught no art but that of writing, and was a hired clerk to one Harwood an attorney in Grocers' alley, in the Poultry.

of chagrin from the ill reception of his 'Narrative': for he was a man of the keenest sensibility, and obnoxious to all the evils of such irritable natures."

Mr. Samuel Dyer[348] was the son of a jeweller of eminence in the city, who, by his ingenuity and industry had acquired a competent fortune. He, as also his wife, were dissenters, persons very religiously disposed, members of Chandler's congregation in the Old Jewry, and this their youngest son was educated by professor Ward, at the time when he kept a private school in one of the alleys near Moorfields; and from thence, being intended by his father for the dissenting ministry, was removed to Dr. Dodderidge's academy at Northampton. After having finished his studies in this seminary, he was removed to Glasgow, where, under Dr. Hutcheson, he was instructed in the writings of the Greek moralists, and went through several courses of ethics and metaphysics. To complete this plan of a learned education, the elder Mr. Dyer, by the advice of Dr. Chandler, sent his son to Leyden, with a view to his improvement in the Hebrew literature under Schultens,[349] a celebrated professor in that university. After two years' stay abroad, Mr. Dyer returned, eminently qualified for the exercise of that profession to which his studies had been directed, and great were the hopes of his friends that he would become one of its ornaments. To speak of his attainments in knowledge, he was an excellent classical scholar, a great mathematician and natural philosopher, well versed in the Hebrew, and master of the Latin, French and Italian languages. Added to these endowments, he was of a temper so mild, and in his conversation and demeanour so modest and unassuming, that he engaged the attention and affection of all around him. In all questions of science, Johnson looked up to him, and in his life of Watts,[350] among the poets, has cited an observation of his, that Watts had "confounded the idea of space with that of empty space, and did not consider that though space might be without matter, yet matter being extended, could not be without space."

It was now expected that Mr. Dyer would attach himself to the profession for which so liberal and expensive an education was intended to qualify him, and that he would, under all the discouragements that attend non-conformity, appear as a public teacher, and by preaching give a specimen of his talents; and this was the more wished, as he was a constant attendant on divine worship, and the whole of his behaviour suited to such a character. But being pressed by myself and other of his friends, he discovered an averseness to the undertaking, which we conceived to arise from modesty, but some time after found to have sprung from another cause.

In this seeming state of suspence, being master of his time, his friend Dr. Chandler found out for him an employment exactly suitable to his talents. Dr. Daniel Williams, a dissenting minister, who by marriage had become

the owner of a very plentiful estate, and was the founder of the library for the use of those of his profession, in Redcross street, by his will had directed that certain controversial, and other religious tracts of his writing, should be translated into Latin, and printed the second year after his death, and five hundred of each given away, and this bequest to be repeated when that number was disposed of.

This part of his will had remained unexecuted from about the year 1715, and Dr. Chandler being a trustee for the performance of it, and empowered to offer an equivalent to any one that he should think equal to the undertaking, proposed it to Mr. Dyer, and he accepted it; but small was his progress in it before it began to grow irksome, and the completing of the translation was referred to some one less averse to labour than himself.

Having thus got rid of an employment to which no persuasions of his friends nor prospects of future advantage could reconcile him, he became, as it were, emancipated from the bondage of puritanical forms and modes of living. Mr. Dyer commenced a man of the world, and with a sober and temperate deliberation resolved on a participation of its pleasures and enjoyments. His company, though he was rather a silent than a talkative man, was courted by many, and he had frequent invitations to dinners, to suppers, and card-parties. By these means he became insensibly a votary of pleasure, and to justify this choice, had reasoned himself into a persuasion that, not only in the moral government of the world but in human manners, through all the changes and fluctuations of fashion and caprice, whatever is, is right.[351] With this and other opinions equally tending to corrupt his mind, it must be supposed that he began to grow indifferent to the strict practice of religion, and the event shewed itself in a gradual declination from the exercises of it, and his easy compliance with invitations to Sunday evening parties, in which mere conversation was not the chief amusement.

In his discourse he was exceedingly close and reserved: it was nevertheless to be remarked of him, that he looked upon the restraints on a life of pleasure with an unapproving eye. He had an exquisite palate, and had improved his relish for meats and drinks up to such a degree of refinement, that I once found him in a fit of melancholy occasioned by a discovery that he had lost his taste for olives!

He was a man of deep reflection, and very able in conversation on most topics; and after he had determined on his course of life, which was, to be of no profession, but to become a gentleman at large, living much at the houses of his friends, he seemed to adopt the sentiments of a man of fashion. In a visit that he made with a friend to France, he met with a book with the title of "Les Moeurs"[352] with which he was greatly delighted, and at length became so en-

amoured of it, and that free and liberal spirit which it manifests, that, after a conflict with his natural indolence, in which he came off the victor, he formed a resolution to translate it into English; but after a small progress in the work, the enemy rallied, and defeated him. Cave was his printer, and had worked off only a few sheets when Mr. Dyer's stock of copy was exhausted, and his bookseller found himself reduced to the necessity of getting the translation finished by another hand, which he did, employing for the purpose a Mr. Collyer, the author of "Letters from Felicia to Charlotte," and other innocent and some useful publications. The translation was completed, but upon its being sent abroad, met with a rival one that involved Cave, who was interested in the success of the book, in an advertisement-war, which he was left to conduct as he could.

Few who are acquainted with this book, will blame or wonder at Mr. Dyer's partiality for it. It is a work replete with good sense, setting forth the excellence and the reasonableness of moral virtue, in language so elegant and lively, and with such forcible persuasion, as cannot but win on a mind open to instruction.

The earl of Chesterfield's voluminous exhortations to his son have been, by some, esteemed a system of education, a system which sinks into nothing when compared, either in its foundation or tendency, to that contained in this concise code of ethics. His lordship teaches the baser arts as means to that important end, success in the world; this writer, that the good opinion of mankind is never to be purchased by deviating from the rule of right, and that we seek in vain for happiness, if we do not exert ourselves in the discharge of our several duties. Principles such as these, the disciples of the Graces are not likely to relish; but it is nevertheless true, that the unassuming, the benevolent author of "Les Moeurs" understood the art of forming the character of a really fine gentleman, much better than he who taught that infamy was the road to honour. In short, this is a work, in praise of which there is no danger of being too lavish, for those must be wise indeed who are not informed by it, and incorrigible whose tempers are not mended by it.

What then shall we say of Mr. Dyer who could read it, approve it, and so far shake off his natural phlegm[353] as to declare himself fascinated by, and actually begin a translation of it, yet could abandon his work, and sink into the very character against which it was an antidote, but that sloth had obtained the dominion over him, that a paralysis had seized his mental faculties, and that rejecting the prudent counsels, the moral precepts, and the religious instruction contained in this elegant tract, he had given himself up to criminal indolence and self-gratification, and defeated the hopes of his best friends?

In the translation into English, much of the spirit of the original has evapo-

rated; but it has merit, as some particulars, which the different manners of the two nations made it fit to alter, are properly adapted in it to the genius of our country, and indeed the translation, even if it had had less claim to our regard, must have been acceptable, as it extended the benefits of this valuable tract.

Dyer's support, in the idle way of life which he had made choice of, was the produce of a patrimony in the funds, that could not be great; his father, from whom he derived it, having left, besides himself, a widow, an elder son and a daughter. Johnson and myself, that he might be getting something, strongly pressed him to write the life of Erasmus; but he could not be induced to undertake it. A work of less labour, but less worthy of him, he was however prevailed on by Mr. Samuel Sharp, the surgeon, to engage in: this was a revision of the old translation of Plutarch's lives by several hands.[354] He undertook, and, with heavy complaints of the labour of his task, completed it, and had for his reward from Mr. Draper the partner of Mr. Tonson, whom Mr. Sharp had solicited to find some employment for him, the sum of two hundred pounds.

While he was a member of the club, Johnson suspected that his religious principles, for which at first he honoured him, were giving way, and it was whispered to me by one who seemed pleased that he was in the secret, that Mr. Dyer's religion was that of Socrates. What farther advances he made in Theism[355] I could not learn, nor will I venture to assert, that which some expressions that I have heard drop from him led me to fear, viz. that he denied, in the philosophical sense of the term, the freedom of the human will, and settled in materialism and its consequent tenets.

As all his determinations were slow and deliberate, and seemed to be the result of reason and reflection, the change in his principles and conduct here noted was gradual. Of this the first symptoms were an imbecility to resist any temptation abroad on a Sunday evening, that should ease him of the trouble of such exercises as he had been accustomed to perform in the family of his mother, and an eager curiosity in the perusal of books not merely of entertainment, but of such, as together with a knowledge of the world, furnished his mind with such palliatives of vice as made him half a convert to it.

While his mind was in this state of trepidation, a young gentleman who had been a fellow-student with him at Leyden, arrived in England, disordered in his health, of whom and whose conversation he became so enamoured, that to entertain him while he was seeking the recovery of it, Dyer was almost lost to all the rest of his friends. To those with whom he was most intimate, he would, notwithstanding the closeness of his nature, describe him and display his attractions, which as he represented them, were learning,

wit, politeness, elegance, particularly in the article of dress; free and open manners, a genteel figure, and other personal charms that rendered him the delight of the female sex. It was a question that some of those with whom he was thus open would frequently ask him, "What are the most of these qualifications to you, Mr. Dyer, who are a man of a different character? you who know the value of wisdom, and have a mind fraught with knowledge, which you are capable of applying to many beneficial purposes, can never be emulous of those distinctions which discriminate a man of pleasure from a philosopher": his answers to which served only to shew that his judgment was corrupted: The habitation of his friend, whom he thus visited, was a brothel, and his disease such as those seldom escape who frequent houses of lewd resort. The solicitude which the females in that place shewed for the recovery of his friend, their close attendance on him, and assiduity in administering to him his medicines, and supplying all his wants, he attributed to genuine love; and seemed almost to envy in him that power which could interest so many young persons of the other sex in the restoration of his health.

What effect these visits, and the blandishments to which, as often as he made them, he was a witness, had upon Dyer, I know not, save that to defeat the enchantments of these syrens he practised none of the arts of Ulysses:[356] on the contrary, they seemed to have wrought in him an opinion, that those mistook their interest, and shewed their ignorance of human life, who abstained from any pleasure that disturbed not the quiet of families or the order of society; that natural appetites required gratification, and were not to be dismissed without it; that the indulgence of the irascible passions alone was vice; and that to live in peace with all mankind, and in a temper to do good offices, was the most essential part of our duty.

Having admitted these principles into his mind, he settled into a sober sensualist; in a perfect consistency with which character, he was content to eat the bread of idleness,[357] laying himself open to the invitations of those that kept the best tables, and contracting intimacies with men not only of opposite parties, but with some who seemed to have abandoned all principle, whether religious, political or moral. The houses of many such in succession were his home; and for the gratifications of a well-spread table, choice wines, variety of company, card-parties, and a participation in all domestic amusements and recreations, the owners thought themselves recompensed by his conversation and the readiness with which he accommodated himself to all about him. Nor was he ever at a loss for reasons to justify this abuse of his parts or waste of his time: he looked upon the practice of the world as the rule of life, and thought it did not become an individual to resist it.

By the death of his mother, his brother and sister, all of whom he survived,

he became possessed of about £8000 in the funds,[358] which, as he was an oeconomist and inclined to no extravagance, it seemed highly improbable he would ever be tempted to dissipate; but he had contracted a fatal intimacy with some persons of desperate fortunes, who were dealers in India stock, at a time when the affairs of the company were in a state of fluctuation; and though, from his indolent and abstracted temper of mind and ignorance of business, the last man to be suspected of yielding to such delusions, he first invested all he had in that precarious fund, and next became a candidate for the office of a director of the company, but failed in his attempt. After this, he entered into engagements for the purchase or sale of stock, and by violating them, made shipwreck of his honour. Lastly, he made other contracts of the like kind, to the performance whereof he was strictly bound: these turned out against him, and swallowed the whole of his fortune. About the time of this event he was seized with a quinsey,[359] which he was assured was mortal; but whether he resigned himself to the slow operation of that disease, or precipitated his end by an act of self-violence, was, and yet is, a question among his friends. He left not in money or effects sufficient to defray the expence of a decent funeral, and the last office of humanity towards him was performed by one of those who had been accessary to his ruin. A portrait of him was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and from it a mezzotinto was scraped, the print whereof, as he was little known, sold only to his friends; a singular use however was made of it: Bell, the publisher of the English poets, caused an engraving to be made from it, and prefixed it to the poems of Mr. John Dyer.

I have been thus particular in the history of this accomplished and hopeful young man, whom I once loved with the affection of a brother, with a view to shew the tendency of idleness, and to point out at what avenues vice may gain admittance in minds seemingly the most strongly fortified. The assailable part of his was laxity of principle: at this entered infidelity, which was followed by such temptations to pleasure as he could see no reason to resist: these led on desires after the means of gratification, and the pursuit of them was his destruction.

M'Ghie was a Scotchman by birth, and educated, in one of the universities of that country, for the profession of physic. In the rebellion in 1745, he, with a party of young men who, as volunteers, had associated on the side of government, bore arms, and was engaged in the skirmish at Falkirk, which he ever spoke of as an ill-conducted business. When matters were become pretty quiet in Scotland, he took a doctor's degree, and came to London, where, trusting to the friendship of his countrymen he hoped to succeed in practice, but the town was overstocked with Scotch physicians, and he met

with small encouragement, though, by the favour of Dr. Benjamin Avery, the treasurer of Guy's hospital, who had been a dissenting teacher, and at that time was at the head of that interest, he got to be elected one of the physicians of that charity. He was a learned, ingenious, and modest man; and one of those few of his country whom Johnson could endure. To say the truth, he treated him with great civility, and may almost be said to have loved him. He inherited a patrimony too small for his subsistence, and failing in his hope of getting forward in his profession, died of a broken heart, and was buried by a contribution of his friends.

Barker, being by education a dissenter, was sent to study physic at Leyden, from whence he returned about the time I am speaking of. He was introduced to us by Dyer, and had been a fellow-student with him and with Akenside, Askew, Munckley, Mr. Dyson of the house of commons, and others, few of whom are now living. From the conversation of these persons, he learned the principles of lord Shaftesbury's philosophy,[360] and became, as most of them were, a favourer of his notions, and an acute reasoner on the subject of ethics. He was an excellent classical scholar, a deep metaphysician, and had enriched his fancy by reading the Italian poets; but he was a thoughtless young man, and in all his habits of dress and appearance so slovenly as made him the jest of all his companions. Physicians in his time were used to be full dressed; and in his garb of a full suit, a brown tye-wig with a knot over one shoulder, and a long yellow-hilted sword, and his hat under his arm, he was a caricature. In his religious principles he professed himself an unitarian, for which Johnson so often snubbed him, that his visits to us became less and less frequent. After such a description as that above, it is needless to add that Barker succeeded ill in his profession. Upon his leaving us, he went to practise at Trowbridge in Wiltshire, but at the end of two years returned to London, and became librarian to the college of physicians, in the room of Edwards the ornithologist; but for some misbehaviour was displaced, and died in obscurity.

Dr. Richard Bathurst was a native of Jamaica, and the son of an eminent planter in that island, who coming to settle in England, placed his son in London, in order to qualify him for the practice of physic. In the course of his studies he became acquainted with Johnson, and was greatly beloved by him for the pregnancy of his parts and the elegance of his manners. Besides these he possessed the qualities that were most likely to recommend him in his profession; but, wanting friends, could make no way in it. He had just interest enough to be chosen physician to an hospital that was supported by precarious donations, and which yielded him little or no recompence for his attendance, which, as it was only a few hours on certain days in the week, left him, in a great measure, master of his time. Of this he was a good manager,

employing it in the studies relative to his profession, and the improvement of himself in polite literature. In conjunction with Johnson, Hawkesworth, and others, he wrote "the Adventurer,"[361] a periodical paper that will hereafter be spoken of, pursuing at the same time the most prudent and probable methods for acquiring reputation and advancing himself in his profession; but missing of success, he embraced the offer of an appointment of physician to the army that was sent on the expedition against the Havannah, where, soon after his arrival, he was seized with a fever that then raged among the troops, and which, before he could be a witness of the reduction of the place, put a period to an innocent and useful life.[362]

The Spaniards have a proverb, that he who intends to be pope must think of nothing else. Bathurst thought of becoming an eminent London physician, and omitted no means to attain that character: he studied hard, dressed well, and associated with those who were likely to bring him forward, but he failed in his endeavours, and shortly before his leaving England confessed to Johnson, that in the course of ten years' exercise of his faculty, he had never opened his hand to more than one guinea.

The failure of three such persons as those above-mentioned, in a profession in which very many ignorant men have been known to succeed,* was matter of wonder to Johnson and all that knew them. He obeyed that precept of Scripture, which exhorts us to honour the physician,[363] and would frequently say of those of this country, that they did more good to mankind, without a prospect of reward, than any profession of men whatever. Bathurst's want of encouragement affected him much: he often expressed to me his surprize, that a young man of his endowments and engaging manners, should succeed no better, and his disappointment drew from him a reflection, which he has inserted in his life of Adenside, that by an acute observer who had looked on the transactions of the medical world for half a century, a very curious book might be written on the fortune of physicians.[364] Such a book I should be glad to see; and if any person hereafter shall be induced to pursue Johnson's hint, he may possibly think the following remarks which have occurred to me in the course of a long intimacy with some of the most eminent of the profession, not altogether beneath his notice.

Of the professors of medicine, in cities remote from London and in country towns, I know but little; but in the metropolis I am able to say, that in my time not only the track of a young physician was pretty plainly pointed out, and it is curious to follow it, but that the conduct of such an one was reducible to a system. Mead was the son of a non-conforming minister the teacher

* So ignorant as to request of the college the indulgence of an examination in English.

of a numerous congregation, who trusting to his influence over them,* bred his son a physician, with what success is well known.† He raised the medical character to such a height of dignity as was never seen in this or any other country. His example was an inducement with others of the dissenting ministers to make physicians of their sons. Oldfield, Clark, Nesbit, Lobb, and Munckley were the sons of dissenting teachers, and they generally succeeded. The hospital of St. Thomas, and that of Guy, in Southwark, were both under the government of dissenters and whigs; and as soon as any one became physician of either, his fortune was looked upon as made. The mention of this circumstance brings to my remembrance a contest, that, to a degree, proves the truth of my assertion. Dr. afterwards Sir Edward, Hulse had been some years physician to St. Thomas's hospital, and being minded to resign, had set his eye upon Dr. Joseph Letherland, a man of profound erudition, for his successor. Hoadly, bishop of Winchester, had about that time a son, who having finished his studies in physic at Cambridge, had taken his doctor's degree, and was about to settle in London. Hoadly was ever the idol of the whigs: he encouraged his son to offer himself, and the interest was divided. Every nerve was strained, and Hoadly missed his election by fewer than ten votes.‡

The same advantage attended the election of a physician to the hospitals of Bethlehem and St. Bartholomew, which are of royal foundation, and have been under tory government. By cultivating an interest with either of the two parties, the succession of a young physician was almost insured. The frequenting Batson's or Child's[365] was a declaration of the side he took, and his business was to be indiscriminately courteous and obsequious to all men, to appear much abroad and in public places, to increase his acquaintance and form good connexions, in the doing whereof, a wife, if he were married,

* The interest which the dissenting teachers had with the members of their several congregations, though now but little known, was formerly very great, and in my memory was such, that scarcely any member of a separate congregation would dispose of a daughter, or make a purchase, or advance a sum of money on a mortgage, without first consulting his pastor.

† I have heard it said, that when Mead began to practise, he was a constant frequenter of the meeting at Stepney, where his father preached; and that when he was sent for out of the assembly, which he often was, his father would in his prayer insert a petition in behalf of the sick person. I once mentioned this to Johnson, who said it was too gross for belief; but it was not so at Batson's: it passed there as a current tradition.

‡ It is remarkable of this person, that upon this failure he abandoned his profession; not so much perhaps because of his disappointment, as of his principles. To a friend of mine he confessed that he was, as to the effects of medicine, a sceptic; for that upon the principles of philosophy, he could not account for the operation of any one medicine on the human body. He seemed in this instance to have adopted the sentiments of

that could visit, play at cards, and tattle, was oftentimes very serviceable.* A candidate for practice, pursuing these methods and exercising the patience of a setting-dog for half a score years in the expectation of deaths, resignations, or other accidents that occasion vacancies, at the end thereof either found himself an hospital physician,† and if of Bethlehem a monopolist of one, and that a very lucrative branch of practice; or doomed to struggle with difficulties for the remainder of his life.

Jurin, Shaw, James, and some few others, recommended themselves to practice by their writings, but in general the methods of acquiring it, I speak of the city, were such as are above described. One and only one of the profession I am able to name who pursued a different conduct, and under the greatest disadvantages succeeded.

This person was Dr. Meyer Schomberg, a native of Cologne, who being a jew, and as I have heard related of him, librarian to some person of distinc-

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Montaigne,[366] who entertained the same doubt, and, somewhere in his essays, describes a physician putting a pill into a patient's mouth, with a commission to follow the circulation, and act only on that part, the toe for instance, to which it is directed. Of a different opinion was the father of the person above-mentioned, Hoadly, bishop of Winchester, when, writing against the free-thinkers, he put this shrewd question: "Were all the mistakes and errors of physicians, from the beginning of the world to this day, collected into a volume, would they afford a good reason against taking physic?"

* The medical character, whatever it is now, was heretofore a grave one: it implies learning and sagacity, and therefore, notwithstanding lord Shaftesbury's remark,[367] that gravity is of the very essence of imposture, the candidates for practice, though ever so young, found it necessary to add to their endeavours a grave and solemn deportment, even to affectation. The physicians in Hogarth's prints[368] are not caricatures; the full dress, with a sword and a great tye-wig, and the hat under the arm; and the doctors in consultation, each smelling to a gold-headed cane shaped like a parish-beedle's staff, are pictures of real life in his time, and myself have seen a young physician thus equipped, walk the streets of London without attracting the eyes of passengers.

† To these observations on the profession of physic, and the fate of its practitioners, I here add an anecdote of no less a person than Dr. Mead himself, who very early in his life attained to this station of eminence, and met with all the subsequent encouragement due to his great merit, and who nevertheless died in a state of indigence.

The income arising from his practice I have heard estimated at £7000 a year, and he had one if not two fortunes left him, not by relations but by friends no way allied to him; but his munificence was so great, and his passion for collecting books, paintings, and curiosities, so strong, that he made no savings. His manuscripts he parted with in his life-time to supply his wants, which towards his end were become so pressing, that he once requested of the late Lord Orrery the loan of five guineas on some toys, viz. pieces of kennel coal[369] wrought into vases and other elegant forms, which he produced from his pocket. This story, incredible as it may seem, lord Orrery told Johnson, and from him I had it.

tion abroad, left that occupation, and came and settled in London. Being of no profession, and having the means of a livelihood to seek, he was at a pause, but at length determined on one, and took it up in a manner that will be best described by his own words to a friend of mine. "I said I was a physician." Having thus assumed a profession, he cultivated an intimacy with the jews in Duke's place,[370] and by their means got introduced to the acquaintance of some of the leading men, merchants and others of that religion, who employed him, and by their interest recommended him to a practice that, in a few years amounted, as he once told me himself, to a thousand pounds a year. He was a man of an insinuating address, and as he understood mankind very well, having renounced the ritual distinctions of his religion, he soon found out a method of acquiring popularity, which had never been practised by any of his profession; he took a large house in the city, and kept a public table, to which, on a certain day in the week, all the young surgeons and apothecaries were welcome, and at which all that were present were treated with an indiscriminate civility, that had very much the appearance of friendship, but meant nothing more than that they should recommend him to practice. The scheme succeeded; in the year 1740, Schomberg had outstripped all the city-physicians, and was in the annual receipt of four thousand pounds.

To enable him to practice, he had, at his setting out, procured to be admitted a licentiate of the college, but that permission had been granted him with so ill a grace, or was followed by some circumstances that provoked his resentment so highly, that he seemed resolved on a perpetual enmity against the members of that body; who, on their part, looking on him as little better than a foreign mountebank, declined, as much as possible, meeting him in consultation, and thereby, for some time, checked his practice.

He had a son whom he brought up to his own profession, who took it into his head, that having been admitted a licentiate,[371] he was virtually a fellow, and claimed to be admitted as such: his father encouraged him, and instituted a process in his behalf, of which there had been no precedent since the time that Jefferies was chancellor. It was no less than a petition to the king, requesting him, in the person of the lord-chancellor, to exercise his visitatorial power over the college, and restore the licentiates to their rights, which, by their arbitrary proceedings, the president and fellows had, for a succession of ages, deprived them of. This petition came on to be heard at Lincoln's-inn hall, before the lord chief justice Willes, the lord chief-baron Smythe, and Sir John Eardley Wilmot, lords commissioners of the great seal, but the allegations therein contained not being sufficiently supported, the same was dismissed; it was nevertheless looked on as the most formidable attack on the

college it had ever sustained, and may be said to have shaken its constitution to the very centre.

Political associations and religious sects are excellent nurses to young men of professions, especially of that of which I am speaking; Ratcliffe and Freind owed their fortunes to the support of the tories and jacobites; Mead and Hulse to the whigs, and Schomberg to the jews. The quakers also, no contemptible body of men, had power and interest sufficient to introduce into great practice one of their own denomination; this was John Fothergill, a young man of parts and industry, who being bred an apothecary, and having obtained a Scotch degree, settled in London, and attached himself to Schomberg, taking him, in many parts of his conduct, for his exemplar: so that, upon Schomberg's decease, he slid into his practice, and became one of the most popular of the city physicians. These two persons, first one, and then the other, for full thirty years, carried all before them; and within that space of time, not fewer than twenty of the profession, whom I could name, lived in great straits, some of them leaving, at their decease, scarce sufficient to bury them.

From these, and many other instances that might be produced, it is evident, that neither learning, parts, nor skill, nor even all these united, are sufficient to ensure success in the profession I am speaking of; and that, without the concurrence of adventitious circumstances, which no one can pretend to define, a physician of the greatest merit may be lost to the world; and further it may be said, that the fairest hopes may be frustrated by the want of that quality, which Swift somewhere calls an aldermanly virtue, discretion,[372] but is in truth, of greater efficacy in our intercourse with mankind, than all science put together. Had Akenside been possessed of this gift, he had probably become the first in his faculty; but that he was able to acquire no other kind of celebrity than that of a scholar and a poet, is to be accounted for by some particulars in his life and conduct, with which few but myself, who knew him well, are acquainted, and which I here insert as suppletory to those which Johnson has recorded of him.[373] Mr. Dyson and he were fellow students, the one of law and the other of physic, at Leyden; where, being of congenial tempers, a friendship commenced between them that lasted through their lives. They left the university at the same time, and both settled in London: Mr. Dyson took to the bar, and being possessed of a handsome fortune supported his friend while he was endeavouring to make himself known as a physician; but in a short time, having purchased of Mr. Hardinge, his place of clerk of the house of commons, he quitted Westminster hall, and for the purpose of introducing Akenside to acquaintance in an opulent neighbourhood near the

town, bought a house at North End, Hampstead; where they dwelt together during the summer season: frequenting the long room, and all clubs, and assemblies of the inhabitants.

At these meetings, which as they were not select, must be supposed to have consisted of such persons as usually meet for the purpose of gossiping, men of wealth, but of ordinary endowments, and able to talk of little else than news, and the occurrences of the day, Akenside was for displaying those talents which had acquired him the reputation he enjoyed in other companies; but here they were of little use to him, on the contrary, they tended to engage him in disputes that betrayed him into a contempt of those that differed in opinion from him. It was found out that he was a man of low birth, and a dependant on Mr. Dyson; circumstances that furnished those whom he offended with a ground of reproach, that reduced him to the necessity of asserting in terms that he was a gentleman.

Little could be done at Hampstead after matters had proceeded to this extremity; Mr. Dyson parted with his villa at North-End, and settled his friend in a small house in Bloomsbury square; assigning for his support such a part of his income as enabled him to keep a chariot.[374]

In this new situation Akenside used every endeavour to become popular, but defeated them all by the high opinion he every where manifested of himself, and the little condescension he shewed to men of inferior endowments; by his love of political controversy, his authoritative censure of the public councils, and his bigotted notions respecting government, subjects foreign to his profession, and with which some of the wisest of it have thought it prudent not to concern themselves. In the winter evenings he frequented Tom's coffee-house in Devereux court, then the resort of some of the most eminent men for learning and ingenuity of the time, with some of whom he became entangled in disputes and altercations, chiefly on subjects of literature and politics, that fixed on his character the stamp of haughtiness and self-conceit, and drew him into disagreeable situations.

There was at that time a man of the name of Ballow,[375] who used to pass his evenings in the society above-mentioned, a lawyer by profession,* but of no practice; he having, by the interest of some of the Townshends, to whom he had been a kind of law tutor, obtained a place in the exchequer, which yielded him a handsome income, and exempted him from the necessity of attending Westminster-hall. He was a man of deep and extensive learning, but of vulgar manners; and being of a splenetic[376] temper, envied Akenside for that eloquence which he displayed in his conversation, and set his own phra-

* He was the author of a treatise on equity, in folio, published without a name.

seology very low. Moreover he hated him for his republican principles;[377] and finally, being himself a man of solid learning, affected to treat him as a pretender to literature, and made it his study to provoke him.

One evening at the coffee-house a dispute between these two persons rose so high, that for some expression uttered by Ballow, Akenside thought himself obliged to demand an apology, which not being able to obtain, he sent his adversary a challenge in writing. Ballow, a little deformed man, well known as a saunterer in the park, about Westminster, and in the streets between Charing-cross and the houses of parliament, though remarkable for a sword of an unusual length, which he constantly wore when he went abroad, had no inclination for fighting, and declined an answer. The demand of satisfaction was followed by several attempts on the part of Akenside to see Ballow at his lodgings, but he kept close, till by the interposition of friends the difference could be adjusted.* By his conduct in this business, Akenside acquired but little reputation for courage, for the accommodation was not brought about by any concessions of his adversary, but by a resolution from which neither of them would depart, for one would not fight in the morning, nor the other in the afternoon: all that he got by it was, the character of an irascible man; and many who admired him for his genius and parts were shy of becoming his intimates. Yet where there was no competition for applause or literary reputation, he was an easy companion, and would bear with such rudeness as would have angered almost any one. Saxby, of the customhouse, who was every evening at Tom's, and by the bluntness of his behaviour, and the many shrewd sayings he was used to utter, had acquired the privilege of Thersites,[378] of saying whatever he would, was once in my hearing, inveighing against the profession of physic, which Akenside took upon him to defend. This railer, after labouring to prove that it was all imposture, concluded his discourse with this sentiment: "Doctor," said he, "after all you have said, my opinion of the profession of physic is this, The ancients endeavoured to

* This method of resenting affronts offered to physicians is not new. The grave and placid Dr. Mead was once provoked to it by Dr. Woodward of Gresham college, who, in the exercise of his profession, had said or done something to offend him: he went to Woodward's lodgings to demand satisfaction, and meeting him under the arch in the way leading from Broad-street to the green court, drew his sword and bid him defend himself or beg pardon, which it is supposed, he did. This rencounter is recorded in an engraved view of Gresham college, inserted in Dr. Ward's lives of the Gresham professors,[379] in which Woodward is represented kneeling, and laying his sword at the feet of his antagonist; and was thus explained to me by Dr. Lawrence the physician. Mead was the friend and patron of Ward, which must be supposed to have been his inducement to perpetuate an event so foreign to the nature of his work.

make it a science and failed; and the moderns to make it a trade and have succeeded." Akenside took his sarcasm in good part, and joined in the laugh which it occasioned.

The value of that precept which exhorts us to live peaceably with all men,[380] or in other words to avoid creating enemies, can only be estimated by the reflection on those many amiable qualities against which the neglect of it will preponderate. Akenside was a man of religion and strict virtue, a philosopher, a scholar, and a fine poet. His conversation was of the most delightful kind, learned, instructive, and without any affectation of wit, chearful and entertaining. One of the pleasantest days of my life I passed with him, Mr. Dyson, and another friend, at Putney bowling-green house, where a neat and elegant dinner, the enlivening sunshine of a summer's day, and the view of an unclouded sky, were the least of our gratifications. In perfect good humour with himself and all around him, he seemed to feel a joy that he lived, and poured out his gratulations to the great dispenser of all felicity in expressions that Plato himself might have uttered on such an occasion. In conversations with select friends, and those whose course of study had been nearly the same with his own, it was an usual thing with him in libations to the memory of eminent men among the ancients, to bring their characters into view, and thereby give occasion to expatiate on those particulars of their lives that had rendered them famous: his method was to arrange them into three classes, philosophers, poets, and legislators.

That a character thus formed should fail of recommending itself to general esteem, and of procuring to the possessor of it those benefits which it is in the power of mankind to bestow, may seem a wonder, but it is often seen, that negative qualities are more conducive to this end than positive; and that, with no higher a character than is attainable by any one who with a studious taciturnity will keep his opinions to himself, conform to the practice of others, and entertain neither friendship for nor enmity against any one, a competitor for the good opinion of the world, nay for emoluments, and even dignities, stands a better chance of success, than one of the most established reputation for learning and ingenuity. The truth of this observation Akenside himself lived to experience, who in a competition for the place of physician to the Charterhouse, was unable to prevail against an obscure man, devoid of every quality that might serve to recommend him, and whose sole merit was that of being distantly related to the late lord Holland.[381]

To those persons who have been disappointed in their hopes of success in the medical profession, may be added one, to whom his failure was so far from being a misfortune, that it was the means of placing him in a station where only his worth could be known, and of exalting him to dignities in

which he rendered more service to mankind, than he could have done in any other capacity whatever. This was Dr. Secker,[382] the late archbishop of Canterbury; of whom I shall relate a few particulars not generally known.

We are told by the reverend authors of his life, prefixed to his sermons published by them, that he had been destined by his father for orders among the dissenters; but that not being able to decide on some abstruse speculative doctrines, nor to determine absolutely what communion he should embrace, he applied himself to the study of physic. To this fact I add, that he was also a candidate for practice, and that in order to obtain it, he put on the garb of a physician; and for a year or somewhat more frequented Batson's coffee-house in the city, but had never any calls from thence.* His biographers abovementioned further say, that being recommended by Mr. afterwards bishop Butler, to Mr. Edward Talbot, a son of bishop Talbot; that gentleman promised in case he chose to take orders in the church, to engage his father to provide for him, and that foreseeing many obstacles in his pursuit of this profession, Mr. Secker, for he had not then obtained the degree of doctor in his faculty, embraced the offer. They add, that in the summer of 1720, he was introduced to Mr. Talbot, and that with him he cultivated a close acquaintance. This I conceive was not till after he had made the experiment abovementioned, and determined on the change of his profession. Mr. Talbot's recommendation of his friend to his father succeeded, but he lived not to see the fruit of it; for in a few months after, he was seized with the small-pox and died; which last particular agrees with the following, communicated to me by a person of unquestionable veracity; viz. that upon the first appearance of the disorder, the symptoms were very unfavourable, and it seemed necessary in order to assist the eruption, that some person should sleep in the same bed with the patient. Mr. Secker voluntarily undertook this office, and though it failed of success, gave a convincing proof of his gratitude to one whose friendship was likely to prove, as it afterwards did, the making of his fortunes.

To return from this digression, the club in Ivey lane, composed of the persons above described, was a great relief to Johnson after the fatigue of study, and he generally came to it with both a corporal and mental appetite; for our conversations seldom began till after a supper, so very solid and substantial, as led us to think, that with him it was a dinner.[383] By the help of this refection, and no other incentive to hilarity than lemonade, Johnson was, in a short time after our assembling, transformed into a new creature: his habitual melancholy and lassitude of spirit gave way; his countenance brightened;

* Ex relatione Peter Flood the master of the coffee-house, who remembered his coming there.

his mind was made to expand, and his wit to sparkle: he told excellent stories; and in his didactic stile of conversation, both instructed and delighted us.

It required, however, on the part of us, who considered ourselves as his disciples, some degree of compliance with his political prejudices: the greater number of our company were whigs, and I was not a tory, and we all saw the prudence of avoiding to call the then late adventurer in Scotland,[384] or his adherents, by those names which others hesitated not to give them, or to bring to remembrance what had passed, a few years before, on Tower-hill. But the greatest of all our difficulties was, to keep alive in Johnson's mind a sense of the decorum due to the age, character, and profession of Dr. Salter, whom he took delight in contradicting, and bringing his learning, his judgment, and sometimes his veracity to the test. And here I must observe, that Johnson, though a high-churchman, and by consequence a friend to the clergy as a body of men, was, with respect to individuals, frequently, not to say wanting in civility, but to a very great degree splenetic and pertinacious. For this behaviour we could but one way account: He had been bred in an university, and must there have had in prospect those advantages, those stations in life, or perhaps those dignities, which an academic education leads to. Missing these by his adverse fortunes, he looked on every dignitary under a bishop, for to those of that order he was more than sufficiently respectful, and, to descend lower, on every one that possessed the emoluments of his profession, as occupying a station to which himself had a better title, and, if his inferior in learning or mental endowments, treated him as little better than an usurper.

Dr. Salter was too much a man of the world to resent this behaviour: "Study to be quiet"[385] seemed to be his rule; and he might possibly think, that a victory over Johnson in any matter of dispute, could it have been obtained, would have been dearly purchased at the price of peace. It was nevertheless a temerarious[386] act in him to venture into a society, of which such a man was the head. Dean Swift in his character of Corusodes,* has so developed the arts by which mere men of the world attain to ecclesiastical dignities and preferments, as should make such for ever cautious how they risque detection; and accordingly we see that many among them are in general backward in forming connections and associating with scholars and the learned of the laity, at least with men of Johnson's temper, who, where he had reason to expect learning, never shewed mercy to ignorance.

Hawkesworth was a man of fine parts, but no learning: his reading had been irregular and desultory: the knowledge he had acquired, he, by the help

* In his essay on the fates of clergymen.[387]

of a good memory retained, so that it was ready at every call, but on no subject had he ever formed any system. All of ethics that he knew, he had got from Pope's "Essay on Man," and Epistles; he had read the modern French writers, and more particularly the poets, and with the aid of Keill's "Introduction," Chambers's "Dictionary,"[388] and other such common books, had attained such an insight into physics, as enabled him to talk on the subject. In the more valuable branches of learning, he was deficient. His office of curator of the Magazine gave him great opportunities of improvement, by an extensive correspondence with men of all professions; it increased his little stock of literature, and furnished him with more than a competent share of that intelligence which is necessary to qualify a man for conversation. He had a good share of wit, and a vein of humour. With all these talents, Hawkesworth could be no other than an instructive and entertaining companion.

Of a far more valuable kind were the endowments of Dyer; keen penetration and deep erudition were the qualities that so distinguished his character, that, in some instances, Johnson might almost be said to have looked up to him. As the purpose of our meetings was the free communication of sentiments and the enjoyment of social intercourse, our conversations were unrestrained, and the subjects thereof multifarious. Dyer was a divine, a linguist, a mathematician, a metaphysician, a natural philosopher, a classical scholar, and a critic; this Johnson saw and felt, and never, but in defence of some fundamental and important truth, would he contradict him. The deference thus shewn by Johnson to Dyer, may be said to have been involuntary, or respect extorted; for in their religious and political sentiments their disagreement was so great, that less of it would, in some minds, have engendered hatred. Of the fundamental and important truths above-mentioned, there was one, namely the nature of moral obligation, of which Johnson was uniformly tenacious. Every one, versed in studies of this kind, knows, that there are, among the moderns, three sects or classes of writers on morality, who, though perhaps deriving their respective tenets from the Socratic, the Academic and other ancient schools, are, in these times, considered, at least, as the guides of sects; these are the characteristic[389] lord Shaftesbury, Dr. Samuel Clarke, and Mr. Wollaston: the first of these makes virtue to consist in a course of action conformable to what is called the moral sense; Wollaston says it is acting, in all cases, according to truth, and treating things as they are; Dr. Clarke supposes all rational agents as under an obligation to act agreeably to the relations that subsist between such, or according to what he calls the fitness of things. Johnson was ever an admirer of Clarke, and agreed with him in this and most other of his opinions, excepting in that of the Trinity, in which he said, as Dr. Bentley, though no very sound believer, had done before, that Dr.

Waterland had foiled him.[390] He therefore fell in with the scheme of fitness, and thereby professed himself an adversary, in the mildest sense of the word, and an opponent of Dyer, who, having been a pupil of Hutcheson, favoured, notwithstanding his suspected infidelity, this and many other notions and opinions of lord Shaftesbury.

To say of lord Shaftesbury that he was but a suspected infidel, is surely treating him mildly, and I forbear to tax him with unbelief, only because in his "Letters to a student at the University,"* he has affected to speak of the Christian religion, as if half persuaded of its truth. Nevertheless, throughout his works it may be discerned, that he omits no opportunity of branding it with superstition[391] and enthusiasm, and of representing the primitive professors of it as provoking, by their factious and turbulent behaviour, those persecutions from whence they derive the glory of martyrs. For these sentiments, as also for the invidious comparisons he is ever drawing between the philosophers Plato, Epictetus, Seneca and others, and the fathers, and his many contemptuous sneers at the writers on the side of christianity, Johnson bore him no good will, neither did he seem at all to relish the cant of the Shaftesburian school,[392] nor inclined to admit the pretensions of those who professed to be of it, to tastes and perceptions which are not common to all men; a taste in morals, in poetry, and prose writing, in painting, in sculpture, in music, in architecture, and in government! a taste that censured every production, and induced them to reprobate every effort of genius that fell short of their own capricious standard.†

Little as Johnson liked the notions of lord Shaftesbury, he still less approved those of some later writers, who have pursued the same train of thinking and reasoning, namely, Hutcheson, Dr. Nettleton, and Mr. Harris of Salisbury, of which latter, for the many singularities of sentiment and style in his "Hermes," he scrupled not to speak very lightly. There is a book extant,

* A young man, named Michael Ainsworth, the son, as I have been informed, of the parish clerk of Winborne St. Giles in Dorsetshire, the seat of the Shaftesbury family, whom his lordship sent to and supported at Oxford, with a view of settling him in the church, and giving to it a divine of his own forming. His lordship, however, failed of his end: the young man, if not in his religious, in his political principles chose to think for himself; he might be as good a christian, but was not so good a whig as his patron intended him to be: he thereby lost his favour, and incurred the censure of ingratitude.

† See lord Shaftesbury's "Letter on Design," passim, in which these fanciful notions prevail, that a taste, an ear, a judgment, are the consequences of freedom, or civil liberty, and that not having attained to the perfection thereof, our ecclesiastical structures, particularly the metropolitan, retain much of what artists call the Gothic kind; and compare with it his own puerile devices, invented with great labour to illustrate the characteristics.

intitled, "Letters concerning Mind," written by a person of the same school, named Petvin, which, with an arrow taken from the quiver of their great master, a stroke of ridicule shot from one of the "Idlers," Johnson may be fairly said to have transfixed. The passage is in a high degree ludicrous, and will, I am persuaded, justify the insertion of it here at length.

"The author begins by declaring, that *the sorts of things are things that now are, have been, and shall be, and the things that strictly* ARE. In this position, except the last clause, in which he uses something of the scholastic language, there is nothing but what every man has heard, and imagines himself to know. But who would not believe that some wonderful novelty is presented to his intellect, when he is afterwards told, in the true *bugbear* style, that *the* ares, *in the former sense, are things that lie between the* have-beens *and* shall-bees. *The* have-beens *are things that are past; the* shall-bees *are things that are to come: and the things that* ARE, in the latter sense, *are things that have not been, nor shall be, nor stand in the midst of such as are before them, or shall be after them. The things that have been, and shall be, have respect to present, past, and future. Those likewise that now* ARE *have moreover place; that, for instance, which is here, that which is to the east, that which is to the west.*

"All this, my dear reader, is very strange; but though it be strange, it is not new; survey these wonderful sentences again, and they will be found to contain nothing more than very plain truths, which, till this author arose, had always been delivered in plain language."[393]

That Dyer should be a friend to the doctrine of the moral sense, and to the other tenets of this school, is not to be wondered at, seeing that he was a pupil of Hutcheson, and that his were the opinions that prevailed at Glasgow, where he taught, and also at Leyden, whither Dyer and many of his fellow-students in that university, removed. Akenside and Dyson, who were of the number, were deep in this scheme, and also abettors of that fanciful notion, that ridicule is the test of truth.[394]

The topics above-mentioned were, not unfrequently, the subjects of altercation between Johnson and Dyer, in which it might be observed, as Johnson once did of two disputants, that the one had ball without powder, and the other powder without ball; for Dyer, though best skilled in the controversy, was inferior to his adversary in the power of reasoning, and Johnson, who was not always master of the question, was seldom at a loss for such sophistical arguments as the other was unable to answer.

In these disputations I had opportunities of observing what others have taken occasion to remark, viz. not only that in conversation Johnson made it a rule to talk his best, but that on many subjects he was not uniform in his opinions, contending as often for victory as for truth: at one time good, at

another evil was predominant in the moral constitution of the world. Upon one occasion, he would deplore the non-observance of Good-Friday, and on another deny, that among us of the present age there is any decline of public worship. He would sometimes contradict self-evident propositions, such as, that the luxury of this country has increased with its riches; and that the practice of card-playing is more general than heretofore. At this versatility of temper, none, however, took offence; as Alexander and Caesar were born for conquest, so was Johnson for the office of a symposiarch,[395] to preside in all conversations; and I never yet saw the man who would venture to contest his right.

Let it not, however, be imagined, that the members of this our club met together, with the temper of gladiators, or that there was wanting among us a disposition to yield to each other in all diversities of opinion; and indeed, disputation was not, as in many associations of this kind, the purpose of our meeting: nor were our conversations, like those of the Rota club,[396] restrained to particular topics. On the contrary, it may be said, that with our gravest discourses was intermingled

"Mirth, that after no repenting draws,"[397]

MILTON.

for not only in Johnson's melancholy there were lucid intervals, but he was a great contributor to the mirth of conversation, by the many witty sayings he uttered, and the many excellent stories which his memory had treasured up, and he would on occasion relate; so that those are greatly mistaken who infer, either from the general tendency of his writings, or that appearance of hebetude[398] which marked his countenance when living, and is discernible in the pictures and prints of him, that he could only reason and discuss, dictate and controul.

In the talent of humour there hardly ever was his equal, except perhaps among the old comedians, such as Tarleton, and a few others mentioned by Cibber.[399] By means of this he was enabled to give to any relation that required it, the graces and aids of expression, and to discriminate with the nicest exactness the characters of those whom it concerned. In aping this faculty I have seen Warburton disconcerted, and when he would fain have been thought a man of pleasantry, not a little out of countenance.

I have already mentioned, that Johnson's motive for the institution of this society was, his love of conversation, and the necessity he found himself under of seeking relief from the fatigue of compiling his dictionary: the same necessity operated still farther, and induced him to undertake, what

most other men would have thought an additional fatigue, the publishing a periodical paper. The truth is, that not having now for a considerable space committed to writing aught but words and their significations, his mind was become tumid, and laboured to be delivered of those many and great conceptions, which for years it had been forming. The study of human life and manners, had been the chief employment of his thoughts, and to a knowledge of these, all his reading, all his conversation, and all his meditations tended. By these exercises, and the aid of an imagination that was ever teeming with new ideas, he accumulated a fund of moral science, that was more than sufficient for such an undertaking, and became in a very eminent degree qualified for the office of an instructor of mankind in their greatest and most important concerns.

I am sensible of the contempt and ridicule with which those authors are treated by lord Shaftesbury,[400] who, differing from his favourites the antients, have preferred to their method of writing in soliloquy and dialogue, the more authoritative and didactic form of essays; but who knows not that the ways by which intelligence and wisdom may be communicated are many and various, and that Johnson has followed the best exemplars? What are the sapiential books in the Scriptures, and all collections of precepts and counsels, but moral essays, lessons of oeconomical prudence, and rules for the conduct of human life?

In a full persuasion of the utility of this mode of instruction, it undoubtedly was, that Montaigne, lord Bacon, Osborne, Cowley, Sir William Temple, and others, in those excellent discourses, which they have not scrupled to term essays, have laid out their minds, and communicated to mankind that skill in worldly, and I will add, in heavenly prudence, which is scarcely attainable but by long experience, and an exercise both of the active and contemplative life; and to disseminate and recommend the principles and practice of religion and virtue; as also, to correct the lesser foibles in behaviour, and to render human intercourse easy and delightful, was the avowed design of those periodical essays, which, in the beginning of this century, contributed to form the manners of the then rising generation.

A long space had intervened since the publication of the "Tatlers," "Guardians," and "Spectators": it is true it had been filled up by "The Lover," and "The Reader," "The Theatre," "The Lay-monastery," "The Plain-dealer," "The Free-thinker," "The Speculatist," "The Censor," and other productions of the like kind, but of some of these it may be said, that they were nearly still-born, and of others, that they enjoyed a duration little more extended than that of the ephemeron:[401] so that Johnson had no competitors for applause; his way was open, and he had the choice of many paths. Add to this, that a

period of near forty years, in a country where commerce and its concomitant luxury had been increasing, had given rise to new modes of living, and even to characters that had scarcely before been known to exist. The clergyman was now become an amphibious being, that is to say, both an ecclesiastic and a laic; the stately stalking fop, whose gait, as Cibber describes it,[402] resembled that of a peacock, was succeeded by a coxcomb of another species, a fidgetting, tripping animal, that for agility might be compared to a grasshopper; the shopkeeper was transformed into a merchant, and the parsimonious stockbroker into a man of gallantry; the apron, the badge of mechanic occupations, in all its varieties of stuff and colour, was laid aside; physicians and lawyers were no longer distinguishable by their garb; the former had laid aside the great wig, and the latter ceased to wear black, except in the actual exercise of their professions: in short, a few years of public tranquillity had transformed a whole nation into gentlemen.

In female life the refinements were also to be noted. In consequence of a better education than it had been usual to bestow on them, women were become proficients in literature, and a man might read a lady's letter without blushing at the spelling. The convenience of turnpike-roads had destroyed the distinction between town and country manners, and the maid of honour and the farmer's wife put on a cap of the latest form, almost at the same instant. I mention this, because it may have escaped the observation of many, that a new fashion pervades the whole of this our island almost as instantaneously as a spark of fire illuminates a mass of gunpowder.*

These, it may be said, were but foibles in the manners of the times; but there were certain notions and opinions, which having been disseminated subsequent to the publication of the last of the collections of essays abovementioned, escaped their censure, and were now become principles that had

* The town-life had also received great improvements, which have since been further extended: public entertainments are now enjoyed in an immediate succession: from the play the company are generally able to get away by eleven, the hour of assembling at other places of amusement; from these the hour of retirement is three, which gives, till noon the next day, nine hours for rest; and after that sufficient time for a ride, auctions, or shopping, before five or six the dinner hour. Nor is this seeming indulgence and immoderate pursuit of pleasure so inconsistent with the attendance on public worship as it may seem: methodism,[403] or something like it, in many instances, makes them compatible; so that I have known a lady of high rank enjoy the pleasures of a rout,[404] that almost barred access to her house, on the evening of a Sunday which she had begun with prayer, and a participation of the solemnities which at an early hour in that day, are constantly celebrated at St. James's chapel.[405]

mis-led many, and were likely to affect the moral conduct of the young and unthinking: these had for their authors and propagators such men as Collins, Mandeville,* Morgan and Tindal; the first pair deists, and the latter infidels.[406] And to these I might add, though I would not brand them with so harsh an appellation as the last, Toland, Gordon, Trenchard, and others of that class of writers, men who having drank the lees of the Bangorian controversy,[407] were become so intoxicated in their notions of civil and religious liberty, as to talk of the majesty of the people! and shewed themselves anxious that their zeal for religion might be estimated by their jealousy of all establishments for the support of it.

The flimsy arguments contained in Collins's discourse on Freethinking,[408] had been refuted with great learning and pleasantry by Bentley, before which time, as I have been informed, a clergyman in his habit, walking the streets of London, was in danger of being affronted; but the poison of Mandeville had affected many. His favourite principle is, the title to the most noted of all his books, "Private vices, public benefits," throughout which he

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For most of these refinements on our public diversions we are indebted to the late Mrs. Cornelys,[409] to whose elegant taste for pleasure the magistrates of Turin and Brussels were so blind, and of her worth so insensible, that, as I was given to understand by intelligence communicated to me in my judicial capacity, they severally drove her out of both those cities: this hospitable country, however, afforded her an asylum; and in Westminster she was permitted to improve our manners, without any further interruption, than a presentment of her house as a nuisance, by a grand jury of the county, which, had it been prosecuted, it might have been my lot to try; but by the aid of her friends she found means to smother it. Soon after, she became a prisoner for debts to a large amount; but in the riots in 1780[410] found means to escape from confinement, and has never since been heard of.

* Mandeville, whose christian name was Bernard, was a native of Dort in Holland. He came to England young, and, as he says in some of his writings, was so pleased with the country, that he took up his residence in it, and made the language his study. He lived in obscure lodgings in London, and betook himself to the profession of physic, but was never able to acquire much practice. He was the author of the book above-mentioned, as also of "Free Thoughts on Religion," and "a Discourse on Hypochondriac Affections," which Johnson would often commend; and wrote besides, sundry papers in the "London Journal," and other such publications, to favour the custom of drinking spirituous liquors, to which employment of his pen, it is supposed he was hired by the distillers. I once heard a London physician, who had married the daughter of one of that trade, mention him as a good sort of man, and one that he was acquainted with, and at the same time assert a fact, which I suppose he had learned from Mandeville, that the children of women addicted to dram-drinking, were never troubled with the rickets. He is said to have been coarse and overbearing in his manners where he durst be so; yet a great

labours to inculcate, as a subordinate position, this other, that man is a selfish being, and that all that we call human beneficence is to be accounted for upon principles that exclude the love of any but ourselves.*

Johnson has remarked, that malevolence to the clergy is seldom at a great distance from irreverence for religion. He saw the features of that malevolence in the writings of these men, and the point at which free-thinking was likely to terminate; and taking up the defence of religion where Mr. Addison left it, he made it a part of his design as well to adduce new arguments for its support, and to enforce the practice of virtue, as to correct those errors in the smaller concerns and occupations of life, the ridiculing which rendered his paper an amusement.

In this situation and state of public manners Johnson formed the plan of his "Rambler," and with what spirit he entered upon it may be inferred from the following solemn address, which he composed and offered up to the divine Being for a blessing on the undertaking:

"Almighty God, the giver of all good things, without whose help all labour is ineffectual, and without whose grace all wisdom is folly; grant, I beseech Thee, that in this undertaking thy holy spirit may not be with-held from me, but that I may promote thy glory, and the salvation of myself and others; grant this, O Lord, for the sake of thy son Jesus Christ. Amen."[411]

The work was undertaken without the communication of his design to any of his friends, and consequently without any desire of assistance from them; it was from the stores of his own mind alone that he hoped to be able to furnish that variety of matter which it would require; which, that it might at no time fail him, he kept up by noting in a commonplace book that he carried about him, such incidents, sentiments, and remarks on familiar life and manners as were for his purpose. This method of accumulating intelligence had been practised by Mr. Addison, and is humourously described in one of the "Spectators,"[412] wherein he feigns to have dropped his paper of Notanda, consisting of a diverting medley of broken sentences and loose hints, which he tells us he had collected, and had meant to make use of. Much of the same kind is Johnson's "Adversaria,"[413] as will appear by the following specimens:

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flatterer of some vulgar Dutch merchants, who allowed him a pension. This last information comes from a clerk of a city attorney, through whose hands the money passed.

* Lord Macclesfield, when chief-justice, was used often to have him at his house, and was pleased with his conversation. He once got Mr. Addison to meet him, of whom being asked his opinion by his lordship, Mandeville answered, he thought him a parson in a tye-wig. See Johnson's life of Addison among the "Lives of the Poets."[414]

"HEREDIPETA born heir presumptive to great fortune.—Had two unkles and an aunt.—Eldest un. squire and fox-hunter; other a sea captain grown rich,—Mother a citizen's daughter.—Father an attorney, always told me of the riches to be gotten by pleasing unk.—Made a sycophant early—Hunted, found hares, caught fish, with the elder—asked the other his adventures, foreign countries. Wished I was bred to sea—taken at word 'no land lubber should' [have] 'his money.' Went to sea. During voyage eldest fell in hunting died.—Estate came to his brother—He married aunt's maid, the grossness of his behaviour cutting off from equals. Only aunt remains—now haunted by a half pay officer, or officer of the guards, a young gentleman with a place at court, a rich widower without children, &c.—The time spent in which I should have acquired the means of living—Folly of this kind of dependence—Every man should live by his own powers. Flattery—slavery—defeated at length by footman—chambermaid—or peevishness or caprice of age. Ideas—hunting—cards—sailing—sailors fate any mansion. Thus from 3 fortunes uncertain of any, indeed disabled from getting with credit or enjoying with dignity. Parents folly who instead of animating children initiate them in servility. N.

"Vive tibi, nam moriere tibi.

"Aunt a card-player—when not at hunting play'd at cards."

In the above article we discern the rudiments of two most excellent papers, in the "Rambler," number 197, and 198, the design whereof is to describe and ridicule the folly of legacy-hunting.[415]

Here follows another, in which is contained the hints from which he formed that humorous relation of a Journey in a Stage Coach, given in the "Adventurer," Number 84.[416]

"At Gravesend waiting for the coaches—Adventures not of five hours but half one—Each entered the room with haughtiness—Each sat silent not with reverence but contempt—At last the red coat, what o'clock—Watch—not go well—cost £40—Grave man calls for the news—Price of stocks, sold out £40,000. Red coat silent—Only one that escaped contempt, a young woman who wanted a service, was going down and was very officious to serve the company. Red coat wondered at our silence, told us how much he loved to be on a level with his company.—1 Woman, hard for women of any condition to wait so long in public——informed that she was a servant maid married to a trader. Another observed how frequently people of great figure were in such places in disguise, and the pleasure of sometimes appearing below ourselves.

"Jam vaga prosiliet fraenis natura remotis.

"How hard (dixit quaedam) for people used to their own coaches to ride in mixed company."*

Being thus stored with matter, Johnson proceeded to publish his paper; and the first number came abroad on Tuesday the twentieth day of March, 1750.

It was the office of a censor of manners to curb the irregularities into which, in these new modes of living, the youthful of both sexes were apt to fall, and this he endeavoured to effect by gentle exhortation, by sober reproof, and, not seldom, by the powers of wit and ridicule; but with what success, others are as well able to tell as myself; however, if that is to be judged of by the sale of the paper,[417] it was doubtless great, for though its reception was at first cool, and its progress slow, the world was too wise to suffer it to sink into oblivion: it was collected into volumes, and it would be too much for any one to say, that ten impressions of twelve hundred and fifty each, of a book fraught with the soundest precepts of oeconomical wisdom, have been disseminated in vain.

On the first publication of the "Rambler" it met with a few readers who

* The collection above-mentioned contains also Johnson's own opinions, sentiments on several subjects, and among them the following on writers for bread, from whence we learn his genuine sentiments of that profession;

"Quid expedivit Psittacus,

"Reasons of writing, benevolence, desire of fame, vanity, hunger, curiosity to know the rate of a man's own understanding. Which most justifiable. All may be forgiven if not persisted in, but writing for bread most, *Rich talk without excuse,* Rosc. If write well, not less innocent or laudable than prescribing—pleading—judging—fighting, transacting public affairs, much better than cringing, carrying a white staff or voting. If ill, fails with less hazard to the public than others. The prescriber—pleader—judge hurt others. He only bookseller who will not venture much upon a new name. Controversy suspicious, if more to be got on one side yet argument the same.

"The greatest writers have" [written] "for bread—Homer—Shakespeare—Dryden—Pope. Eatui non famae—Degente de fatu et affame d'argent.

"Inconveniences of this life. To the public; the press is crouded with many books, yet this may diffuse knowledge, and leaves less room for vanity, sometimes it may choak the way to letters, and hinder learning but rarely. To themselves most inconven. seldom above want, endless labour, always a new work, subscriptions solicited, shameless importunity, meanness, patrons and encouragers to be got, wretched obsequiousness, companions of polite follies, vices, dedication, hateful flattery, utmost ambition or hope small place, youth of labour, old age of dependence. This place often not got, Gay."

objected to it for certain particularities in the style, which they had not been used to in papers of the like kind, new and original combinations of words, sentences of an unusual form, and words derived from other languages, though accommodated to the genius of our own; but for these such reasons are assigned in the close of the last paper, as not only are a defence of them, but shew them to be improvements of our language.

Of singularity it may be observed, that, in general, it is originality, and therefore not a defect, and that all is not tumidity[418] which men of little and confined reading please to call so. It is from a servile imitation of others, and the use of whole phrases and sentences, and customary combinations of words, that the variety of styles is not nearly as great as that of faces. The vulgar opinion is, that the style of this century is the perfection of our language, and that we owe its ultimate and final improvement to Mr. Addison, and when we make his cold and languid periods the test, it is no wonder if we mistake strength and animation for tumidity.

And here I cannot but remark the error and misfortune of those who are blind to the excellencies of style that occur in the works of many English prose writers of the last century, which are rejected for no better a reason, than that in them we sometimes meet with words not now in common use. A reader ignorant of the state of our language at different periods, and not conversant with the writings of ages long past, is an incompetent judge of the subject, and his opinion of styles of no weight or value. Such a one we may suppose hardly restrained from censuring the style of our liturgy, compiled for the most part so long ago as the reign of Edward the sixth, and the antiquated phrase of the state-papers in the Cabala, the Burleigh, Sidney and Strafforde collections, notwithstanding they severally contain the most perfect models of precatory[419] eloquence and civil negociation.

I find an opinion gaining ground not much to the advantage of Mr. Addison's style, the characteristics whereof are feebleness and inanity. I speak of that alone, for his sentiments are excellent and his humour exquisite. In some instances he adopts vulgar phrase, as when he calls an indiscreet action *a piece* of folly, and too often uses the expletive adverb *along*, thus, Come *along* with me. Yet I am not willing to deprive him of the honour implied in Johnson's testimony, "that his prose is the model of the middle style";[420] but if he be but a mediocrist, he is surely not a subject of imitation; it being a rule, that of examples the best are always to be selected.

That Johnson owed his excellence as a writer to the divines and others of the last century, myself can attest, who have been the witness of his course of reading, and heard him declare his sentiments of their works. Hooker he

admired for his logical precision, Sanderson for his acuteness, and Taylor for his amazing erudition; Sir Thomas Browne for his penetration, and Cowley for the ease and unaffected structure of his periods. The tinsel of Sprat disgusted him, and he could but just endure the smooth verbosity of Tillotson. Hammond and Barrow he thought involved, and of the latter that he was unnecessarily prolix.

It may perhaps be thought, as his literary acquaintance was extensive, and the toil of compiling his dictionary very great, that Johnson was helped in the publication of the "Rambler" by the communications of others; but this was not the fact, he forbore to solicit assistance, and few presumed to offer it, so that in the whole series of those papers, we know with certainty of only four that were not of his own writing.[421] Of these, No. 30, was sent him by Mrs. Catherine Talbot, daughter of Mr. Edward Talbot herein before spoken of; No. 97, by Mr. Richardson, the author of "Clarissa," and numbers 44 and 100, by Mrs. Elizabeth Carter of Deal, a lady to whose reputation for learning, and the most estimable qualities of her sex, no praise of mine can make any addition. Hence arises that uniformity of subject and sentiment which distinguishes the "Rambler" from other papers of the like kind; but how great must its merit be, when wanting the charm of variety and that diversity of characters, which, by the writers of them, was thought necessary to keep attention awake, it could support itself to the end, and make instruction a substitute for amusement! Nor can this defect, if it be any, be deemed a deviation from Johnson's original purpose, which was not so much to instruct young persons of both sexes in the manners of the town, as in that more important science, the conduct of human life; it being certain, that he had it in his power as well to delight as to instruct his readers; and this he has in some instances done, not only by the introduction of fictitious characters and fancied portraits, but by ironical sarcasms and original strokes of wit and humour, that have, perhaps, excited more smiles than the writings of many, whose chief purpose it was, like that of L'Estrange and others, to make their readers merry.

And hence we may take occasion to observe, the error of those who distinguish so widely between men of study and reflection, and such as are hackneyed in the ways of the world, as to suppose the latter only qualified to instruct us in the offices of life. Lord Chesterfield, in his letters to his son, takes every occasion to express his hatred of an university education, to brand it with pedantry, and to declare that it unfits a man for social intercourse.[422] Some have asserted, that travelling is the only means to attain a knowledge of mankind; and the captain in Swift, in a less extensive view of human life, swears that

"To give a young gentleman right education,
The army's the very best school in the nation."[423]

To say the truth, there are numbers of men who contemn all knowledge derived from books, and prefer to it what they call turning over the great volume of the world. I had once a gardener that could not endure the mention of Miller's dictionary, and would contend with me, that "practice was every thing"; and innumerable are the instances of men who oppose mother-wit to acquired intelligence, and had rather grope their way through the world, than be indebted for instruction to the researches of others. Such men as these, in situations they have not been accustomed to, are ever aukward and diffident; and it is for a reason nearly a-kin to this, that few rakes are able to look a modest woman in the face. On the contrary, the attainments of Johnson were such as, notwithstanding his home-breeding, gave him confidence, and qualified him for the conversation of persons of all ranks, conditions, characters, and professions, so that no sooner had the "Rambler" recommended itself to the favour of the public, and the author was known to be of easy access, than his acquaintance was sought, and even courted, by persons, of whom many, with all the improvement of travel, and the refinements of court-manners, thought that somewhat worth knowing was to be learned from the conversation of a man, whose fortunes and course of life had precluded him from the like advantages.

Johnson's talent for criticism, both preceptive and corrective,[424] is now known and justly celebrated; and had he not displayed it in its utmost lustre in his "Lives of the Poets," we should have lamented that he was so sparing of it in the "Rambler," which seemed to be a vehicle, of all others the most proper, for that kind of communication. An eulogium on Knolles's "History of the Turks," and a severe censure on the "Samson Agonistes" of Milton are the only critical essays there to be found; to the latter he seems to have been prompted by no better a motive, than that hatred of the author for his political principles which he is known to have entertained, and was ever ready to avow. What he has remarked of Milton in his "Lives of the Poets" is undoubtedly true: he was a political enthusiast, and, as is evident from his panegyric on Cromwell, a base and abject flatterer. His style in controversy was sarcastic and bitter, and not consistent with christian charity; and though his apologists endeavour to defend him by the practice of the times, there were in his time better exemplars than he chose to follow, the writings of Jewel, Mede, Hooker, Dr. Jackson, and others, his predecessors in religious and political controversy; nor does he seem in his private character to have possessed many of those qualities that most endear men to each other. His

friends were few, Andrew Marvel, Marchmont Needham, and the younger Vane; and Cyriac Skinner, Harrington, Henry Nevil, John Aubrey, and others, members of that crack-brained assembly the Rota-club, all republicans; and there is reason to suspect, from the sternness of his temper, and the rigid discipline of his family, that his domestic manners were far from amiable, and that he was neither a kind husband nor an indulgent parent. But neither these nor those other qualities that rendered him both a bitter enemy and a railing disputant, could justify the severity of Johnson's criticism on the above-mentioned poem, nor apologize for that harsh and groundless censure which closes the first of his discourses on it, that it is "a tragedy which ignorance has admired, and bigotry applauded."[425]

The reflection on that enmity of Johnson towards Milton, which I have above remarked, leads me to mention another instance of it, which about this time fell under my observation. A man of the name of Lauder,[426] a native of Scotland, and educated in the university of Edinburgh, had, for reasons that will hereafter be given, conceived a hatred against the memory of Milton, and formed a scheme to convict him of plagiarism, by shewing that he had inserted in the "Paradise Lost" whole passages taken from the writings of sundry modern Latin poets, namely, Masenius the jesuit, Taubman a German professor, the editor of Virgil, and joint editor with Gruter of Plautus, Staphorstius a Dutch divine, and other writers less known; and of this crime he attempted to prove him guilty, by publishing instances in forged quotations, inserted from time to time in the "Gentleman's Magazine," which not being detected, he made additions to, and again published in a volume intitled "An Essay on Milton's use of and imitation of the moderns in his 'Paradise Lost,' dedicated to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 8vo. 1750." While the book was in the press, the proof sheets were submitted to the inspection of our club, by a member of it who had an interest in its publication, and I could all along observe that Johnson seemed to approve, not only of the design but of the argument, and seemed to exult in a persuation, that the reputation of Milton was likely to suffer by this discovery. That he was not privy to the imposture I am well persuaded, but that he wished well to the argument must be inferred from the preface, which indubitably was written by Johnson.

The charges of plagiarism contained in this production, Lauder has attempted to make out by citations to a very great number, from a Latin poem of Jacobus Masenius a jesuit, intitled, "Palaestra ligatae eloquentiae," from the "Adamus exul" of Grotius, the "Triumphus Pacis" of Caspar Staphorstius a Dutchman, from the Latin poems of Caspar Barlaeus, and the works of many other writers. For a time the world gave credit to them, and Milton's reputation was sinking under them, till a clergyman of great worth, learning

and industry, Mr. now Dr. John Douglas, prompted at first by mere curiosity, set himself to find out and compare the parallel passages, in the doing whereof he discovered, that in a quotation from Staphorstius, Lauder had interpolated eight lines taken from a Latin translation of the "Paradise Lost," by a man named Hogaeus or Hog, and opposed them to the passage in the original, as evidence of Milton's plagiarism. Proofs of the like fraud in passages cited from Taubman and many others are produced by Dr. Douglas; but a single instance of the kind would have been sufficient to blast the credit of his adversary.

Having made these discoveries, Dr. Douglas communicated them to the world in a pamphlet intitled, "Milton vindicated from the charge of plagiarism, brought against him by Mr. Lauder, &c. 8vo. 1750." Upon the publication thereof his booksellers called on Lauder for a justification of themselves, and a confirmation of the charge; but he, with a degree of impudence not to be exceeded, acknowledged the interpolation of the books by him cited, and seemed to wonder at "the folly of mankind in making such a rout about eighteen or twenty lines."[427] However, being a short time after convinced by Johnson and others, that it would be more for his interest to make an ample confession of his guilt, than to set mankind at defiance, and stigmatize them with folly; he did so in a letter addressed to Mr. Douglas, published in quarto, 1751, beginning thus:

"Candour and tenderness are in any relation, and on all occasions, eminently amiable; but when they are found in an adversary, and found so prevalent as to overpower that zeal which his cause excites, and that heat which naturally increases in the prosecution of argument, and which may be in a great measure justified by the love of truth, they certainly appear with particular advantages; and it is impossible not to envy those who possess the friendship of him, whom it is even some degree of good fortune to have known as an enemy.

"I will not so far dissemble my weakness, or my fault, as not to confess, that my wish was to have passed undetected; but since it has been my fortune to fail in my original design, to have the suppositious passages which I have inserted in my quotations made known to the world, and the shade which began to gather on the splendour of Milton totally dispersed, I cannot but count it an alleviation of my pain, that I have been defeated by a man who knows how to use advantages with so much moderation, and can enjoy the honour of conquest without the insolence of triumph.

"It was one of the maxims of the Spartans, not to press upon a flying army, and therefore their enemies were always ready to quit the field, because they knew the danger was only in opposing. The civility with which you have

thought proper to treat me, when you had incontestable superiority, has inclined me to make your victory complete, without any further struggle, and not only publicly to acknowledge the truth of the charge which you have hitherto advanced, but to confess, without the least dissimulation, subterfuge, or concealment, every other interpolation I have made in those authors, which you have not yet had opportunity to examine.

"On the sincerity and punctuality of this confession, I am willing to depend for all the future regard of mankind, and cannot but indulge some hopes, that they whom my offence has alienated from me, may, by this instance of ingenuity and repentance, be propitiated and reconciled. Whatever be the event, I shall at least have done all that can be done in reparation of my former injuries to Milton, to truth, and to mankind, and entreat that those who shall continue implacable, will examine their own hearts, whether they have not committed equal crimes without equal proofs of sorrow, or equal acts of atonement."[428]

Then follow the citations, some of which appear to be gratuitous, that is to say, such as had escaped the detection of the author's adversary.

He then proceeds to assign the motive for his attempt to subvert the reputation of Milton, in these words:

"About ten years ago, I published an edition of Dr. Johnston's Translation of the Psalms, and having procured from the general assembly of the church of Scotland, a recommendation of its use to the lower classes of grammar-schools, into which I had begun to introduce it, though not without much controversy and opposition, I thought it likely that I should, by annual publications, improve my little fortune, and be enabled to support myself in freedom from the miseries of indigence. But Mr. Pope, in his malevolence to Mr. Benson, who had distinguished himself by his fondness for the same version, destroyed all my hopes by a distich,* in which he places Johnston in a contemptuous comparison with the author of "Paradise Lost."

"From this time, all my praises of Johnston became ridiculous, and I was censured with great freedom, for forcing upon the schools an author, whom Mr. Pope had mentioned only as a foil to a better poet. On this occasion, it was natural not to be pleased, and my resentment seeking to discharge itself somewhere, was unhappily directed against Milton. I resolved to attack his fame, and found some passages in cursory reading, which gave me hopes of stigmatizing him as a plagiary. The farther I carried my search, the more

* On two unequal crutches propt, he [Benson] came,
Milton's on this, on that one Johnston's name.

"Dunciad," book iv. line 109.

eager I grew for the discovery, and the more my hypothesis was opposed, the more I was heated with rage. The consequence of my blind passion, I need not relate; it has, by your detection, become apparent to mankind. Nor do I mention this provocation as adequate to the fury which I have shewn, but as a cause of anger less shameful and reproachful than fractious malice, personal envy, or national jealousy."[429]

The concluding paragraph of this confession carries in it such an appearance of contrition, that few who read it at the time could withhold that forgiveness which it implores; these are the words of it:

"For the violation of truth, I offer no excuse, because I well know, that nothing can excuse it. Nor will I aggravate my crime, by disingenuous palliations. I confess it, I repent it, and resolve, that my first offence shall be my last. More I cannot perform, and more therefore cannot be required. I intreat the pardon of all men, whom I have by any means induced to support, to countenance, or patronize any frauds, of which I think myself obliged to declare, that not one of my friends was conscious. I hope to deserve by better conduct and more useful undertakings, that patronage which I have obtained from the most illustrious and venerable names by misrepresentation and delusion, and to appear hereafter in such a character, as shall give you no reason to regret, that your name is frequently mentioned with that of,

"Reverend Sir,
"Your most humble servant,
"WILLIAM LAUDER."

Notwithstanding this humiliating and abject confession, which, though it was penned by Johnson,* was subscribed by himself, Lauder had the impudence, in a postscript thereto, in effect to retract it, by pretending that the design of his essay was only to try how deeply the prepossession in favour of Milton was rooted in the minds of his admirers; and that the stratagem, as he calls it, was intended to impose only on a few obstinate persons; and, whether that was so criminal as it has been represented, he leaves the impartial mind to determine.

After the publication of this letter, the perusers of it rested in a conviction of the villainy of its author, strengthened by the inconsistency between the reasons assigned in that and those in the postscript. Nevertheless, in the year 1754, resolving to attack Milton in another quarter, Lauder published a pamphlet intitled, "King Charles I. vindicated from the charge of plagiarism brought against him by Milton, and Milton himself convicted of forgery and

* Vide infra, the account of a subsequent publication of Lauder's.

a gross imposition on the public." The design of this pamphlet was, to ingratiate himself with the friends to the memory of Charles by shewing, that the prayer of Pamela, in Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia," was, by an artifice of Milton, inserted in an edition of the "Eikon Basilike," with a view to fix on the king a charge of impiety.

With this question I meddle not; I have only to observe upon Lauder's pamphlet, that the argument is introduced by a defence of his essay, and an assertion, that his letter, which he says was written by Johnson, in many respects contained not his sentiments, and was, more properly than an apology, an enormous aggravation of his offence; and is pursued with a declaration of the author, in the sincerity of his heart, that had not Milton with such unparalleled malignity blasted the king, he would not upon any consideration have either offered a violence to truth, put an imposition on the public, though but for a moment, or attempted to blast Milton's reputation by a falshood.

Behold here a reason far differing from each of the two former; the first was a provocation given him by a distich of Mr. Pope's, the second was a desire by a stratagem, as he calls it, to try how far the partiality of Milton's admirers would lead them, and this last is, his resentment of an injury done to the memory of king Charles the first. If we ask, which of these is the true one? the answer must be, neither; for it appears that Lauder had projected an edition of Masenius and other of the Latin poets referred to in his essay, and that in order to obtain subscriptions for the same, he had been guilty of the wickedness imputed to and proved upon him.

The concluding paragraph of this last pamphlet of Lauder, as it is for its impudence matchless, I here give, and in the doing thereof consign his memory to that infamy, which, by his complicated wickedness he has incurred.

"As for his [Milton's] plagiarisms, I intend shortly, God willing, to extract such genuine proofs from those authors who held forth the lighted torch to Milton, I mean, who illustrated the subject of the "Paradise Lost," long before that prince of plagiaries entered upon it, as may be deemed sufficient, not only to replace the few interpolations, (for which I have been so hideously exclaimed against) but even to reinforce the charge of plagiarism against the English poet, and fix it upon him by irrefragable conviction in the face of the whole world, and by the suffrage of all candid and impartial judges, while sun and moon shall endure, to the everlasting shame and confusion of the whole idolatrous rabble of his numerous partizans, particularly, my vain-glorious adversary, who will reap only the goodly harvest of disappointment and disgrace, where he expected to gather laurels."[430]

In 1756, Dr. Douglas published a new edition of his pamphlet, with the title of "Milton no plagiary, or a detection of the forgeries contained in Lauder's

essay on the imitations of the moderns in the 'Paradise Lost' ": to this is an appendix, containing part of an apology of Lauder's booksellers, for having been the publishers of his essay, in which they give an account of their conduct, after the first discovery of his villainy, in the following words: "An immediate application to Lauder was necessary, as well to justify ourselves, as to remove or confirm the charge. Accordingly, we acquainted him, that if he did not instantly put into our hands the books from which he had taken the principal passages, we would publicly disclaim all connexion with him, and expose his declining the only step left for his defence. This declaration brought him to us the following day, when, with great confidence, he acknowledged the interpolation of all the books; and seemed to wonder at mankind in making such a rout about eighteen or twenty lines. As this man then has been guilty of such a wicked imposition upon us, our friends, and the public, and is capable of so daring an avowal of it, we declare, that we will have no farther intercourse with him, and that we now sell his book only as a curiosity of fraud and interpolation, which all the ages of literature cannot parallel!"[431]

With a character thus blasted, it was next to impossible for this man to continue in England; he therefore left it, and went to settle at Barbadoes, proposing to set up a school there; but, upon his arrival on the island, he met with small encouragement, and is said to have died about the year 1771.

As Johnson, though not in the least an accessary to the imposture above related, had a considerable share in the controversy that it gave rise to, it seemed to me necessary to be thus particular in giving such an account thereof as would concentrate into one point all that was written on the subject, and convey to posterity the history of a transaction, the like whereof is not to be found among the records of literature. It is too sad a truth, that learning and rectitude of mind are qualities independent of each other, and that the world has in all ages abounded with examples of men of great erudition who have been wanting in common honesty. We read of men who have corrupted the Holy Scriptures with a view to favour a particular heresy; and of monks who have forged charters to promote the secular interests of their fraternity: these, though wicked actions, must be supposed to have sprung from a principle, which, having for its object a common benefit, had somewhat of generosity in it: but the motives of this impostor were all of the selfish kind, revenge for a supposed injury done to himself, and an impatience to be relieved from his own peculiar and personal wants and distresses; and though it was for some time thought that his confession had atoned for his offence, we find it was in fact an aggravation of it: In as much as it was not sincere, it was a repentance to be repented of; and indeed in one sense he

seems to have thought so, for, in his last publication, he retracts it, and that nothing might be wanting to fill up the measure of his iniquity, he defies his detector, whose endeavours were to beget in him that sense of shame which, as it is ever the forerunner of penitence, has ever been deemed salutary.

Great thanks are due to this learned divine and eminent scholar for the zeal and industry manifested by him in the course of this singular controversy, and every judicious reader must rejoice, that through his means our great poet has been rescued from an infamous charge, and that we may yet read the "Paradise Lost" without a suspicion of its originality.

To return to Johnson, I have already said that he paid no regard to time or the stated hours of refection, or even rest; and of this his inattention I will here relate a notable instance. Mrs. Lenox,[432] a lady now well known in the literary world, had written a novel intitled, "The life of Harriot Stuart," which in the spring of 1751, was ready for publication. One evening at the club, Johnson proposed to us the celebrating the birth of Mrs. Lenox's first literary child, as he called her book, by a whole night spent in festivity. Upon his mentioning it to me, I told him I had never sat up a whole night in my life; but he continuing to press me, and saying, that I should find great delight in it, I, as did all the rest of our company, consented. The place appointed was the Devil tavern, and there, about the hour of eight, Mrs. Lenox and her husband, and a lady of her acquaintance, now living, as also the club, and friends to the number of near twenty, assembled. Our supper was elegant, and Johnson had directed that a magnificent hot apple-pye should make a part of it, and this he would have stuck with bay-leaves, because, forsooth, Mrs. Lenox was an authoress, and had written verses; and further, he had prepared for her a crown of laurel, with which, but not till he had invoked the muses by some ceremonies of his own invention, he encircled her brows. The night passed, as must be imagined, in pleasant conversation, and harmless mirth, intermingled at different periods with the refreshments of coffee and tea. About five, Johnson's face shone with meridian splendour, though his drink had been only lemonade; but the far greater part of us had deserted the colours of Bacchus, and were with difficulty rallied to partake of a second refreshment of coffee, which was scarcely ended when the day began to dawn. This phenomenon began to put us in mind of our reckoning; but the waiters were all so overcome with sleep, that it was two hours before we could get a bill, and it was not till near eight that the creaking of the street-door gave the signal for our departure.

My mirth had been considerably abated by a severe fit of the tooth-ach, which had troubled me the greater part of the night, and which Bathurst en-

deavoured to alleviate by all the topical remedies and palliatives he could think of; and I well remember, at the instant of my going out of the tavern-door, the sensation of shame that affected me, occasioned not by reflection on any thing evil that had passed in the course of the night's entertainment, but on the resemblance it bore to a debauch. However, a few turns in the Temple, and a breakfast at a neighbouring coffee-house, enabled me to overcome it.

In the foregoing pages I have assigned the motives that induced Johnson to the institution of the club, and the writing of the "Rambler"; and here I may add, that his view in both was so far answered, as that the amusements they afforded him contributed, not only to relieve him from the fatigue of his great work the dictionary, but that they served to divert that melancholy, which the public now too well knows was the disease of his mind. For this morbid affection, as he was used to call it, no cause can be assigned; nor will it gratify curiosity to say, it was constitutional, or that it discovered itself in his early youth, and haunted him in his hours of recreation; and it is but a surmise that it might be a latent concomitant of that disease, which, in his infancy, had induced his mother to seek relief from the royal touch. His own conjecture was, that he derived it from his father, of whom he was used to speak as of a man in whose temper and character melancholy was predominant. Under this persuasion, he at the age of about twenty, drew up a state of his case for the opinion of an eminent physician in Staffordshire, and from him received an answer, "that from the symptoms therein described, he could think nothing better of his disorder, than that it had a tendency to insanity; and without great care might possibly terminate in the deprivation of his rational faculties."[433] The dread of so great a calamity was one inducement with him to abstain from wine at certain periods of his life, when his fears in this respect were greatest; but it was not without some reluctance that he did it, for he has often been heard to declare, that wine was to him so great a cordial, that it required all his resolution to resist the temptations to ebriety.[434]

It was fortunate for the public, that during a period of two years, the depression of his mind was at no time so great as to incapacitate him for sending forth a number of the "Rambler" on the days on which it became due; nor did any of the essays or discourses therein contained, either in the choice of subjects or the manner of treating them, indicate the least symptom of drooping faculties or lasitude of spirit. Nevertheless, whether the constant meditation on such topics as most frequently occur therein, had not produced in his mind a train of ideas that were now become uneasy to him, or whether, that intenseness of thought which he must have exerted, first, in the conception,

and next, in the delivery of such original and noble sentiments as these papers abound with, had not made the relaxation of his mind necessary, he thought proper to discontinue the "Rambler" at a time when its reputation was but in its dawn.

The paper in which this his resolution is announced, is that of March 14, 1752, which concludes the work. As he had given his readers no warning of his intention, they were unprepared for the shock, and had the mortification to receive the tidings and the blow at the same instant, with the aggravation of a sympathetic melancholy, excited by the mournful expressions with which he takes his leave. And though he affects to think the reasons for discontinuing the publication a secret to his readers, it is but too apparent that it was written in the hours of dejection, and that the want of assistance and encouragement was not the weakest of his motives. Of the former of these two he had surely no right to complain, for he was so far from being ever known to wish for assistance, that his most intimate friends seemed to think it would have been presumption to offer it. The want of encouragement indeed might be a justifiable cause of discontent, for I have reason to think that the number of papers taken off hardly amounted to five hundred on any of the days of publication. Nevertheless, the slow circulation of the paper was to be accounted for by other reasons than that the author was never a favourite with the public, a reflection that would have been but excusable, had his imitations of Juvenal become waste paper, or his "Irene," instead of being suffered to run nine nights, been consigned to oblivion on the first; for it must be considered, that the merits of the "Rambler" were of a kind not likely to recommend it to those who read chiefly for amusement, and of readers, this class will ever be by much the most numerous: the subjects therein discussed are chiefly the weightiest and most important, respecting more our eternal than temporal happiness; and that these were the obstacles to the progress of his paper, himself has unawares confessed in his apology for the conduct of it. "I have never," says he, "complied with temporary curiosity, nor enabled my readers to discuss the topic of the day. I have rarely exemplified my assertions by living characters; in my papers no man could look for censures of his enemies or praises of himself; and they only were expected to peruse them, whose passions left them leisure for abstracted truth, and whom virtue could please by its naked dignity."[435]

Towards the close of this last paper, he seems to refer to "the final sentence of mankind," with a sort of presage, that one more deliberate than that to which he was submitting might be more favourable to his labours. He little thought at this time to what length the justice of mankind would go; that he should be a witness to the publication of the tenth edition of the "Rambler,"

or that his heart would ever be dilated, as his friends can testify it was, with the news of its being translated into the Russian language.*[436]

Much might be said in commendation of this excellent work; but such suffrages as those here mentioned set it almost above praise. In the author's own opinion it was less estimable than in that of his judges: some merit indeed he claims for having enriched his native language, but in terms so very elegant and modest, that they at once hold forth an exemplar, and convey an apology. "I have laboured," says he, "to refine our language to grammatical purity, and to clear it from colloquial barbarisms, licentious idioms, and irregular combinations. Something perhaps I have added to the elegance of its construction, and something to the harmony of its cadence. When common words were less pleasing to the ear, or less distinct in their signification, I have familiarized the terms of philosophy by applying them to popular ideas, but have rarely admitted any word not authorized by former writers."[437]—With what success these endeavours of his have been attended is best known to those who have made eloquence their study; and it may go far towards the stamping a lasting character of purity, elegance, and strength on the style of Johnson, to say, that some of the most popular orators of this country now living, have not only proposed it to themselves as a model for speaking, but for the purpose of acquiring the cadence and flow of his periods, have actually gotten whole essays from the "Rambler" by heart.

The concluding paragraph of his farewel paper is so very awful, that I cannot resist the temptation to insert it, and the rather for that it seems to have been written under a persuation, that Almighty God had been propitious to his labour, and that the solemn address to him which he had composed and offered up, on occasion of his engaging in it, had been heard, and was likely to be accepted.

"The essays professedly serious, if I have been able to execute my own intentions, will be found exactly conformable to the precepts of Christianity, without any accommodation to the licentiousness and levity of the present age. I therefore look back on this part of my work with pleasure, which no praise of man shall diminish or augment. I shall never envy the honours which wit and learning obtain in any other cause, if I can be numbered among the writers who have given ardour to virtue, and confidence to truth:

"Celestial pow'rs! that piety regard,
From you my labours wait their last reward."[438]

* This was told him, but the fact is questionable.

The "Rambler," thus published in numbers, was not suffered to be lost to the world, or to sink into oblivion. As soon as, by the conclusion of it, it became a complete work, it was collected into volumes, and printed in Scotland,* and, soon after, also here, and obtained such favour with the public, as was an inducement with Dr. Hawkesworth to an undertaking of the same kind, the publication of a periodical paper called "The Adventurer." For the carrying on such a work as this, Hawkesworth, though he possessed but a small stock of learning, was more than meanly qualified. He had excellent natural parts, and, by reading the modern English and French authors, had acquired a style, which, by his acquaintance with Johnson, he had improved into a very good one. He wrote verses, that is to say in English, with ease and fluency, and was better acquainted with the world than most men are who have been bred to no profession.

The subjects of these papers, like those of the "Rambler," are human life and manners, with a mixture of humour and instructive pleasantry, criticism, and moral and religious exhortation, too various, it must be supposed, for the powers of a single person; they are therefore the produce of different pens, and may owe their merit, in a great measure, to that diversity. The curiosity of the reader is, to a small degree, gratified by the last paper, which assigns to their author, Dr. Joseph Warton, such as have a certain signature, and leaves to Dr. Hawkesworth himself the praise of such as are without any. To the information there given, I add, that the papers marked A. which are said to have come from a source that soon failed, were supplied by Dr. Bathurst, an original associate in the work, and those distinguished by the letter T. by Johnson.† [439]

The first number of the "Adventurer" made its appearance on Tuesday, November 7, 1752, and on that week-day, and also on Saturdays, it continued to be published, till the ninth of March 1754. To point out the many excellent essays contained in it is needless, as they are now collected into volumes, and together with the "Rambler" form a system of moral and oeconomical institution; two of them are to be looked on as curiosities in different ways, Dr. Warton's remarks[440] on "King Lear," and "the Tempest," the most learned and judicious critiques in the English language, and the account of a native of Scotland, called Admirable Crichton,[441] dictated from memory by Johnson to Hawkesworth.

As Johnson expected to be believed whenever he either spoke or wrote,

* In this edition a translation of the mottos by Mr. Elphinston is given.

† That Johnson was the writer of the papers signed T, I assert on the authority of his "Adversaria," in which are the original hints of many of them in his own hand-writing.

he has not vouchsafed to cite any authority for the incredible relation, which the "Adventurer" contains, of the personal and mental endowments of a man who is described as a monster both of erudition and prowess, and in every other view of his character is represented as having passed the limits of humanity. That he had no authority for what he has related of him, would be too much to say, after he has asserted, that he had such as was incontestible, yet having that, he has kept within the bounds of it, and cast a veil over that blaze of glory, which, to gaze on in its naked splendour, would not dazzle but blind the beholder.

Johnson's account, for his I must call it for a reason above given, is in these words:

"Among the favourites of nature, that have from time to time appeared in the world, enriched with various endowments and contrarieties of excellence, none seems to have been more exalted above the common rate of humanity, than the man known about two centuries ago by the appellation of the Admirable Crichton; of whose history, whatever we may suppress as surpassing credibility, yet we shall, upon incontestible authority, relate enough to rank him among prodigies.

" 'Virtue,' says Virgil, 'is better accepted when it comes in a pleasing form': the person of Crichton was eminently beautiful; but his beauty was consistent with such activity and strength, that in fencing, he would spring at one bound the length of twenty feet upon his antagonist; and he used his sword in either hand with such force and dexterity, that scarce any one had courage to engage him.

"Having studied at St. Andrew's in Scotland, he went to Paris in his twenty-first year, and affixed on the gate of the college of Navarre a kind of challenge to the learned of that university, to dispute with him on a certain day; offering to his opponents, whoever they should be, the choice of ten languages, and of all the faculties and sciences. On the day appointed, three thousand auditors assembled, when four doctors of the church and fifty masters appeared against him; and one of his antagonists confesses, that the doctors were defeated, that he gave proofs of knowledge above the reach of man, and that a hundred years passed without food or sleep, would not be sufficient for the attainment of his learning. After a disputation of nine hours, he was presented by the president and professors with a diamond and a purse of gold, and dismissed with repeated acclamations.

"From Paris he went away to Rome, where he made the same challenge, and had, in the presence of the pope and cardinals, the same success. Afterwards he contracted at Venice an acquaintance with Aldus Manutius, by whom he was introduced to the learned of that city; then visited Padua,

where he engaged in another public disputation, beginning his performance with an extemporal poem in praise of the city and the assembly then present, and concluding with an oration equally unpremeditated in commendation of ignorance.

"He afterwards published another challenge, in which he declared himself ready to detect the errors of Aristotle and all his commentators, either in the common forms of logic, or in any which his antagonists should propose of a hundred different kinds of verse.

"These acquisitions of learning, however stupendous, were not gained at the expence of any pleasure which youth generally indulges, or by the omission of any accomplishment in which it becomes a gentleman to excel: he practised, in great perfection, the arts of drawing and painting; he was an eminent performer in both vocal and instrumental music; he danced with uncommon gracefulness; and on the day after his disputation at Paris, exhibited his skill in horsemanship before the court of France, where, at a public match of tilting, he bore away the ring upon his lance fifteen times together.

"He excelled likewise in domestic games of less dignity and reputation; and in the interval between his challenge and disputation at Paris, he spent so much of his time at cards, dice, and tennis, that a lampoon was fixed upon the gate of the Sorbonne, directing those that would see this monster of erudition, to look for him at the tavern.

"So extensive was his acquaintance with life and manners, that in an Italian comedy, composed by himself, and exhibited before the court of Mantua, he is said to have personated fifteen different characters; in all which he might succeed without great difficulty, since he had such power of retention, that once hearing an oration of an hour, he would repeat it exactly, and in the recital follow the speaker through all his variety of tone and gesticulation.

"Nor was his skill in arms less than in learning, or his courage inferior to his skill: there was a prize-fighter in Mantua, who travelling about the world, according to the barbarous custom of that age, as a general challenger, had defeated the most celebrated masters in many parts of Europe; and in Mantua, where he then resided, had killed three that appeared against him. The duke repented that he had granted him his protection; when Crichton, looking on his sanguinary success with indignation, offered to stake fifteen hundred pistoles, and mount the stage against him. The duke, with some reluctance, consented, and, on the day fixed, the combatants appeared: their weapons seem to have been single rapier, which was then newly introduced in Italy. The prize-fighter advanced with great violence and fierceness, and Crichton contented himself calmly to ward his passes, and suffered him to

exhaust his vigour by his own fury: Crichton then became the assailant; and pressed upon him with such force and agility, that he thrust him thrice through the body, and saw him expire: he then divided the prize he had won, among the widows whose husbands had been killed.

"The death of this wonderful man I should be willing to conceal, did I not know that every reader will enquire curiously after that fatal hour, which is common to all human beings, however distinguished from each other by nature or by fortune.

"The duke of Mantua having received so many proofs of his various merit, made him tutor to his son Vincentio di Gonzaga, a prince of loose manners and turbulent disposition. On this occasion it was, that he composed the comedy in which he exhibited so many different characters with exact propriety. But his honour was of short continuance, for as he was one night in the time of Carnival rambling about the streets with his guitar in his hand, he was attacked by six men masked. Neither his courage nor skill, in this exigence deserted him: he opposed them with such activity and spirit, that he soon dispersed them, and disarmed their leader, who throwing off his mask, discovered himself to be the prince his pupil. Crichton falling on his knees, took his own sword by the point, and presented it to the prince, who immediately seized it, and instigated, as some say, by jealousy, according to others, only by drunken fury and brutal resentment, thrust him through the heart.

"Thus was the Admirable Crichton brought into that state, in which he could excel the meanest of mankind only by a few empty honours paid to his memory: the court of Mantua testified their esteem by a public mourning; the contemporary wits were profuse of their encomiums; and the palaces of Italy were adorned with pictures representing him on horseback, with a lance in one hand and a book in the other."

The above account is so defective in the evidences of historical verity, that it has been by some suspected to be fabulous. It is true, that in essays of such a kind as that which contains this eulogium, it is not usual, for that would be to incur the charge of pedantry, to cite authorities; nevertheless, the circumstances of time and place seem so necessary in the relation of every uncommon event, and in the description of every extraordinary person, that the omission of both in this instance, as also the christian name of the person celebrated, can hardly be excused.

To supply these defects I might refer the reader to authorities, that fix the place of his birth at Clunie in the shire of Perth in Scotland, the year thereof at 1551, and that of his death 1583; and that tell us also, that Crichton's name

of baptism was James; and as to the facts enumerated in the "Adventurer," they seem to be sufficiently authenticated to all the purposes of historical information, in a book written in 1652, by Sir Thomas Urquhart,*[442] bearing this strange title, "EKSKYBALAYPON, or the discovery of a most exquisite jewel more precious than diamonds inchased in gold, the like whereof was never seen in any age; found in the kennel of Worcester-streets, the day after the fight, and six before the autumnal equinox 1651."

In this book is contained a memorial of sundry illustrious persons of Scotland, serving to vindicate the honour of that nation, but written in such a style of learned tumidity and bombast, as is not to be paralleled in any book now extant. I here cite from it two passages respecting Crichton as specimens thereof, and as proofs of Johnson's discretion in veiling the effulgence of a character too bright to be viewed in its genuine lustre.

"It happening on a Shrove-Tuesday at night, that this ever-renowned *Crich-*

* This singular person, whose name is sometimes written Urchard, was a physician of the house of Cromarty in Scotland, a man of learning, and the first translator into English of the works of Rabelais. In the time of the rebellion in Scotland, Temp. Car. I. he was a fierce opponent of the presbyterian establishment, and taking, as we may suppose, an active part against it, was made a prisoner of war, and though enlarged on his parole, endured many hardships. Besides the book above-mentioned, he wrote sundry tracts, which have lately been collected and published in one volume, octavo, one whereof is intitled, "The true pedigree and lineal descent of the most ancient and honourable family of Urquhart in the house of Cromarty, from the creation of the world till the year 1652," in which we are not more astonished to meet with a long succession of names, for the most part purely Greek, than to find such minute particulars recorded, as neither history nor tradition was ever before known to obtrude upon posterity.

For instance, speaking of one of his ancestors named Esormun, who he says lived A. M. 1810. and married Narfesia; he tells this most incredible tale: "He was sovereign prince of Achaia. For his fortune in the wars, and affability in conversation, his subjects and familiars surnamed him οὐροχάρτος, that is, fortunate and well-beloved. After which time, his posterity ever since hath acknowledged him the father of all that carry the name of URQUHART. He had for his arms three banners, three ships, and three ladies, in a field *Or,* with the picture of a young lady above the waist, holding in her right hand a brandished sword, and a branch of myrtle in her left for the crest; and for supporters, two javanetes, after the soldier habit of Achaia, with this motto in the scrole of his coat-armour, Ταῦτα ἠ τρία ἀξιοθεάτα:—that is, these three are worthy to behold. Upon his wife Narfesia, who was sovereign of the Amazons, he begot Cratynter." Of Litoborus, another pretended ancestor of the Urquhart family, who lived A. M. 1930, he says, he married two wives, Pasena and Emphaneola; and adds, "yet had he, besides these two ladies, several others, both wives and concubines, as the fashion was over the whole world for the space of above a thousand years thereafter." And of Phrenedon, another, who lived about sixty years after, he roundly asserts, "that he was in the house of the patriarch Abraham, at the time of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah."

*toun*, who, in the afternoon of that day, at the desire of my lord duke (the whole court striving which should exceed other in foolery, and devising of the best sports to excite laughter; neither my lord, duchess, nor prince, being exempted from acting their parts, as well as they could) upon a theatre set up for the purpose, begun to prank it (*à la Venetiana*) with such a flourish of *mimick*, and *ethopoetick* gestures, that all the courtiers of both sexes, even those that a little before that, were fondest of their own conceits, at the sight of his so inimitable a garb, from ravishing actors, that they were before, turned then ravished spectators. O! with how great liveliness did he represent the conditions of all manner of men! how naturally did he set before the eyes of the beholders the rogueries of all professions, from the overweening *monarch* to the peevish *swaine*, through all intermediate degrees of the superficial *courtier* or proud *warrior*, dissembled *churchman*, doting *old man*, cozening *lawyer*, lying *traveler*, covetous *merchant*, rude *seaman*, pedantick *scolar*, the amourous *shepheard*, envious *artisan*, vainglorious *master*, and tricky *servant*; he did with such variety display the several humours of all these sorts of people, and with so bewitching energy, that he seemed to be the *original*, they the *counterfeit*; and they the *resemblance* whereof he was the *prototype*: he had all the jeers, squibs, flouts, buls, quips, taunts, whims, jests, clinches, gybes, mokes, jerks, with all the several kinds of equivocations, and other sophistical captions, that could properly be adapted to the person by whose representation he intended to inveagle the company into a fit of mirth, and would keep in that miscelany discourse of his (which was all for the splene, and nothing for the gall) such a climacterical and mercurially digested method, that when the fancy of the hearers was tickled with any conceit, and that the jovial blood was moved, he held it going, with another new device upon the back of the first, and another, yet another, and another againe, succeeding one another, for the promoval of what is a stirring into a higher agitation; till in the closure of the luxuriant period, the *decumanal* wave of the oddest whimsy of al, enforced the charmed spirits of the auditory, (for affording room to its apprehension) suddenly to burst forth into a laughter; which commonly lasted just so long as he had leasure to withdraw behind the skreen, shift off with the help of a page, the suite he had on, apparel himself with another, and return to the stage to act afresh; for by that time their transported, disparpled, and sublimated fancies, by the wonderfully operating engines of his solacious inventions, had from the hight to which the inward scrues, wheeles, and pullies of his wit had elevated them, descended by degrees into their wonted stations, he was ready for the personating of another carriage; whereof, to the number of fourteen several kinds, (during the five hours space, that at the dukes desire, the sollicitation of the court, and his own recreation, he was pleased to

histrionize it) he shewed himself so natural a representative, that any would have thought he had been so many several actors, differing in all things else, save only the stature of the body; With this advantage above the most of other actors, whose tongue, with its *oral* implements, is the only instrument of their minds disclosing, that, besides his mouth with its appurtenances, he lodged almost a several oratour in every member of his body; his head, his eyes, his shoulders, armes, hands, fingers, thighs, legs, feet, and breast, being able to decipher any passion, whose character he purposed to give.

"First, he did present himself with a crown on his head, a scepter in his hand, being clothed in a purple robe furred with ermyne; after that, with a miter on his head, a crosier in his hand, and accoutred with a paire of lawn-sleeves; and thereafter, with a helmet on his head, the visiere up, a commanding-stick in his hand, and arrayed in a buff-suit, with a scarf about his middle, then, in a rich apparel, after the newest fashion, did he shew himself, (like another *Sejanus*) with a periwig daubed with Cypres powder: in sequel of that, he came out with a three corner'd cap on his head, some parchments in his hand, and writings hanging at his girdle like chancery bills; and next to that, with a furred gown about him, an ingot of gold in his hand, and a bag full of money by his side; after all this, he appeares againe clad in a country-jacket, with a prong in his hand, and a *Monmouth*-like-cap on his head: then very shortly after, with a palmer's coat upon him, a bourdon* in his hand, and some few cockle-shells stuck to his hat, he look't as if he had come in pilgrimage from *Saint Michael*; immediatly after that, he domineers it in a bare unlined gowne, with a pair of whips in the one hand, and *Corderius* in the other: and in suite thereof, he *bonderspondered*† it with a pair of pannier-like breeches, a Mountera-cap on his head, and a knife in a wooden sheath, daggerways, by his side; about the latter end he comes forth again with a square in one hand, a rule in the other, and a leather apron before him: then very quickly after, with a scrip by his side, a sheep-hook in his hand, and a basket full of flowers to make nosegays for his mistris: now drawing to a closure, he rants it first in *cuerpo*, and vapouring it with gingling spurrs, and his armes a kenbol like a *Don Diego* he strouts it, and by the loftiness of his gate plaies the *Capitan Spavento*: then in the very twinkling of an eye, you would have seen him againe issue forth with a cloak upon his arm, in a livery garment, thereby representing the serving-man; and lastly, at one time amongst those other, he

* A musical instrument resembling a bassoon, serving also for a walking-staff, in use with the pilgrims who visit the body of St. James at Compostella. "Gen. Hist. of the Science and Practice of Music," vol. iv. 139.

† For this strange word no meaning can be found.

came out with a long gray beard, and bucked ruff, crouching on a staff tip't with the head of a Barber's Cithern,* and his gloves hanging by a button at his girdle.

"Those fifteen several personages he did represent with such excellency of garb, and exquisiteness of language, that condignely to perpend the subtlety of the invention, the method of the disposition, the neatness of the elocution, the gracefulness of the action, and wonderful variety in the so dextrous performance of all, you would have taken it for a comedy of five acts, consisting of three scenes, each composed by the best poet in the world, and acted by fifteen of the best players that ever lived, as was most evidently made apparent to all the spectators, in the fifth and last hour of his action, (which, according to our western account, was about six aclock at night, and, by the calculation of that country, half an hour past three and twenty, at that time of the yeer) for, purposing to leave of with the setting of the sun, with an endeavour nevertheless to make his conclusion the master-piece of the work, he, to that effect, summoning all his spirits together, which never failed to be ready at the call of so worthy a commander, did by their assistance, so conglomerate, shuffle, mix, and interlace the gestures, inclinations, actions, and very tones of the speech of those fifteen several sorts of men whose carriages he did personate, into an inestimable *Olla-podrida* of immaterial morsels of divers kinds, suitable to the very Ambrosian relish of the Heliconian Nymphs, that in the *Peripetia* of this Drammatical exercitation, by the inchanted transportation of the eyes and eares of its spectabundal auditorie, one would have sworne that they all had looked with multiplying glasses, and that (like that Angel in the Scripture, whose voice was said to be like the voice of a multitude) they heard in him alone the promiscuous speech of fifteen several actors; by the various ravishments of the excellencies whereof, in the frolickness of a jocund straine beyond expectation, the logofascinated spirits of the beholding hearers and auricularie spectators, were so on a sudden seazed upon in their risible faculties of the soul, and all their vital motions so universally affected in this extremitie of agitation, that to avoid the inevitable charms of his intoxicating ejaculations, and the accumulative influences of so powerful a transportation, one of my lady Dutchess chief Maids of Honour, by the vehemencies of the shock of those incomprehensible raptures, burst forth into a laughter, to the rupture of a veine in her body; and another young lady, by the irresistible violence of the pleasure unawares infused, where the tender receptibilitie of her too too tickled fancie was least able to hold out,

* The instrument now ignorantly called a guitar. It was formerly part of the furniture of a barber's shop, and was the amusement of waiting customers. See "Gen. Hist. of the Science and Practice of Music," Vol. III. page 408.

so unprovidedly was surprised, that with no less impetuositie of ridibundal passion then (as hath been told) occasioned a fracture in the other young ladies modestie, she, not able longer to support the well-beloved burthen of so excessive delight, and intransing joys of such Mercurial exhilarations, through the ineffable extasie of an overmastered apprehension, fell back in a swoon, without the appearance of any other life in her, then what by the most refined wits of theological speculators is conceived to be exerced by the purest parts of the separated *entelechies* of blessed saints in their sublimest conversations with the celestial hierarchies: this accident procured the incoming of an apothecarie with restoratives, as the other did that of a surgeon, with consolidative medicaments."

Speaking of the manner of Crichton's death, and that it followed from a thrust with his own sword by the hand of the prince, son of the duke of Mantua, the author says;

"The whole court wore mourning for him full three quarters of a yeer together: his funeral was very stately, and on his hearse were stuck more Epitaphs, Elegies, Threnodies, and Epicediums, then, if digested into one book, would have out-bulk't all *Homers* works; some of them being couched in such exquisite and fine Latin, that you would have thought great *Virgil*, and *Baptista Mantuanus*, for the love of their mother-city, had quit the *Elysian* fields to grace his obsequies: and other of them (besides what was done in other languages) composed in so neat *Italian*, and so purely fancied, as if *Ariosto*, *Dante*, *Petrark*, and *Bembo*, had been purposely resuscitated, to stretch even to the utmost, their poetick vein, to the honour of this brave man; whose picture till this hour is to be seen in the bedchambers or galleries of the most of the great men of that nation, representing him on horseback, with a lance in one hand, and a book in the other: and most of the young ladies likewise, that were any thing handsome, in a memorial of his worth, had his effigies in a little oval tablet of gold, hanging 'twixt their breasts; and held (for many yeers together) that *Metamazion*, or intermammilary ornament, an as necessary outward pendicle, for the better setting forth of their accoutrements, as either *Fan*, *Watch*, or *Stomacher*."

The several exploits of Crichton, above-related, as they appear upon the face of Sir Thomas Urquhart's book, are, it must be confessed, unsupported by any citations from history, or the writings of contemporary biographers, or other narrators of remarkable transactions, and may, therefore, in the judgment of those who reflect on the hyperbolical style of the author, and the extravagancies to which such an enthusiastic spirit as his will lead men, stand in need of still farther proof. Happily, since the publication of the "Adventurer," such evidence has been laid before the public as must remove all

doubt of the existence of such a person as Crichton, and of the truth of the facts above related of him.

For this information we are indebted to Mr. Pennant,[443] who, in his "Tour to Scotland," vol. I. page 295, confirms the account of Sir Thomas Urquhart in all its particulars, vouching, as his authority, Aldus Manutius, Joannes Imperialis, a physician of Vicenza, and a writer whom I take to be Estienne Pasquier, two of whom were personally acquainted with him, and eye-witness to the triumphs by them severally recorded. From Aldus Manutius we learn, that Crichton was a scholar of Buchanan.

Mr. Pennant has further obliged the public with some Latin verses of Crichton's writing, and an engraving of him from an original portrait.

From all which testimonies, it is but a necessary conclusion, that whatever may be suppressed, as passing credibility, of the person here celebrated, enough is, upon incontestable authority, related, to induce us to rank him among prodigies.

That Johnson dictated this number of the "Adventurer," I have already said: that he did not himself write it,[444] may be thus accounted for; he had doubtless red the history of Crichton in Sir Thomas Urquhart's book, and retained it with that firmness of memory, which held fast almost every thing that he met with in books. Supposing him, as we may, too indolent to recur to one that he had formerly red through, and, in the hearing of Hawkesworth, to have related the transactions of so wonderful a man, the latter might catch it as a fit subject for an essay, and give it to the world, as he has done in the "Adventurer." To which we may add, that Johnson was seldom a narrator of events: his talent was original thinking; in conversation he told stories, and related historical facts with great precision, but rarely sent them abroad in writing.

We are not to suppose, that that soreness of mind, which Johnson seems to have felt at the time of his discontinuing the "Rambler," was, in the short interval of six months, so completely healed, as to render him a disinterested candidate for praise in this new publication; or that he who had declared, that he could not compose a sermon, gratis, would write an "Adventurer," without being hired to it: on the contrary, it is certain, that he retained his old maxim, that gain was the only genuine stimulative to literary exertion, and that the assistance he gave to this publication was purchased at two guineas, for every number that he furnished; a rate of payment which he had before adjusted in his stipulation for the "Rambler," and was probably the measure of a reward to his fellow-labourers.

The avowed end of the "Adventurer" being the same with that of the "Rambler," and the plan and conduct thereof so little different from it, the

latter may be considered as a continuation of the former: nevertheless, it may be observed, that in the "Adventurer," the number of entertaining papers, of portraits, singular characters, and essays of wit, humour, and pleasantry, is greater, in proportion, than in the "Rambler"; and to that diversity it was doubtless owing, that the circulation of it was more diffuse. On the part of the writers it was carried on with great vigour, and, together with the "Rambler," is likely to remain a lasting evidence of the spirit that dictated, and the public good sense that encouraged, such a series, as they both contain, of religious instruction, oeconomical wisdom, and innocent delight.

Hawkesworth has, almost in terms, declared himself the editor of the "Adventurer," and that the other contributors thereto were merely auxiliaries; and his zeal for its success may be inferred from the number of papers written by himself, which, upon a comparison, will be found nearly equal to that of all the rest. This zeal was excited by a motive far more strong than any which actuated his co-adjutors, a desire of advantage in his then profession, which ostensibly was that of a governor of a school for the education of young females, by making himself known as a judge of life and manners, and capable of qualifying those of riper years for the important relations of domestic society.

But while he was indulging a well grounded hope to reap this fruit of his studies, a reward of a very different kind courted his acceptance. The archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Herring, his diocesan and neighbour, having perused his essays, and informed himself of his general character, made him an offer of a faculty that should raise him above the level of vulgar literati, and, almost without his being conscious of any such exaltation, create him a doctor of both laws, and the honour was accepted.

Among men of real learning, there is but one opinion concerning what are called Lambeth degrees. The right of conferring them is a relic of the power anciently exercised in this country by the legates of the pope, and is, by statute, transferred to the archbishop of Canterbury. It received a legal sanction in the determination, about the year 1720, of the case of the warden of Manchester college. Degrees of this kind are often convenient for clergymen, as they are qualifications for a plurality of livings; but, as they imply nothing more than favour, convey little or no honour.

But Hawkesworth was so far mistaken in his notion of this act of kindness of the archbishop,[445] that though he had never red Justinian, nor perhaps ever seen the "Corpus Juris Civilis," or "Corpus Juris Canonici," he conceived himself transmuted by it into a civilian and a canonist, and qualified for an advocate in either of those judicatures where the above laws are severally recognised.

In consequence of this persuasion, he entertained a resolution of becoming a pleader in the courts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in London; but upon being informed of that which it behoved him to know, viz. that constitution of Archbishop Peccham "Nemo sit advocatus, priùsquam jura per triennium audiverit," to be found in Lyndwode, and in a less scarce book, Bishop Gibson's "Codex"; and also that the charter by which the advocates in Doctors Commons are incorporated, requires that they shall be graduates of one of the two universities, he desisted. Upon this disappointment he bent his course another way, and, recurring to his first design of converting his school into a kind of female academy, succeeded, not more to his own emolument, than the improvement of those who participated in the benefits of his tuition.

In this train of events, and others that are well enough known, it may be discerned, that Hawkesworth was a greater gainer by the "Adventurer" than any of those concerned in it. His success, however, wrought no good effects upon his mind and conduct; it elated him too much, and betrayed him into a forgetfulness of his origin, and a neglect of his early acquaintance; and on this I have heard Johnson remark, in terms that sufficiently expressed a knowledge of his character, and a resentment of his behaviour. It is probable that he might use the same language to Hawkesworth himself, and also reproach him with the acceptance of an academical honour to which he could have no pretensions, and which Johnson, conceiving to be irregular, as many yet do, held in great contempt; thus much is certain, that soon after the attainment of it, the intimacy between them ceased.

The expedients above-mentioned, and the visits of a variety of friends, which his writings had procured him, afforded Johnson great relief, and enabled him to keep at a bay those terrors, which were almost incessantly assailing him, till the beginning of the year 1752, O.S. when it pleased God to try him by a calamity, that was very near realizing all those evils which, for a series of years, he had dreaded; this was the loss of his wife,[446] who, on the 28th day of March, and after seventeen years cohabitation, left him a childless widower, abandoned to sorrow, and incapable of consolation.

Those who were best acquainted with them both, wondered that Johnson could derive no comfort from the usual resources, reflections on the conditions of mortality, the instability of human happiness, resignation to the divine will, and other topics; and the more, when they considered, that their marriage was not one of those which inconsiderate young people call love-matches, and that she was more than old enough to be his mother; that, as their union had not been productive of children, the medium of a new relation between them was wanting; that her inattention to some, at least, of the duties of a wife, were evident in the person of her husband, whose negligence

of dress seemed never to have received the least correction from her, and who, in the sordidness of his apparel, and the complexion of his linen, even shamed her. For these reasons I have often been inclined to think, that if this fondness of Johnson for his wife was not dissembled, it was a lesson that he had learned by rote, and that, when he practised it, he knew not where to stop till he became ridiculous. It is true, he has celebrated her person in the word *formosae* which he caused to be inscribed on her grave-stone; but could he, with that imperfection in his sight which made him say, in the words of Milton, he never saw the human face divine, have been a witness of her beauty? which we may suppose had sustained some loss before he married; her daughter by her former husband being but little younger than Johnson himself. As, during her lifetime, he invited but few of his friends to his house, I never saw her, but I have been told by Mr. Garrick, Dr. Hawkesworth, and others, that there was somewhat crazy in the behaviour of them both; profound respect on his part, and the airs of an antiquated beauty on hers. Johnson had not then been used to the company of women, and nothing but his conversation rendered him tolerable among them: it was, therefore, necessary that he should practise his best manners to one, whom, as she was descended from an antient family, and had brought him a fortune, he thought his superior. This, after all, must be said, that he laboured to raise his opinion of her to the highest, by inserting in many of her books of devotion that I have seen, such endearing memorials as these: "This was dear Tetty's book."—"This was a prayer which dear Tetty was accustomed to say," not to mention his frequent recollection of her in his meditations, and the singularity of his prayers respecting her.

To so high a pitch had he worked his remembrance of her, that he requested a divine, of his acquaintance, to preach a sermon at her interment, written by himself, but was dissuaded from so ostentatious a display of the virtues of a woman, who, though she was his wife, was but little known. He intended also to have deposited her remains in the chapel in Tothill-fields, Westminster, but, altering his mind, he committed the disposal of them to his friend Hawkesworth, who buried her in his own parish-church of Bromley in Kent, under a black marble stone, on which Johnson himself, a few months before his death, caused the following memorial to be inscribed:

Hic conduntur reliquiae
ELIZABETHAE
Antiqua Jarvisorum gente,
Peatlingae, apud Leicestrienses, ortae;
Formosae, cultae, ingeniosae, piae;
Uxoris, primis nuptiis, HENRICI PORTER,

Secundis, SAMUELIS JOHNSON;
Qui multum amatam, diuque defletam
Hoc lapide contexit.
Obiit Londini, mense Mart.
A.D. MDCCLIII.

I have been informed, that in his early youth, he entertained a romantic passion,[447] excited possibly by reading the poets, for a young woman of a family and in circumstances far above him; but proofs are wanting that it proceeded to a declaration. In his intercourse with the world, he had become known to many of the female sex, who sought his conversation;* but it was never heard that he entertained a passion for any one, or was in any other sense a lover, than as he was the author of amorous verses. If ever he was in danger of becoming one in reality, it was of a young woman whom he used to call Molly Aston,[448] of whose wit, and of the delight he enjoyed in conversing with her, he would speak with rapture,† but this was in the lifetime of Mrs. Johnson, and he was a man too strict in his morals to give any reasonable cause of jealousy to a wife.

The melancholy, which seized Johnson on the death of his wife, was not, in degree, such as usually follows the deprivation of near relations and friends: it was of the blackest and deepest kind. That affection, which could excite in the mind of Milton the pleasing images described in his sonnet on his deceased wife,

"Methought I saw my late espoused saint,"[449]

wrought no such effect on that of Johnson: the apparition of his departed wife was altogether of the terrific kind, and hardly afforded him a hope that she was in a state of happiness.

That these gloomy conceptions were in part owing to the books he had been accustomed to read, I have little doubt. Sundry passages occur in his writings, which induce a suspicion, that his notions of the state of departed spirits were such as are now deemed superstitious; and I will not attempt to vindicate him from the charge of believing some of the many relations extant, that go to prove an intercourse between them and the inhabitants

* Posterity will wonder to be told, that a celebrated courtezan, Kitty Fisher,[450] was of the number, and that, possibly having heard of the attempt of Laïs on Demosthenes, she once left her card at his house.

† She was a violent whig, and, by consequence, a declaimer for liberty, a particular in her character that induced Johnson to compliment her in the following elegant epigram:

of this earth. These, as they were systematical, and such as he was able to defend by arguments the most specious, I can no better account for, than by a supposition, that in the course of his studies he had been a dabbler in demonology, by which I mean, not the writings of those vulgar authors who relate the intrigues and midnight banquets of witches with infernal spirits, or that teach the difference between black and white witches, and assert the power of them and their agents to harm us, but from those more authentic writers, namely, Mede, and others, whose proofs, that the doctrine of demons made a part of the gentile theology, have induced an opinion, that in these latter times departed spirits have such an existence as the intercourse above-mentioned seems to imply.

Not to dwell longer on so painful a subject, I will dismiss these reflections with an observation, that by the unhappiness of his bodily constitution, and the defect of the organs of sense, he was rendered unsusceptible of almost all those delights which we term pleasures of the imagination, and which help to soothe the mind under affliction; and this melancholy truth I shall attempt to illustrate by the following observations:

With respect to sight, it must be noted, that he was of that class of men, who, from a defect in the visual organs, are termed myops, or near-sighted persons; and farther, that disease had deprived him of the use of one eye, the consequence whereof was, that in lieu of those various delightful prospects which the face of nature affords, the beautiful and the grand, that multiply ideas and administer delight, as well in the reflection as the immediate enjoyment of them, his mind was presented with an universal blank. Nor was his misfortune less, with respect to those objects wherein beauty, symmetry, and harmony of parts and proportions, are resident: to him a statue was an unshapen mass, and a sumptuous edifice a quarry of stone. Of the beauties of painting, notwithstanding the many eulogiums on that art which, after the commencement of his friendship with Sir Joshua Reynolds, he inserted in his writings, he had not the least conception; and this leads me to mention a fact to the purpose, which I well remember. One evening at the club, I came in with a small roll of prints, which, in the afternoon, I had picked up: I think

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Liber ut esse velim, suasisti pulchra Maria,
Ut maneam liber—pulchra Maria, vale!

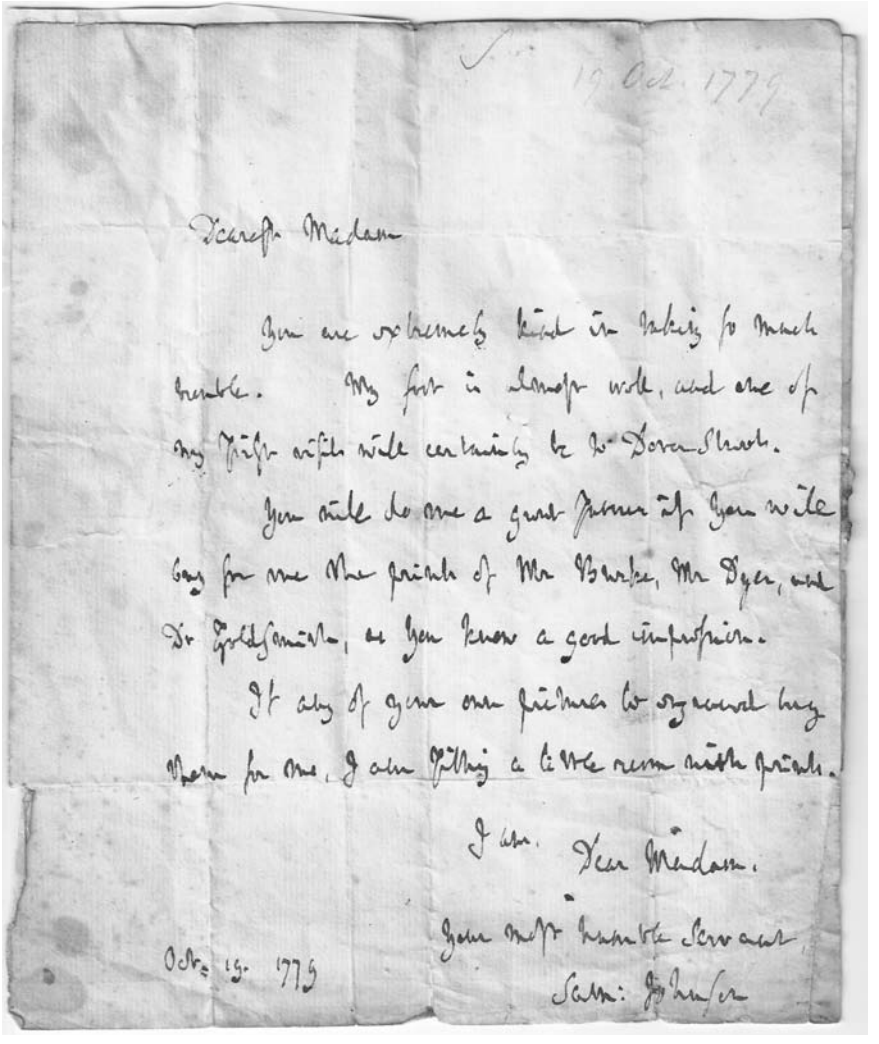
thus translated by Richard Paul Jodrell, Esq;

When first Maria's soft persuasive strain
Bids universal liberty to reign,
Oh! how at variance are her lips and eyes!
For while the charmer talks, the gazer dies.

Molly Aston, in a pastel drawing by an unknown artist, ca. 1740, used as the frontispiece to volume 6 of *Johnsonian Gleanings*.

they were landscapes of Perelle, and laying it down with my hat, Johnson's curiosity prompted him to take it up and unroll it; he viewed the prints severally with great attention, and asked me what sort of pleasure such things could afford me; I told him, that as representations of nature, containing an assemblage of such particulars as render rural scenes delightful, they presented to my mind the objects themselves, and that my imagination realised the prospect before me; he said, that was more than his would do, for that in his whole life he was never capable of discerning the least resemblance of any kind between a picture and the subject it was intended to represent.[451]

To the delights of music, he was equally insensible: neither voice nor instrument, nor the harmony of concordant sounds, had power over his affec-


19 Oct. 1779.

Dearest Madam

You are extremely kind in taking so much trouble. My foot is almost well, and one of my first visits will certainly be to Dover Street.

You will do me a great favour if you will beg for me the friends of Mr Burke, Mr Dyer, and Dr Goldsmith, as you know a good impression.

If any of your own friends be engaged beg them for me. I am willing a little more to pinch.

I am. Dear Madam.

Your most humble Servant

Sam: Johnson

Oct. 19. 1779

Samuel Johnson to Frances Reynolds, 19 October 1779.
(Loren and Frances Rothschild Collection)

tions, or even to engage his attention. Of music in general, he has been heard to say, "it excites in my mind no ideas, and hinders me from contemplating my own"; and of a fine singer, or instrumental performer, that "he had the merit of a Canary-bird."* Not that his hearing was so defective as to account for this insensibility, but he laboured under the misfortune which he has

* I have sometimes thought that music was positive pain to him. Upon his once hearing a celebrated performer go through a hard composition, and hearing it remarked

noted in the life of Barretier,[452] and is common to more persons than in this musical age are willing to confess it, of wanting that additional sense or faculty, which renders music grateful to the human ear.

From this state of his mental and bodily constitution, it must necessarily be inferred, that his comforts were very few, and that his mind had no counterpoise against those evils of sickness, sorrow, and want, which, at different periods of his life he laboured under, and in some of his writing pathetically laments. Of this misfortune himself was sensible, and the frequent reflection thereon wrought in him a persuasion, that the evils of human life preponderated against the enjoyments of it;[453] and this opinion he would frequently enforce by an observation on the general use of narcotics in all parts of the world, as, in the east, and southern countries, opium; in the west, and northern, spirituous liquors and tobacco;* and into this principle he resolved most of the temptations to ebriety. To the use of the former of these, himself had a strong propensity, which increased as he advanced in years; his first inducement to it was, relief against watchfulness, but when it became habitual, it was the means of positive pleasure, and as such was resorted to by him whenever any depression of spirits made it necessary. His practice was, to take it in substance, that is to say, half a grain levigated[454] with a spoon against the side of a cup half full of some liquid, which, as a vehicle, carried it down.

With so few resources of delight, it is not to be wondered at, if after the loss of his wife, his melancholy was hardly supportable. Company and conversation were the only reliefs to it, and when these failed him he was miserable. At the club in Ivy-lane, our usual hour of departure was eleven, and when that approached he was frequently tempted to wander the streets, and join in the conversation of those miserable females who were there to be met with. Of these he was very inquisitive as to their course of life, the history of their seduction, and the chances of reclaiming them. The first question he generally asked was, if they could read. Of one who was very handsome, he asked,

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that it was very difficult, Johnson said, "I would it had been impossible." As a science of which he was ignorant he contemned it. In the early part of my life I had collected some memoirs of Abbate Steffani,[455] Mr. Handel's predecessor at the court of Hanover, and the composer of those fine duets that go under his name, with a view to print them, as presents to some musical friends: I submitted the manuscript to Johnson's perusal, and he returned it with corrections that turned to ridicule all I had said of him and his works.

* He has been heard to remark, that since the disuse of smoaking among the better sort of people, suicide has been more frequent in this country than before.

for what she thought God had given her so much beauty: she answered—"To please gentlemen."*

In the midst of the distresses which, at this period of his life, surrounded him, he found both inclination and the means to be helpful to others. His wife, a short time before her death, had consigned to his care a friend of her own sex, a person of very extraordinary endowments, whom, for a benevolent purpose that will be shortly mentioned, Johnson had invited to a residence in his house: This was Mrs. Anna Williams, whose history is as follows:

Her father, Zachariah Williams,[456] was a surgeon and physician in South Wales, a man of parts and great ingenuity: he had addicted himself to mathematical studies, and having, by a kind of intuitive penetration, discovered, that the variations of the magnetic needle were equal at equal distances east and west; he entertained a sanguine hope, that he had attained the means of ascertaining the longitude. As London was the place where he thought he should best avail himself of his discovery, and also turn it to the improvement of his fortunes, he, in the year 1730, with an apparatus of mathematical and nautical instruments of his own invention, left his habitation and business, and, together with his daughter, settled in the metropolis. His first business was, to lay before the commissioners of the longitude the fruits of his studies; but, upon a due examination, they all proved abortive: no proportion whatever of the reward could be assigned him as his due; but, as a kind of recompence for his disappointment, means were found to procure him a maintenance in the Charterhouse, and accordingly he was admitted into that asylum of age and poverty. With all his ingenuity and scientific wisdom, which I have heard his daughter, with an excusable partiality, magnify beyond credibility, he must have been defective in worldly prudence; for, either by the infraction of oeconomical regulations, or some other misconduct respecting the endowment from which he derived his support, he rendered himself at first obnoxious to censure from the governors, and in the end was obliged to forego all the benefits of it, to become an outcast, and, at the age of seventy-five, to suffer shipwreck in the wide ocean of the world. In a narrative, published in 1749, he complains of his expulsion as an act of injustice.

What became of him afterwards I could never learn, save that, in the year 1755, he published in Italian and English a book intituled, "An account of an attempt to ascertain the longitude at sea, by an exact theory of the magneti-

* This story is too well attested for me to omit it; but it leaves it a question, how, with the defect of sight under which he laboured, he was capable of discerning beauty. He might possibly think it an indispensable requisite for her profession, and therefore conclude that she had it.

cal needle," written, as it is supposed, by Johnson,[457] and translated by Mr. Baretti. Of his daughter,[458] I am able to say more, having known her a long time. About ten years after her arrival with her father in London, she was alarmed by the appearance of a cataract on both her eyes, which continued to increase till it totally deprived her of her sight. Before this calamity befel her, she, with the assistance of her father, had acquired a knowledge of the French and Italian languages, and had made great improvements in literature, which, together with the exercise of her needle, at which she was very dextrous, as well after the loss of her sight as before, contributed to support her under her affliction, till a time when it was thought by her friends, that relief might be obtained from the hand of an operating surgeon. At the request of Dr. Johnson, I went with her to a friend of mine, Mr. Samuel Sharp, senior surgeon of Guy's hospital, who before had given me to understand, that he would couch her gratis if the cataract was ripe, but upon making the experiment it was found otherwise, and that the crystalline humour was not sufficiently inspissated[459] for the needle to take effect. She had been almost a constant companion of Mrs. Johnson for some time before her decease, but had never resided in the house: afterwards, for the convenience of performing the intended operation, Johnson took her home, and, upon the failure of that, kept her as the partner of his dwelling till he removed into chambers, first in Gray's inn, and next in the Temple. Afterward, in 1766, upon his taking a house in Johnson's court in Fleet-street, he invited her thither, and in that, and his last house in Bolt-court, she successively dwelt for the remainder of her life.

The loss of her sight made but a small abatement of her chearfulness, and was scarce any interruption of her studies. With the assistance of two female friends, she translated, from the French of Pere La Bleterie, the "Life of the emperor Julian."*[460] In 1755, Mr. Garrick, ever disposed to help the afflicted, indulged her with a benefit-play that produced her two hundred pounds; and in 1766, she published by subscription a quarto volume of miscellanies in prose and verse,[461] and thereby increased her little fund to three hundred pounds, which, being prudently invested, yielded an income, that, under such protection as she experienced from Dr. Johnson, was sufficient for her support.

She was a woman of an enlightened understanding; plain, as the women call it, in her person, and easily provoked to anger, but possessing, nevertheless, some excellent moral qualities, among which no one was more conspicuous, than her desire to promote the welfare and happiness of others; and of this she gave a signal proof, by her solicitude in favour of an institution for

* See it mentioned in Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 185.

the maintenance and education of poor deserted females in the parish of St. Sepulchre, London, supported by the voluntary contributions of ladies, and, as the foundation-stone of a fund for its future subsistence, she bequeathed to it the whole of that little, which, by the means above-mentioned, she had been able to accumulate. To the endowments and qualities here ascribed to her, may be added a larger share of experimental prudence[462] than is the lot of most of her sex. Johnson, in many exigences, found her an able counsellor, and seldom shewed his wisdom more than when he hearkened to her advice. In return, she received from his conversation the advantages of religious and moral improvement, which she cultivated so, as in a great measure to smooth the constitutional asperity of her temper. When these particulars are known, this intimacy, which began with compassion, and terminated in a friendship that subsisted till death dissolved it, will be easily accounted for.

Johnson had but for a short time enjoyed the relief from solitude and melancholy reflection which this friendly attachment afforded him, before he experienced that affliction, which, in the course of nature, is the concomitant of longevity, in the loss of his friend Cave,[463] who finished a useful and well-spent life in the month of January, 1754. It might seem that between men so different in their endowments and tempers as Johnson and Cave were, little of true friendship could subsist, but the contrary was the case: Cave, though a man of a saturnine disposition, had a sagacity which had long been exercised in the discrimination of men, in searching into the recesses of their minds, and finding out what they were fit for; and a liberality of sentiment and action, which, under proper restrictions, inclined him not only to encourage genius and merit, but to esteem and even to venerate the possessors of those qualities as often as he met with them: it cannot, therefore, be supposed, but that he entertained a high regard for such a man as Johnson, and, having had a long experience of his abilities and integrity, that he had improved this disposition into friendship. Johnson, on his part, sought for other qualities in those with whom he meant to form connections: had he determined to make only those his friends whose endowments were equal to his own, his life would have been that of a Carthusian;[464] he was therefore more solicitous to contract friendships with men of probity and integrity, and endued with good moral qualities, than with those whose intellectual powers, or literary attainments, were the most conspicuous part of their character; and of the former, Cave had a share, sufficient to justify his choice.

On this mutual regard for each other, as on a solid basis, rested the friendship between Johnson and Cave. It was therefore with a degree of sorrow, proportioned to his feelings towards his friends, which were ever tender, that Johnson reflected on the loss he had to sustain, and became the narrator of

the most important incidents of his life. In the account which he has given of his death, it will be readily believed, that what he has related respecting the constancy of his friendship, is true, and that when, as the last act of reason, he fondly pressed the hand that was afterwards employed in recording his memory, his affection was sincere.

By some papers now in my hands it seems that, notwithstanding Johnson was paid for writing the "Rambler," he had a remaining interest in the copyright of that paper, which about this time he sold. The produce thereof, the pay he was receiving for his papers in the "Adventurer," and the fruits of his other literary labours, had now exalted him to such a state of comparative affluence, as, in his judgment, made a man-servant necessary. Soon after the decease of Mrs. Johnson, the father of Dr. Bathurst arrived in England from Jamaica, and brought with him a negro-servant, a native of that island, whom he caused to be baptized and named Francis Barber, and sent for instruction to Barton upon Tees in Yorkshire: upon the decease of captain Bathurst, for so he was called, Francis went to live with his son, who willingly parted with him to Johnson. The uses for which he was intended to serve this his last master were not very apparent, for Diogenes himself never wanted a servant less than he seemed to do: the great bushy wig, which throughout his life he affected to wear, by that closeness of texture which it had contracted and been suffered to retain, was ever nearly as impenetrable by a comb as a quick-set hedge; and little of the dust that had once settled on his outer garments was ever known to have been disturbed by the brush. In short, his garb and the whole of his external appearance was, not to say negligent, but slovenly, and even squalid; to all which, and the necessary consequences of it, he appeared as insensible as if he had been nurtured at the Cape of Good Hope: he saw that, notwithstanding these offensive peculiarities in his manners, his conversation had great attractions, and perhaps he might estimate the strength of the one by the degree of the other, and thence derive that apathy, which, after all, might have its foundation in pride, and afforded him occasion for a triumph over all the solicitudes respecting dress.*

Of this negro-servant much has been said, by those who knew little or nothing of him, in justification of that partiality which Johnson shewed for

* That he was an habitual sloven, his best friends cannot deny. When I first knew him, he was little less so than Magliabechi,[465] of whom it is said, that at meals he made a book serve him for a plate, and that he very seldom changed his linen, or washed himself. It is said of other scholars and men eminent in literature, of Leibnitz, Poiret, St. Evremond, and Pope, that they were alike uncleanly. Johnson, as his acquaintance with persons of condition became more enlarged, and his invitations to dinner-parties increased, corrected, in some degree, this failing, but could never be said to be neatly dressed, or

him, and his neglect of his own necessitous relations. The following particulars are all that are worth relating of him: He stayed with Johnson about five years, that is to say, till 1758, and then left him, but at the end of two years returned, and was taken again into his service. His first master had, in great humanity, made him a Christian; and his last, for no assignable reason, nay, rather in despite of nature, and to unfit him for being useful according to his capacity, determined to make him a scholar.

He placed him at a school at Bishop-Stortford, and kept him there five years; and, as Mrs. Williams was used to say, who would frequently reproach him with his indiscretion in this instance, expended three hundred pounds in an endeavour to have him taught Latin and Greek.*

The proposal for the "Dictionary," and other of his writings, had exhibited Johnson to view in the character of a poet and a philologist: to his moral qualities, and his concern for the interests of religion and virtue, the world were for some time strangers; but no sooner were these manifested by the publication of the "Rambler" and the "Adventurer," than he was looked up to as a master of human life, a practical Christian and a divine; his acquaintance was sought by persons of the first eminence in literature; and his house, in respect of the conversations there, became an academy. One person, in particular, who seems, for a great part of his life, to have affected the character of a patron of learned and ingenious men, in a letter which I have seen, made him a tender of his friendship in terms to this effect:—"That having perused many of his writings, and thence conceived a high opinion of his learning, his genius, and moral qualities, if Mr. Johnson was inclined to enlarge the circle of his acquaintance, he [the letter-writer] should be glad to be admitted into the number of his friends, and to receive a visit from him."[466]—This person was Mr. Dodington, afterwards lord Melcombe, the value and honour of whose patronage, to speak the truth, may in some degree be estimated by his diary lately published, but better by the account which I mean here to give of his favourites and dependents, with some of whom I was personally acquainted. How Johnson received this invitation, I know not: as it was con-

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indeed clean; he affected to wear cloaths of the darkest and dirtiest colours, and, in all weathers, black stockings. His wig never sat even on his head, as may be observed in all the pictures of him, the reason whereof was, that he had a twist in his shoulders, and that the motion of his head, as soon as he put it on, dragged it awry.

* Mrs. Williams, who, with a view to the interest of her friend, was very attentive to the conduct of this his favourite, when she took occasion to complain to his master of his misbehaviour, would do it in such terms as these: "This is your scholar! your philosopher! upon whom you have spent so many hundred pounds!"

veyed in very handsome expressions, it required some apology for declining it, and I cannot but think he framed one.

One of the earliest of lord Melcombe's clients was Dr. Edward Young,[467] the author of the "Satires," of the "Night-thoughts," and of the "Revenge, a tragedy"; a man who, by a strange fatality, could never attain to any of those distinctions in his profession, which are generally understood to be the rewards of learning and piety, and must be supposed to have failed by the ardour with which he solicited, and the servile adulation which he practised to come at them, of which latter disposition he has given such instances in the dedications of his "Satires" to the several persons of high rank, to whom they are addressed, as also in the exordium to each of the "Night-thoughts" at their first coming abroad, for in the later editions they are omitted, as are a disgrace to manhood, and must have put the vainest of his patrons to the blush.

Mr. James Ralph was another of his dependents, of whom, as a pretender to genius, much may be learned from the "Dunciad."[468] He was the tool of that party, of which his lordship laboured in vain to become the leader; and, to serve its purposes, by inflaming the minds of the people, wrote a weekly paper called the "Remembrancer."* For this and other good deeds of the like kind, he is, in the diary above-mentioned, held forth as an exemplar to all writers of his profession, and dignified with the character of an honest man.

Another of these men of genius, who enjoyed the favour of Mr. Dodington, was Mr. Paul Whitehead, whose love for his country, and knowledge of its interests, became first known by a satire of his writing entitled, "The State Dunces," which, as he was a patriot, and, as all patriots pretend to be, a firm friend to what they call the constitution, bears this candid motto:

"I from my soul sincerely hate
Both kings and ministers of state."[469]

He also wrote "Manners," a satire; a libel of a more general tendency, as including in it many invectives against some of the nobility, and most eminent of the dignified clergy. Of this libel the sale was so rapid as to exceed the

* Whoever is desirous of being acquainted with the intrigues of contending factions, and the methods of exciting popular discontent, may receive ample information from the perusal of lord Melcombe's Diary, and will there find, that to effect this purpose, and furnish the unthinking multitude with topics for clamour, the publication of a political news-paper was by him and his party thought expedient. I have been credibly informed, that dean Swift would frequently boast, that with liberty allowed him for the free exercise of his pen on the measures of government, he was able to write down any ministry whatever.

author's most sanguine wishes, insomuch that, in a few days after the publication thereof, the price rose to a guinea.*

Of this man, who many years was my neighbour in the country, I know much to blame and somewhat to commend: he may be supposed, in his younger days, to have imbibed that malevolence against the Hanover succession, which was the sentiment of many at the beginning of this century, and by an easy transition, to which the perusal of such papers as the "Craftsman," "Common-sense," and other publications of the time, and, most of all, the conversation of such persons as he chose for his associates, might probably lead him, to have engendered in his mind a hatred of all whose offices in the state had made the support of government their duty, and a resolution to acquiesce in that fallacious discrimination of two classes of men, the one whereof was in, and the other out of power, into the court and country parties.

It is not much to the credit of the latter of these two, that some of the writers on the side of it were such avowed enemies to religion, as might beget, in those acquainted with their characters, a suspicion that, as in the language of politics, there is an alliance between church and state, a similar relation subsists between infidelity and patriotism, proofs whereof have not been wanting in these our late times; for it is evident, that as the injunctions to obedience imply religion, the want thereof, *quoad*[470] the person who is to pay it, vacates the obligation, and leaves him at liberty to form an alliance with the other side.

And that some of the writers on the side of the country party, as it was called, particularly in the "Craftsman," were men of this character,[471] is certain. Amhurst, the ostensible author of the paper, was expelled his university, and was, moreover, a friend and associate of Strutt, an attorney of the Temple,

* Johnson has remarked, that no expectation is more fallacious than that which authors form of the reception which their labours will find among mankind. "Scarcely (says he) any man publishes a book, whatever it be, without believing that he has caught the moment when the public attention is vacant to his call, and the world is disposed, in a particular manner, to learn the art which he undertakes to teach."[472] An instance of this fallacious hope I recollect in the case of a London clergyman, who, being about to publish a sermon which he had composed, consulted his bookseller as to the number which he should print: the bookseller told him, that five hundred copies were as many as would sell. "Five hundred!" (said the author). "Why, man, consider there are in England near ten thousand parishes; and if we suppose that only the minister and clerk of each buy one, double that number of copies will be disposed of." With great difficulty he was persuaded to yield to the advice of his bookseller, and the greater part of the impression became waste paper.

who wrote several letters or essays in his paper, and a treatise with some such title as, "A philosophical enquiry into the nature of human liberty," wherein the freedom of the human will is denied, and the actions of men are made to result from an irresistible necessity. This tract I have heard Whitehead commend, and assert that it contained a full refutation of all that Dr. Clarke, in his controversy with Leibnitz, has advanced in favour of the contrary opinion, and at the same time speak of the author as one whom the greatness of his parts, had he lived, would have raised to the dignity of lord-chancellor. But of his moral and religious principles a judgment may be formed, by means of the following letter, which, for the atheistical expressions contained therein, was the ground for the expulsion of the writer of it from the university of Cambridge. I forbear remarking on this blasphemous epistle farther than, that the regret I have often felt in the perusal of it has been not a little increased by the figure that my friend Paul makes in it, and the intimacy between him and Strutt which it discloses.

"To Mr. Stephen G——bbs.

"Dear Stephen, Oct. 3, 1734.

"I received yours, with the guinea and the partridges, for which I return you many thanks, and need not say how much I should rejoice in your company at the eating of them. But we not only suffer the loss of that, but of B—— P——'s too, who went to London incog. last Monday, and it is uncertain when he'll have power to break from the arms of his charmer; but V—— will supply his place at the Tuns to-day, who is as great a hero in the cause of truth.

"I am very glad to hear W—— B—— appears so well in the world again, and, when you see him, beg you would remember my kind respects to him, wishing him all joy. And as to any farther progress in atheism, I was arrived at the top, the *ne plus ultra*, before I enjoyed the beatifick vision (the night I was born in the spirit from you) being fixed and immoveable in the knowledge of the truth, to which I attained by means of that infallible guide the Philosophical Enquiry; and I am glad to hear, what I did not at all doubt of, that it would equally enlighten your understanding; and am persuaded that you see the necessary connection between every proposition, and consequently, that the points now in debate are strictly demonstrated. If any material objection should arise (which is barely a possible supposition) I beg you will consult me, or some other able minister of the word of truth, to the quieting of your conscience, and avoiding all scruple and doubt.

"I was inexpressibly happy with the most adorable and omniscient Father

Strutt, his brother Whitehead, W——, &c. completely fulfilling the scene proposed in his letter.

"On Saturday we came to Cambridge, where we had the full enjoyment of theirs till Tuesday, when they returned to Bury; and last Saturday I went thither again by appointment, but they were obliged to set out that day for London, and I went with them to Sudbury, where we lay. You'll imagine I was transported with their company, and would not have left them before they got to London, but that I was obliged to return to college to pray.

"I've sent you one song as a taste of our mirth.* I received a letter from the president yesterday, which obliges me to return to Horksley next Tuesday.—I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing you in college about the 5th of November. In the mean time I shall be glad of a line or two from you, and am

"Your sincere friend and humble servant,
"T. D——CK——T.

"P.S. Strutt was the author of the three letters in the last Craftsman, except last Saturday's, and will write in defence of them in answer to the ministerial writers. I intend myself the pleasure of drinking tea with Polly this afternoon. My service to Mr. G——, Miss Nanny, and all friends."[473]

The political principles of Whitehead recommended him to Mr. Dodington, whose ostentation was gratified, and his ambitious views in a way to be advanced, by a connection with a man who had abilities to write, and the boldness to publish whatever might serve the purposes of a party, and whose zeal for its interests was subject to any direction. Dodington admired the keenness of Whitehead's wit, and the spirit of his satires; and his commendations were repaid by the latter, with encomiums on his patron's political wisdom and qualifications for state employments, which, as they seemed to have no foundation in principle, Paul was as little able to investigate as to delineate the path of a comet. In his conversation there was little to praise: it was desultory, vociferous, and profane. He had contracted a habit of swearing in his younger years, which he retained to his latest. At Twickenham he never frequented divine service; and when pressed by one of his friends there to shew himself at church, excused himself by saying he was not settled. He was visited by very few of the inhabitants of the village; but his house was open to all his London friends, among whom were Mr. Hogarth, Isaac Ware the architect, George Lambert and Hayman the painters, and Mr. Havard

* Supposed to be, "Religion's a politic law."

the player, men who had spent all their lives in and about Covent-garden, and looked upon it as the school of manners, and an epitome of the world.

Paul was endowed with a great portion of wit, but it was altogether of the satyrical kind, and served to little purpose, other than to expose to ridicule or contempt the objects to which it was directed. In concert with one Carey a surgeon, he planned and exhibited a procession[474] along the Strand of persons, on foot and on horseback, dressed for the occasion, carrying mock ensigns, and the symbols of free-masonry;* the design of which was, to expose to laughter the insignia and ceremonies of that mysterious institution, and it was not till thirty years after, that the fraternity recovered the disgrace which so ludicrous a representation had brought on it.

The talent for writing which Paul possessed was an inducement with many persons who had somewhat to say to the world, but were unable to tell their own story, to solicit the assistance of his pen. Of these the celebrated Mrs. Teresia Constantia Phillips was one,† whose "Apology" for her Life, in three volumes, though professed to be written by herself, was the work of Paul.[475] He also wrote for Admiral Byng, a defence of his conduct, in a strain that seemed to set his accusers at defiance, and to anticipate a sentence of acquittal.

After enumerating his exceptionable qualities, it is but justice to say of Whitehead, that he was by nature a friendly and kind-hearted man, well acquainted with vulgar manners and the town, but little skilled in the knowledge of the world, and, by consequence, little able to resist the arts of designing men; and of this defect he gave a melancholy proof in submitting to be engaged for Fleetwood, the patentee of Drury-lane theatre, in a bond for £3000 for failure in the payment whereof he sustained imprisonment in the Fleet for some of the best years of his life. He had married a woman of a good family and fortune, whom, though homely in her person, and little better than an idiot, he treated not only with humanity, but with tenderness, hiding, as well as he was able, those defects in her understanding, which are oftener the subjects of ridicule than of compassion. After his enlarge-

* A print of the procession, designed and engraved by Benoist, was published about the time.

† Of this woman I have been told by a person who knew her, that she was not, to any remarkable degree, beautiful. Indeed, in the print of her prefixed to her "Apology," after a painting of Highmore, there is little to be discerned that could merit that epithet. Her features were but indifferent, and the cast of her countenance might be said to be vulgar. She had, nevertheless, great powers of attraction, and an understanding that served but to shew her towards the end of her life, how widely she had deviated from the road to happiness.

ment, some money fell to him, with which, and the profits of the place of deputy-treasurer of the chamber, which he held for some time under lord Le Despenser, he purchased a cottage on Twickenham-common, and from a design and under the inspection of his friend Isaac Ware, at a small expence improved it into an elegant dwelling. Here he manifested the goodness of his nature in the exercise of kind offices, in healing breaches, and composing differences between his poor neighbours; and living to see, as he did at the commencement of his present majesty's reign, power lodged in the hands of such as he thought friends of their country, and above all temptations to abuse it, he abandoned his factious principles, and became a loyal subject. In a grateful sense of his obligations to lord Le Despenser, he directed, that after his decease, his heart, inclosed in a vessel for the purpose, should be presented to him, which being done, his lordship caused it to be deposited in his church of West Wycomb.*

Dr. Thompson[476] was one of the many physicians who, in this country, have enjoyed a short-lived reputation, acquired by methods unknown to any but themselves. The earliest of his practice was among men of eminence, Mr. Pope, and others, who, deceived by his confidence and a certain contempt with which he ever spoke of the rest of his profession as being bigotted to theories and systems, looked upon him as a man of an inventive genius, who had reduced the art of healing to an epitome. The fact was, that, affecting to be a free-thinker in his faculty, he set at nought the discoveries and improvements of others, and treated with ridicule that practice which he did not understand. He was an everlasting prater on politics and criticism, and saw so deep into the councils of the king of Prussia, that he could assign the motives of all his actions, during the last war in which he was engaged. At taverns, in coffee-houses, at the cyder-cellar in Maiden lane, he was frequently to be found holding forth on these subjects without interruption, in a tone of voice which Mr. Garrick would say was like the buz of an humble-bee in a hall-window. This man enjoyed the favour of lord Melcombe, and, what was of greater benefit to him, an apartment in his house, with a protection from arrests, founded on the privilege which the law grants, not only to peers, but to the lowest of their menial servants.

Quin once told me a story of this man, which I will relate in as few words as I am able.—Quin walking up and down, one Sunday evening, in the Bedford coffee-house, observed a man in a dark corner leaning his forehead on the table, and every now and then sending forth a sigh, that seemed to come from

* It is reported that lord Le Despenser had afterwards the vessel with the heart deposited in the golden ball of the spire of the above-mentioned church.

his heart. Moved with compassion, he went up to him, and enquiring the cause of his grief, was told by him, that his name was Thompson, that he was a physician rising into practice, but that, for want of fifty pounds, his chariot could not go abroad the next day, and his patients must remain unvisited. Quin bid him be comforted, and stepping to his lodgings in Bedford-street, returned with a bank-note for that sum, which he told Thompson he would not expect till he was able to repay it: the other answered, that a month was as long as he wished to retain it; but Quin told him that he could spare it for three, or even six months, and took his leave. Six months elapsed, and no apology made for non-payment of the money. Quin, in a civil letter, reminded Thompson of the terms on which it was lent, but receiving no answer to that and others that he wrote, he was obliged to send him one by his attorney, which produced a notification from the duke of Newcastle's office, that the name of Dr. Thompson was there entered as of a person privileged from arrests, and that it would be at Mr. Quin's peril if he proceeded to violate that protection which he claimed, and the law granted him. Being thus prohibited from the restraint of his person, Quin was obliged to wait the re-payment of his money, which, at the expiration of some months, he received, but without the least acknowledgment of his kindness in lending it.

This was a man, whom Whitehead, in the simplicity of his heart, held in such estimation, that I have seen him, for hours together, listening, with his lips unclosed, to the torrents of nonsense he was pouring forth: he addressed an epistle to him, wherein he celebrates his medical abilities and moral qualities, and makes the number of persons daily restored by him to health, equal to those who were sent to their long-homes by Wilmot and the other eminent physicians his rivals and contemporaries.

Notwithstanding the advantages with which he set out, and the extravagant encomiums of Fielding and others, of him and his practice, Thompson sunk into contempt and obscurity. Like Paracelsus, he performed a few cures, that neither himself nor any others were ever able to account for; and in a case of surgery he was once known, by dint of mere obstinacy, to have saved a limb. A son of a friend of mine,[477] an officer, being in the service in Germany, and at the head of a skirmishing-party on horseback, received a wound with a sabre that separated the tendons and ligaments which connect the foot with the leg: at a consultation on his case of two of the most eminent surgeons, Thompson, as being the family physician, was called to assist, who, in opposition to their opinion that an amputation was inevitable, swore that his friend should not undergo it: the operation was deferred, and, by the help of the Malvern waters, the patient recovered such an use of the whole limb as enabled him to walk with scarce any variation of his accustomed gait.

Had Johnson accepted of Mr. Dodington's invitation, it cannot be supposed that he would have been much pleased with the company of these and such other persons as it was likely to introduce him to. His declining it seems, therefore, an act of great prudence, and indeed he was exempted from the necessity of seeking connections; for many persons were of Dodington's mind, and were desirous of adding him to the number of their friends. Invitations to dine with such of those as he liked, he so seldom declined, that to a friend of his, he said, "I never but once, upon a resolution to employ myself in study, balked an invitation out to dinner, and then I stayed at home and did nothing."[478] Little, however, did that laxity of temper, which this confession seems to imply, retard the progress of the great work in which he was employed; the conclusion, and also the perfection of his "Dictionary," were objects from which his attention was not to be diverted: the avocations he gave way to were such only as, when complied with, served to invigorate his mind to the performance of his engagements to his employers and the public, and hasten the approach of the day that was to reward his labour with applause.

That day it was his happiness to see; for, by the end of the year 1754, he had completed his copy, not more to his own ease and satisfaction, than to the joy of Millar the bookseller, the principal proprietor of the work, and the guardian or treasurer of the fund out of which the payments were from time to time issued. To say the truth, his joy on the occasion was so great, that he could not refrain from expressing it somewhat intemperately, as appears by the following acknowledgment of the receipt of the last sheet of the manuscript:

"Andrew Millar sends his compliments to Mr. Samuel Johnson, with the money for the last sheet of copy of the Dictionary, and thanks God he has done with him."

To which Johnson returned this good-humoured and brief answer:

"Samuel Johnson returns his compliments to Mr. Andrew Millar, and is very glad to find, as he does by his note, that Andrew Millar has the grace to thank God for any thing."[479]

The publication of this great work soon followed, as may be imagined, the interchange of these two very laconic epistles; and the month of May, 1755, put the world in possession of a treasure, the value whereof it will require the experience of years to find out. To recommend it to the notice of foreigners, he was desirous it should appear to come from one who had attained academical honours; he therefore applied, by his friend Mr. Thomas Warton, to the university of Oxford for a master's degree, and obtained it by a diploma, dated the tenth day of February 1755, the tenour whereof is, that the most learned Samuel Johnson, of Pembroke college, having distinguished himself in the literary world by his writings, tending to form the popular manners;

and having, for the adorning and settling his native language, compiled, and being about to publish an English Dictionary, the chancellor, masters, and scholars of the said University, in solemn convocation assembled, do therefore constitute and appoint the said Samuel Johnson, Master of Arts, and command, that he enjoy and exercise all the rights, privileges, and honours to that degree appertaining.

Upon the receipt of this instrument, Johnson testified his gratitude for the honour done him, in a letter to the vice-chancellor, which, as a specimen of a fine Latin style,[480] I here insert:

"Reverendo admodum viro G. Huddesford, S.T.P.
"Oxoniensis academiae Vice-cancellario dignissimo.

"Ingratus plane et tibi et mihi videar, nisi quanto me gaudio affecerint, quos nuper mihi honores, te credo auctore, decrevit senatus academicus, literarum, quo tamen nihil levius, officio significem: ingratus etiam, nisi comitatem, qua vir eximius* mihi vestri testimonium amoris in manus tradidit, agnoscam et laudem. Siquid est, unde rei tam gratae accedat gratia, hoc ipso magis mihi placet, quod eo tempore in ordines academicos denuo cooptatus sim, quo tuam imminuere auctoritatem, famamque Oxoniae laedere, omnibus modis conantur homines vafri nec tamen acuti: quibus ego, prout viro umbratico licuit, semper restiti, semper restiturus. Qui enim, inter has rerum procellas, vel tibi vel academiae defuerit, illum virtuti, et literis, sibique, et posteris, defuturum existimo.

"S. JOHNSON."

So near perfection had the author brought his "Dictionary," that, upon a review of it previous to his drawing up the preface, he declares, he is unable to detect the casual omission of more than one article, the appellative OCEAN.[481] Nor has he, as I know, been charged with any other defect, or with any misinterpretation of a word, save in an instance or two, where, being moved by party-prejudice, he has imposed significations on a few words that are indefensible. Let these be imputed to a mind agonized, at various periods during the prosecution of this laborious work, with indigence, with sorrow, and pain; and let the piteous description of his circumstances and feelings, which the preface contains, induce us to bury our resentment of a few petulant expressions, in the reflection, that this stupendous compilation was undertaken and completed by the care and industry of a single person.

* The Vir eximius above-mentioned is Dr. King of St. Mary hall, who delivered the diploma to Johnson in London.

Upon occasion of publishing the "Dictionary," Mr. Garrick celebrated the author in the following lines:

"Talk of war with a Briton, he'll boldly advance,
That one English soldier will beat ten of France:
Would we alter the boast from the sword to the pen,
Our odds are still greater, still greater our men:
In the deep mines of science though Frenchmen may toil,
Can their strength be compar'd to Locke, Newton, and Boyle?
Let them rally their heroes, send forth all their pow'rs,
Their verse-men and prose men; then match them with ours:
First Shakespeare and Milton, like Gods in the fight,
Have put their whole drama and epic to flight;
In satires, epistles, and odes, would they cope.
Their numbers retreat before Dryden and Pope:
And Johnson, well-arm'd like a hero of yore,
Has beat forty* French, and will beat forty more."[482]

It has already been mentioned, that Johnson's inducement to this undertaking was the offer of a liberal reward. The term liberal is indefinite, and, after the lapse of twenty years, during which such sums as from three to eight thousand pounds have been paid for copies, would hardly be allowed to fifteen hundred and seventy-five,† which was the sum stipulated for the "Dictionary." Of this, Johnson, who was no very accurate accountant, thought a great part would be coming to him on the conclusion of the work; but upon producing, at a tavern-meeting for the purpose of settling, receipts for sums advanced to him, which were indeed the chief means of his subsistence, it was found, not only that he had eaten his cake, but that the balance of the account was greatly against him. His debtors were now become his creditors: but they, in a perfect consistency with that liberal spirit which, in sundry instances, the great booksellers are known to have exercised towards authors, remitted the difference, and consoled him for his disappointment by making his entertainment at the tavern a treat.‡

* The number of the French Academy employed in settling their language.

† From the original contract now in my hand, dated 18th June 1746, between Johnson on the one part, and the two Knaptons, the two Longmans, Charles Hitch, Andrew Millar, and Robert Dodsley, on the other.

‡ Mr. William Caslon the letter-founder, grandfather of the present Mr. Caslon, once told me, that the booksellers with whom Mr. Chambers had contracted for his dictionary, finding that the work succeeded beyond their expectations, made him a voluntary

The pointing out the utility of such a work as a vernacular lexicon is needless, and the displaying the merits of that of which I am speaking, is a labour which the suffrage of the public has saved me. The learned world had long wished for its appearance, and the circulation of the book was proportionate to the impatience which the promise of it had excited. Lord Corke, being at Florence at the time when it was published, presented it, in the author's name, to the Academy della Crusca, and that learned body transmitted to him a fine copy of their "Vocabulario." The French academy also signified their approbation of his labours, by a present of their "Dictionnaire," of which Mr. Langton was the bearer. To these testimonies of public respect, it is a small but ludicrous addition to say, that Dr. Robertson, the Scots historian, told Johnson, that he had fairly perused his "Dictionary" twice over, and that Johnson was pleased at the hearing it. The "Dictionary" was a library-book, and not adapted to common use: the booksellers knowing this, and being encouraged by its success, easily prevailed on the author to abridge it in two octavo volumes, and made him a liberal recompence.[483]

It was doubtless a great satisfaction to Johnson to have completed this great work; and though we may believe him in the declaration at the end of the preface thereto, that he dismissed it with frigid tranquillity, we cannot but suppose that he was pleased with the reception it met with. One and only one writer, an obscure man named Campbell,[484] a purser of a man of war, who, as well for the malignancy of his heart as his terrific countenance, was called horrible Campbell, attempted to disturb the quiet which possessed him, by animadverting on this and other of his writings: This fellow had abilities for writing, and in a small volume intitled "Lexiphanes," endeavoured to turn many passages in the "Rambler," and interpretations in the "Dictionary," into ridicule: gratifying his spleen also with a number of malevolent censures of Dr. Akenside's "Pleasures of Imagination." It was the purpose of this libel to provoke both or one of the persons who were the subjects of it, to a controversy, from which, whatever should be the event, he hoped, as it is said Ulysses did in his contest with Ajax, to derive honour.

"Iste tulit pretium jam nunc certaminis hujus;
Quo cum victus erit, mecum certasse feretur."[485]

OVID. Met. lib. xiii. v. 19.

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present of, I think, £500. Other instances of the like generosity have been known of a profession of men, who, in the debates of the question of literary property, have been described as scandalous monopolizers, fattening at the expence of other mens' ingenuity, and growing opulent by oppression.

"Losing he wins, because his name will be
Ennobled by defeat, who durst contend with me."

DRYDEN.

But in this he was disappointed. Akenside was too proud to dispute with an inferior, and Johnson's silence proceeded not more from his contempt of such an adversary, than from a settled resolution he had formed, of declining all controversy in defence either of himself or his writings. Against personal abuse he was ever armed, by a reflection, that I have heard him utter: "Alas! reputation would be of little worth, were it in the power of every concealed enemy to deprive us of it";—and he defied all attacks on his writings, by an answer of Dr. Bentley to one who threatened to write him down,—that "no author was ever written down but by himself."[486]

His steady perseverance in this resolution afforded him great satisfaction whenever he reflected on it; and he would often felicitate himself, that, throughout his life, he had had firmness enough to treat with contempt the calumny and abuse as well of open as concealed enemies, and the malevolence of those anonymous scribblers, whose trade is slander, and wages infamy.

Had Pope pursued the same conduct, and forborne his revenge on Theobald, Cibber, and others who had provoked him, he had enjoyed his muse and that philosophical tranquillity which he did but affect, and lived and died with dignity. The younger Richardson[487] once told me, that, upon the publication of Cibber's second letter, he came to his father's house in Lincoln's-inn-fields, and, upon entering the room where he was painting, with a countenance that spoke the anguish of his soul, exclaimed, "So, I find another letter is come out: but," continued he, "such things are sport to me": in which assertion we may suppose him to be as sincere as that poet of whom a story goes, that, talking with a friend, of the critics, he said, he had a way of dealing with them; for, whenever they condemned his verses, he laughed at it. "Do you so?" says his friend, "then, let me tell you, you live the merriest life of any man in England."

That Bentley's observation is founded in truth and a knowledge of mankind, is proved by the rank which Sir Richard Blackmore[488] now holds among the English poets. At the time when he lived, the wits were in confederacy against him; and so many are the lampoons, epigrams, and other satirical compositions extant, tending to blast his reputation as a poet,* that

* See the "Works of Mr. Thomas Brown," in 4 vols. 12mo. and Pope and Swift's "Miscellanies."

the reader of them would incline to think, that in all his works there is scarce a good line or sentiment. All this, as Johnson relates, Blackmore foresaw, and, with a dignity of mind that merits praise, despised: the consequence is, that his poem, intitled "Creation," is not written down, but yet lives in the esteem of every judicious reader, and in that most elegant encomium, which Mr. Addison has bestowed on it in the "Spectator";* and Dennis, one of the severest of critics, has given it greater praise than he ever vouchsafed to any modern composition, saying, that it is "a philosophical poem, which has equalled that of Lucretius in the beauty of its versification, and infinitely surpassed it in the solidity and strength of its reasoning."

To be insensible of, and undisturbed by, the envy and malice of others, is one of the strongest proofs of a great mind, and, as it is the most justifiable, so is it the severest revenge we can take; for what sight can be more ridiculous, than that of a creature venting its rage on a subject that cannot feel? To live in the dread of slander, and to regulate our conduct by the opinions, the whispers, the surmises, or threats of either foolish or wicked men, is the worst of all slavery: of him who cannot defy every attempt of this kind to disturb his peace, but must be whining and complaining of that enmity which, perhaps, does him honour, and scribbling to refute those calumnies which no one will believe, it may be said, as we say of a man labouring under a mortal disease: "He is no man for this world." If he chooses a contrary course to that above recommended, he does the work of those that hate him, and will be sure to feel the pangs of resentment, and forego the enjoyment of a tranquil mind, and a conscience void of offence, so feelingly described in this sentence of lord Bacon: "Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in Charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the poles of Truth."[489]

If Johnson could ever be said to be idle, now was the time. He had, for nine years, been employed in his great work, and had finished it: he had closed the "Rambler"; and the "Adventurer" was closed on him. He had it now in his choice to reassume some one or other of those various literary projects, which he had formed in the early part of his life, and are enumerated in a foregoing page of these memoirs; but the powers of his mind, distended by long and severe exercise, became relaxed, and required rest to bring them to their tone, and it was some time before he could resolve on any employment, suited to his abilities, that carried with it any prospect of pleasure, or hope of reward. This remission of his labour, which seemed to be no more than nature herself called for, Johnson, in those severe audits to which it was his practice to summon himself, would frequently condemn, styling it a waste

* No. 339.

of his time, and a misapplication of the talents with which he was gratefully conscious that God had endowed him. Yet herein was he greatly mistaken; for though Milton says of the servants of God,

"———————— thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest";

he adds, that

"They also serve who only stand and wait."
Sonnet on his blindness.[490]

Johnson's intellectual faculties could never be unemployed: when he was not writing he was thinking, and his thoughts had ever a tendency to the good of mankind; and that indolence, which, in his hours of contrition, he censured as criminal, needed little expiation.

This recess from literary occupation continued, however, no longer than was absolutely necessary. It has already been shewn, that he was not only a friend to such vehicles of literary intelligence as Magazines and other epitomes of large works, but that he was a frequent contributor to them. He had occasionally, for Cave's Magazine, written the lives of Father Paul Sarpi, Boerhaave, the admirals Drake and Blake, Barretier, and divers other eminent persons; and also, sundry philological essays, particularly a state of the controversy between Crousaz and Warburton respecting the "Essay on Man," and a vision intitled "The Apotheosis of Milton."[491] Cave being now dead, he ceased to furnish articles for that publication, and either voluntarily offered, or suffered himself to be retained as a writer in others of a like kind: accordingly, in 1756, he wrote for "The Universal Visitor, or Monthly Memorialist,"[492] printed for Gardner,* two of three letters therein inserted, on the subject of agriculture; and in the same and subsequent year he assumed or submitted to the office of a reviewer, as it is called, for the publisher of a monthly collection, intituled, "The Literary Magazine,"[493] of which one Faden, a printer, was the editor. In this he wrote the address to the public; also, reviews of the following books, viz. Soame Jenyns's "free enquiry into the nature and origin of evil"; Dr. Blackwell's "Memoirs of the court of Augustus"; he wrote also therein, "Observations on the state of affairs" in 1756, and the Life of the present king of Prussia; and, Hanway's journal coming in

* The writers in this publication were, Christopher Smart, Richard Rolt, Mr. Garrick, and Dr. Percy, now bishop of Dromore. Their papers are signed with the initials of their surnames; Johnson's have this mark **.

his way, which contained in it a severe censure of the practice of tea-drinking, he officially, as I may say, and with a degree of alacrity proportioned to his avowed love of that liquor, undertook to criticise the book, and refute the arguments of the author.

To render this controversy intelligible, it is necessary I should state the grounds on which it proceeded.—Mr. Jonas Hanway[494] had, in the year 1755, undertaken and performed a journey from Portsmouth to Kingston upon Thames, through Southampton, Wiltshire, &c. which, though completed in the space of eight days, and attended with no extraordinary circumstances, was, it seems, in his judgment, worthy of being recorded, and, by means of the press, transmitted to posterity; and accordingly he gave a relation of it to the public, in two octavo volumes. It may be needless to say, that this work abounds with miscellaneous thoughts, moral and religious, and also political reflections; for of which of all his numerous productions cannot the same be said? Connected with it is "An Essay on Tea, considered as pernicious to health, obstructing industry, and impoverishing the nation, with an account of its growth, and great consumption in these kingdoms."*

As I do not mean to follow this author in the course of an argument conducted in no method, interrupted by a redundancy of foreign matter, and

* Mr. Hanway seems not very accurate in his state of the time when tea was first brought into England. He says, that lord Arlington and lord Ossory introduced it in 1666, and that it was then admired as a new thing. Waller has a poem addressed to the queen, Maria d'Este, wife of James II. in 1683, "On tea commended by her Majesty," whereby it seems, that even then it was a new thing.

It is a question of some curiosity, and worthy investigation, what were the viands of a morning meal with people of condition, for which tea with its concomitants is now the substitute; and I am glad to be able to resolve it by the following extract from the Northumberland houshold book,[495] in which are contained the regulations and establishment of the houshold of Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland, at his castles of Wresill and Leckinfield in Yorkshire, begun anno Domini 1512.

"Braikfastis for Flesch Days.
"Braikfastis for my Lorde and my Lady.

"Furst, a loof of brede in trenchors, 2 manchetts, 1 quart of bere, a quart of wine, half a chyne of mutton, or ells a chyne of beif boiled.

"Braikfastis for the Nurcy, for my Lady Margaret, and Mr. Yngeram Percy.

"Item, a manchet, 1 quarte of bere, and 3 muton bonys boiled.

"Braikfastis for my Ladys Gentylwomen.

"Item, a loif of houshold breid, a pottell of beire, and 3 muton bonys boyled, or ells a pece of beif boiled.

which violates every rule in logic, I shall content myself with remarking, that though every one of his three assertions may be true, he has succeeded in the proof of no one of them. That tea is a luxury,[496] and not a fit aliment for the poor, is implied in a sarcasm of Swift to this purpose, that the world must be encompassed, that is to say, by a voyage to the East Indies for tea, and another to the West for sugar, before a washerwoman can sit down to breakfast. That it is pernicious to health is disputed by physicians: Quincy commends it, as an elegant and wholesome beverage; Cheyne condemns it, as prejudicial to the nervous system. Bishop Burnet, for many years, drank sixteen large cups of it every morning, and never complained that it did him the least injury. The two last objections, that tea is an obstruction to industry, and that it impoverishes the nation, are political questions which I am not able to decide upon.

Epictetus somewhere advises us to consider the gratification of the calls of hunger and thirst, as acts of necessity; to be performed as it were by the bye, but by no means to be estimated among the enjoyments of life; and by a precept no less than divine, we are exhorted to take no thought what we shall eat or what we shall drink.[497] Johnson looked upon the former as a very serious business, and enjoyed the pleasures of a splendid table equally with most men. It was, at no time of his life, pleasing to see him at a meal; the greediness with which he ate, his total inattention to those among whom he was seated, and his profound silence in the hour of refection, were circumstances that at the instant degraded him, and shewed him to be more a sensualist than a philosopher. Moreover, he was a lover of tea to an excess hardly credible; whenever it appeared, he was almost raving, and by his impatience to be served, his incessant calls for those ingredients which make that liquor palatable, and the haste with which he swallowed it down, he seldom failed to make that a fatigue to every one else, which was intended as a general refreshment. Such

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"Lent.

"Braikfaste for my Lorde and my Lady.

"Furst, a loif of brede in trenchors, 2 manchets, a quart of bere, a quart of wyne, 2 pecys of saltfisch, 6 baconn'd herring, 4 white herring or a dysche of sproits.

"Braikfaste for the Nurcy, for my Lady Margaret, and Maister Ingeram Percy.

"Item, a manchet, a quarte of bere, a dysch of butter, a pece of saltfisch, a disch of sproits, or 3 white herrying.

"Braikfaste for my Ladis Gentyllwomen.

"Item, a loof of brede, a pottell of bere, a pece of saltfische, or 3 white herrynge."

signs of effeminacy as these, suited but ill with the appearance of a man, who, for his bodily strength and stature, has been compared to Polyphemus.[498]

This foible in Johnson's character being known, it will excite no wonder in the reader to be told, that he readily embraced the opportunity of defending his own practice, by an examen of Hanway's book. Accordingly, he began his remarks on it in the "Literary Magazine," Number VII;* but receiving from this author an injunction to forbear proceeding in his censure till a second edition should appear, he submitted, though it was a prohibition that could neither be reasonably imposed, nor by any means inforced; yet, such was its effect, that Mr. Hanway's journal was not remarked on, till he had been allowed every advantage that could protect it from censure. Such candour on the part of him, on whose opinion perhaps many were waiting to form theirs, might have relieved the author from any dread of unfair treatment; but Johnson, who paid all proper deference to good intentions, did not think this tacit indication of the temper in which he sat down to review Mr. Hanway's journal, sufficient: he, therefore, in resuming the dispute, promises him, that he shall find no malignity of censure, and draws a very handsome inference from the contents of his thirty-two letters, that he is a man whose failings may well be pardoned for his virtues.

The criticism on this second edition appeared in the "Literary Magazine," Number XIII,† and extends chiefly to Mr. Hanway's arguments against tea and gin: subjects which seem to have inspired him with such enthusiastic eloquence as disdained all the rules of logic, and dictated observations and conclusions, so incoherent and incongruous, as would have stimulated even those, who, in the main, thought with him, to an endeavour at correcting his judgment.

But, in Johnson, when writing on the qualities of tea, he met with an opponent on principle; for its antagonist's hatred, however radical or zealous, could not exceed the love its champion bore it; he describes himself as "a hardened and shameless tea-drinker, who has, for many years, diluted his meals with only the infusion of this fascinating plant; whose kettle has scarcely time to cool; who, with tea amuses the evening, with tea solaces the midnights, and with tea welcomes the morning."

That Mr. Hanway was right in asserting, that the practice of drinking tea is productive of harm among the lower classes of people, must certainly be admitted; and that Johnson was right in denying that it has all the poisonous qualities the "Journal" attributes to it, experience shews. From what has been

* From 15th Oct. to 15th Nov. 1756.

† From 15th April, to 15th May, 1757.

said on both sides, little can be inferred, but that to some it is noxious, and to others neutral; that those do wrong who persist in the use of it when they find it injurious to the health, and that such as cannot afford the necessaries of life, ought not to indulge in its luxuries.

At Johnson's candid examen, which should not have offended Mr. Hanway, as, by submitting his work to public inspection, he recognized the right of public criticism, the latter was extremely irritated, and very unadvisedly drew his reviewer forth to a second exertion of his argumentative powers, printed in the same magazine, vol. ii. 253, under the title of "A reply to a paper in the Gazetteer of May 26, 1757"; in which, with seeming contrition and mock penitence, he requests to know how he has offended, and deprecates the wrath he had excited.——"There are only three subjects," says he, "upon which my unlucky pen has happened to venture. Tea, the author of the Journal, and the Foundling Hospital.

"Of the author, I unfortunately said, that his injunction was too magisterial. This I said, before I knew he was a governor of the foundlings; but he seems inclined to punish this failure of respect, as the czar of Muscovy made war upon Sweden, because he was not treated with sufficient honours when he passed through the country in disguise. Yet was not this irreverence without extenuation. Something was said of the merit of *meaning well*, and the journalist was declared to be a man *whose failings might well be pardoned for his virtues*. This is the highest praise which human gratitude can confer upon human merit, praise that would have more than satisfied *Titus* or *Augustus*, but which I must own to be inadequate and penurious, when offered to the member of an important corporation."

His justification of what he said of the author, he concludes thus:——"As the journalist, though enthusiastically zealous for his country, has, with regard to smaller things, the placid happiness of philosophical indifference, I can give him no disturbance by advising him to restrain even the love of his country within due limits, lest it should sometimes swell too high, fill the whole capacity of his soul, and leave less room for the love of truth."

Unluckily for Mr. Hanway it happened, that while he was labouring for the general good, by reprobating the practice of drinking tea, an institution from which he derived much of his importance, was suffering from want of care. Johnson, in a visit to the Foundling hospital, observed, that the objects of the charity, however well provided for in other respects, were, in the essential point of religious knowledge, lamentably deficient. To him, who considered wisely that there was no evil from which the governors of the Foundling hospital could rescue deserted infants, so much to be dreaded as ignorance of

this kind, the answers given to his enquiries touching their improvement were very unsatisfactory. Without knowing that Mr. Hanway was concerned in the charge, he, in his former letter, had stated this fact, and followed it by saying, that "to breed up children in this manner, is to rescue them from an early grave, that they may find employment for the gibbet, from dying in innocence, that they may perish by their crimes."

The laudable motive which induced Johnson to point out this neglect, and the justice of his remark, did not shield him from unmerited resentment. He was called on to support what he had advanced: his assertion was branded with the epithet of *incredible*, but his observation had produced its effect: he had found means to have it represented to one of the highest names of the society, and a catechist was soon after appointed.

On a review of the eloquence he had been forced to encounter, he says of his adversary,——"His argumentation, being somewhat enthusiastical, I cannot fully comprehend, but it seems to stand thus. My insinuations are foolish or malicious, since I know not one of the governors of the hospital; for he that knows not the governors of the hospital must be very foolish or malicious.

"He has, however, so much kindness for me, that he advises me to consult my own safety when I talk of corporations. I know not what the most important corporation could do, becoming manhood, by which my safety is endangered. My reputation is safe, for I can prove the fact; my quiet is safe, for I meant well; and for any other safety, I am not used to be very solicitous.

"I am always sorry when I see any being labouring in vain; and, in return for the journalist's attention to my safety, I will confess some compassion for his tumultuous resentment; since all his invectives fume into the air, with so little effect upon me, that I still esteem as one that has the *merit of meaning well*, and still believe him to be *a man whose failings may be justly pardoned for his virtues*."

Whoever peruses this controversy, will be forced to confess that, on the part of Johnson, it is conducted, not only with candour, but with great good humour, a circumstance to be remarked in all his polemical writings, and to be wondered at, seeing that in oral disputation his behaviour was so different, as to expose him to the severest censures. His exertions against his adversary were play, not hostility;

> "Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw
> Dandled the kid."
>
> "Paradise Lost," book iv. line 343.

By the virtues of Mr. Hanway, which Johnson is so ready to acknowledge, we are to understand, that active and unwearied benevolence, which, for a series of years, he has been exercising for the benefit of society, and by his failings, or rather failing, for I know of but one he has, a propensity to writing and publishing books, which, for the triteness and inanity of the sentiments contained in them, no one can read.

About the year 1756, time had produced a change in the situation of many of Johnson's friends, who were used to meet him in Ivy lane. Death had taken from us M'Ghie; Barker went to settle as a practising physician at Trowbridge; Dyer went abroad; Hawkesworth was busied in forming new connections; and I had lately made one that removed from me all temptations to pass my evenings from home. The consequence was, that our symposium at the King's-head broke up, and he who had first formed us into a society was left with fewer around him than were able to support it.

All this while, the booksellers, who by his own confession were his best friends, had their eyes upon Johnson, and reflected with some concern on what seemed to them a misapplication of his talents. The furnishing magazines, reviews, and even news-papers, with literary intelligence, and the authors of books, who could not write them for themselves, with dedications and prefaces, they looked on as employments beneath him, who had attained to such eminence as a writer; they, therefore, in the year 1756, found out for him such a one as seemed to afford a prospect both of amusement and profit: this was an edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works,[499] which, by a concurrence of circumstances, was now become necessary, to answer the increasing demand of the public for the writings of that author.

Mr. Garrick, who, as every one knows, was in all that related to Shakespeare an enthusiast, had, by the study of his principal characters, and his own exquisite action, so recommended Shakespeare to the town, that the admiration of him became general even to affectation; many professing to be delighted with the performance and perusal of his plays, who, from their want of literature, and their ignorance of the phraseology of the age in which they were written, could not be supposed capable of construing them. Others there were, in whom a literary curiosity had been excited, by the publication of such editions of this author as tended to settle his text, and by a description of antient manners and customs of living, to render him intelligible. The first essay of this kind, worth noting, was the edition of Theobald, the defects whereof, in the single opinion of Warburton, were so many and great, as to render that necessary which bears his name.

The two classes of readers, here discriminated, amounted to such a number as encouraged the booksellers to an edition on the plan of the two

former, and Johnson was the person, whom, of all others, they thought the fittest to undertake it: the terms settled between them were, that Johnson should receive for his own use the profits arising from a subscription to the first impression, and that the copy-right should remain with the then possessors. The first notification of this design was, a proposal drawn up by Johnson, setting forth the incorrectness of the early editions, the original obscurity and subsequent corruptions of the text, the necessity of notes, and the failures of former editors.

A stranger to Johnson's character and temper would have thought, that the study of an author, whose skill in the science of human life was so deep, and whose perfections were so many and various as to be above the reach of all praise, must have been the most pleasing employment that his imagination could suggest, but it was not so: in a visit that he one morning made to me, I congratulated him on his being now engaged in a work that suited his genius, and that, requiring none of that severe application which his "Dictionary" had condemned him to, I doubted not would be executed *con amore*.——His answer was, "I look upon this as I did upon the 'Dictionary': it is all work, and my inducement to it not love or desire of fame, but the want of money, which is the only motive to writing that I know of."——And the event was evidence to me, that in this speech he declared his genuine sentiments; for neither in the first place did he set himself to collect early editions of his author, old plays, translations of histories, and of the classics, and other materials necessary for his purpose, nor could he be prevailed on to enter into that course of reading, without which it seemed impossible to come at the sense of his author. It was provoking to all his friends to see him waste his days, his weeks, and his months so long, that they feared a mental lethargy had seized him, out of which he would never recover. In this, however, they were happily deceived, for, after two years inactivity, they found him roused to action, and engaged—not in the prosecution of the work, for the completion whereof he stood doubly bound, but in a new one, the furnishing a series of periodical essays, intitled, and it may be thought not improperly, "The Idler,"[500] as his motive to the employment was aversion to a labour he had undertaken, though in the execution, it must be owned, it merited a better name.

As Johnson was diverted from his work of Shakespeare, so am I from my purpose of tracing the progress of it, being to relate the occurrences of nine years of his life before I can congratulate the reader on its appearance.

The engagement for the "Idler" was with Newbery the bookseller, a man of a projecting head, a good understanding, and great integrity; and who, by a fortunate connection with Dr. James, the physician, and the honest exertions of his own industry, became the founder of a family. Taking advantage of

that rage for intelligence, which the successes of the war had excited, in even the lowest order of the people, he planned a weekly paper, which he called, "The Universal Chronicle," and, as the size of it rendered it susceptible of more matter than the occurrences, during the intervals of its publication, would supply, it was part of his scheme, that it should contain an essay or short discourse on such subjects of morality, or of wit and humour, as, in former instances, had been found to engage the attention of the public. A share in the profits of this paper was Johnson's inducement to the furnishing such a discourse, and, accordingly, it appeared, on Saturday the fifteenth day of April 1758, and continued to be published on the same day in every week for near two years thence following.

The profits accruing from the sale of this paper, and the subscriptions which, from the year 1756, he was receiving for the edition of Shakespeare by him proposed, were the only known means of his subsistence for a period of near four years, and we may suppose them hardly adequate to his wants, for, upon finding the balance of the account for the "Dictionary" against him, he quitted his house in Gough square, and took chambers in Gray's inn; and Mrs. Williams, upon this removal, fixed herself in lodgings at a boarding-school in the neighbourhood of their former dwelling.

About this time he had, from a friend who highly esteemed him,* the offer of a living, of which he might have rendered himself capable by entering into holy orders: it was a rectory, in a pleasant country, and of such a yearly value as might have tempted one in better circumstances than himself to accept it; but he had scruples about the duties of the ministerial function, that he could not, after deliberation, overcome. "I have not," said he, "the requisites for the office, and I cannot, in my conscience, shear that flock which I am unable to feed."—Upon conversing with him on that inability which was his reason for declining the offer, it was found to be a suspicion of his patience to undergo the fatigue of catechising and instructing a great number of poor ignorant persons, who, in religious matters, had, perhaps, every thing to learn.

Thus scrupulously did he think of the nature of the ministerial office, and thus did he testify the sincerity of those censures, which he would sometimes pass on the conduct of the generality of the clergy of his time; for though, as a body of men, he held them in great veneration, and was ever ready to defend them against the encroachments of some, and the reproaches of others of the ignorant laity, he exacted from all who had the cure of souls a punctilious

* Mr. Langton, of Langton in Lincolnshire, the father of his much beloved friend Bennet Langton, Esq; mentioned in the codicil to his will, and husband of the countess Dowager of Rothes.

discharge of their duty, and held in utter detestation those who, renouncing their garb and clerical character, affected to appear men of the world.

He thought of Dr. Clarke, whose sermons he valued above all other, that he complied too frequently with invitations to dine with persons of high rank, his parishioners, and spent too much of his time in ceremonious visits: differing in this respect from his contemporary Smalridge, the elegant Favonious of the "Tatler,"[501] who, in the height of his reputation as a preacher, was ever ready to visit a sick person in the most obscure alley of Westminster.

In the beginning of the year 1759, and while the "Idler" continued to be published, an event happened, for which it might be imagined he was well prepared, the death of his mother,[502] who had then attained the age of ninety; but he, whose mind had acquired no firmness by the contemplation of mortality, was as little able to sustain the shock as he would have been had this loss befallen him in his nonage. It is conjectured that, for many years before her decease, she derived almost the whole of her support from this her dutiful son, whose filial piety was ever one of the most distinguishable features in his character.* Report says, but rather vaguely, that, to supply her necessities in her last illness, he wrote and made money of his "Rasselas,"[503] a tale of his invention, numbered among the best of his writings, and published in the spring of 1759, a crisis that gives credit to such a supposition. No. 41 of the "Idler," though it pretends to be a letter to the author, was written by Johnson himself, on occasion of his mother's death, and may be supposed to describe, as truly as pathetically, his sentiments on the separation of friends and relations. The fact, respecting the writing and publishing the story of Rasselas is, that finding the Eastern Tales written by himself in the "Rambler," and by Hawkesworth in the "Adventurer," had been well received, he had been for some time meditating a fictitious history, of a greater extent than any that had appeared in either of those papers, which might serve as a vehicle to convey to the world his sentiments of human life and the dispensations of Providence, and having digested his thoughts on the subject, he obeyed the spur of that necessity which now pressed him, and sat down to compose the tale abovementioned, laying the scene of it in a country that he had before occasion to contemplate, in his translation of Padre Lobo's voyage.

As it was written to raise money, he did not long delay disposing of it; he gave it, as I have been told, to Mr. Baretti, to sell to that bookseller who would give most for it, but the sum he got for it is variously reported. As none of his compositions have been more applauded than this, an examen of it in this

* I find in his diary a note of the payment to Mr. Allen the printer, of six guineas, which he had borrowed of him, and sent to his dying mother.

place may be not improper, and the following may serve till a better shall appear.

Considered as a specimen of our language, it is scarcely to be paralleled; it is written in a style refined to a degree of immaculate purity, and displays the whole force of turgid eloquence.

But it was composed at a time when no spring like that in the mind of Rasselas urged his narrator; when the heavy hand of affliction almost bore him down, and the dread of future want haunted him. That he should have produced a tale fraught with lively imagery, or that he should have painted human life in gay colours, could not have been expected: he poured out his sorrow in gloomy reflection, and being destitute of comfort himself, described the world as nearly without it.

In a work of such latitude as this, where nothing could be impertinent, he had an opportunity of divulging his opinion on any point that he had thought on: he has therefore formed many conversations on topics that are known to have been subjects of his meditation, and has atoned for the paucity of his incidents by such discussions as are seldom attempted by the fabricators of romantic fiction.

Admitting that Johnson speaks in the person of the victor-disputant, we may, while he is unveiling the hearts of others, gain some knowledge of his own. He has in this Abyssinian tale given us what he calls a dissertation of poetry, and in it that which appears to me a recipe for making a poet, from which may be inferred what he thought the necessary ingredients, and a reference to the passage will tend to corroborate an observation of Mr. Garrick's, that Johnson's poetical faculty was mechanical, and that what he wrote came not from his heart but from his head. Imlac, the guide of the prince, relates to him the events of his life which are—That his father was a wealthy merchant, but a man of uncultivated intellects, who left the choice of a profession, with very little biass, to his son. The young man was disgusted with trade, and inclined to general learning; but finding, as he says, that poetry was considered as the highest learning, and regarded with veneration, he determined to become a poet. Ambition has seldom effected so stupendous a work as that of implanting poetic genius; but Imlac was resolved, and, if we may trust the account of his success, his design was not absurd: his industry was very commendable: he read all the poets of Arabia and Persia, and was able to repeat by memory the volumes that are suspended in the mosque of Mecca: he then ranged mountains and desarts, for images and resemblances, and pictured in his mind every tree of the forest and flower of the valley: an ample collection drawn from rocks, palaces, rivulets, clouds, &c. stored his mind, and with the

help of ethics, languages, and sciences, the resolute Imlac, who, till the age of twenty, had lived in ignorance, was by dint of mere industry transformed into a distinguished poet.

In the course of Imlac's narrative, Johnson animadverts on the supposed efficacy of pilgrimages: his argument decides nothing, but is conceived in such language, that none, how well acquainted soever with the book, will blame the insertion of it here.

"Pilgrimages, like many other acts of piety, may be reasonable or superstitious, according to the principles upon which they are performed. Long journeys in search of truth are not commanded. Truth, such as is necessary to the regulation of life, is always found where it is honestly sought. Change of place is no natural cause of the increase of piety, for it inevitably produces dissipation of mind. Yet, since men go every day to view the fields where great actions have been performed, and return with stronger impressions of the event, curiosity of the same kind may naturally dispose us to be in that country whence our religion had its beginning; and I believe no man surveys those awful scenes without some confirmation of holy resolutions. That the Supreme Being may be more easily propitiated in one place than in another, is the dream of idle superstition; but that some places may operate upon our own minds in an uncommon manner, is an opinion which hourly experience will justify. He who supposes that his vices may be more successfully combated in Palestine, will, perhaps, find himself mistaken, yet he may go thither without folly: he who thinks they will be more freely pardoned, dishonours at once his reason and religion."

In a following chapter the danger of insanity is the subject of debate; and it cannot but excite the pity of all those who gratefully accept and enjoy Johnson's endeavours to reform and instruct, to reflect that the peril he describes he believed impending over him. That he was conscious of superior talents will surely not be imputed to vanity: how deeply then must he have been depressed by the constant fear that in one moment he might and probably would be, not only deprived of his distinguished endowments, but reduced to a state little preferable, in as much as respects this world, to that of brutes! He has traced the misery of insanity from its cause to its effect, and seems to ascribe it to indulgence of imagination: he styles it one of the dangers of solitude; and perhaps to this dread and this opinion was his uncommon love of society to be attributed.

His superstitious ideas of the state of departed souls, and belief in supernatural agency, were produced by a mental disease, as impossible to be shaken off as corporal pain. What it has pleased Omnipotence to inflict, we

need never seek to excuse; but he has provided against the cavils of those who cannot comprehend how a wise can ever appear a weak man, by remarking, that there is a natural affinity between melancholy and superstition.

In characterising this performance, it cannot be said, that it vindicates the ways of God to man.[504] It is a general satire, representing mankind as eagerly pursuing what experience should have taught them they can never obtain: it exposes the weaknesses even of their laudable affections and propensities, and it resolves the mightiest as well as the most trivial of their labours into folly.

I wish I were not warranted in saying, that this elegant work is rendered, by its most obvious moral, of little benefit to the reader. We would not, indeed, wish to see the rising generation so unprofitably employed as the prince of Abyssinia; but it is equally impolitic to repress all hope, and he who should quit his father's house in search of a profession, and return unprovided, because he could not find any man pleased with his own, would need a better justification than that Johnson, after speculatively surveying various modes of life, had judged happiness unattainable, and choice useless.

But let those, who, reading "Rasselas" in the spring of life, are captivated by its author's eloquence, and convinced by his perspicacious wisdom that human life and hopes are such as he has depicted them, remember that he saw through the medium of adversity. The concurrent testimony of ages has, it is too true, proved, that there is no such thing as worldly felicity; but it has never been proved, that, therefore we are miserable. Those who look only here for happiness, have ever been and ever will be disappointed: it is not change of place, not even the unbounded gratification of their wishes, that can relieve them; but if they bend their attention towards the attainment of that felicity we are graciously promised, they will find no such vacuum as distressed Rasselas: the discharge of religious and social duties will afford their faculties the occupation he wanted, and the well-founded expectation of future reward will at once stimulate and support them.

The tale of Rasselas was written to answer a pressing necessity, and was so concluded as to admit of a continuation; and, in fact, Johnson had meditated a second part, in which he meant to marry his hero, and place him in a state of permanent felicity: but it fared with this resolution as it did with that of Dr. Young, who, in his estimate of human life, promised, as he had given the dark, so, in a future publication, he would display the bright side of his subject; he never did it, for he had found out that it had no bright side,[505] and Johnson had made much the same discovery, and that in this state of our existence all our enjoyments are fugacious,[506] and permanent felicity unattainable.

Soon after the publication of "Rasselas," and while he continued to write

the "Idler," Johnson was tempted to engage in a controversy on a subject with which, in the course of his studies, he had acquired but little knowledge, namely, the comparative strength of arches of different forms; the occasion of it was, that after the passing of the act of parliament for building Black-Friars bridge,[507] a variety of designs for it were tendered to the commissioners, who, after due consideration, reduced them to three. In two of these designs, the construction of the arches was semicircular; in the third, exhibited by Mr. Mylne a Scotsman, it was elliptical.

Whether Johnson thought that the author of this last proposal, as being a native of North Britain, merited to be treated as an intruder, or that he was induced by better motives to oppose his scheme, cannot be determined: this, at least, is certain, that he took up the resolution before he was qualified to debate the question, for I have it from undoubted authority, that, in order thereto, he procured from a person eminently skilled in mathematics and the principles of architecture, answers to a string of questions drawn up by himself, touching the comparative strength of semicircular and elliptical arches. These I myself have seen, and the answers determine in favour of the semicircular.

If the former of the considerations above suggested, was at any time, or in any degree, Johnson's motive for opposing Mr. Mylne, he ought to have reflected, that, at a period when we had no better architects than Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor,* James and Kent among us,† Campbell and Gibbs,‡ both Scotsmen, had adorned this country with some stately and elegant edifices; and if the latter was his inducement, he should have reflected, that his arguments were not his own, and so far as regards symmetry and correspondence of parts, how little he was qualified to judge of symmetry and the correspond-

* Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor had such ideas of beauty and harmony as have no archetypes in the material world: the latter, in an evil hour, was employed by the commissioners for building fifty new churches; as also by a parish in the city, St. Mary Woolnoth, in the re-edification of an old one, and has left his mark behind him in several parts of this kingdom.

† James and Kent were mere decorators, and could do little more than design a saloon, a gallery, or a screen. Kent pretended to history-painting, but was, after painting an altar piece or two, become so conscious of his deficiency, that he strove to render painted stair-cases unfashionable, by dividing them into compartments of stucco, ornamented with groups of fruits and flowers, with other plastic ornaments. He had, nevertheless, a fine taste in gardening, and introduced that style, which now prevails in this kingdom, and serves for a model to all Europe.

‡ Campbell and Gibbs were both men of genius; the former designed the best house in this kingdom, that at Wansted in Essex, built by the earl of Castlemain; the latter, St. Martin's church, and other edifices that are an honour to his memory.

ence of parts, whose eye was never capable of comprehending the dome of St. Paul's cathedral, or the towers of Westminster-abbey. However, armed as he is above said to have been, with reasons against Mr. Mylne's design, he began an attack on it in a letter to the publisher of the "Daily Gazeteer," inserted in that paper for the first day of December, 1759; and continued it in the succeeding papers of the eighth and fifteenth of the same month. To one or more of these letters, answers were published; in which it was contended, that at Florence there is a bridge that crosses the river Arno, of an elliptical form: but the argument drawn from thence, Johnson had refuted in his first letter, by observing, that the stability therefore is so much doubted, that carts are not permitted to pass over it, and that it has stood two hundred years without imitation. These, and many other arguments, as also the opinion of that excellent mathematician Mr. Thomas Simpson, were not of sufficient weight with the committee for building the bridge to recommend the semicircular arch; Mr. Mylne's design was preferred, and the arches are elliptical.

I have already remarked, that Johnson was unskilled in the science of architecture, and I might have added, that he was a stranger to the very rudiments of it. He could not else have failed to notice in the edifice here spoken of, one of the most egregious errors that ever disgraced a structure of its kind; columns disproportionate in the ratio between their heights and their diameters. The proportion of a column is taken from that of the human figure, which, at a medium, is in a man sesquioctave of the head, and in a woman sesquinonal.[508] The computation of columns by modules or diameters comes to much the same, and, according to Palladio, gives, to one of the Doric order, the masculine proportion of eight of those measures, and, to one of the Ionic, the feminine of nine.

Proportions, thus adjusted by nature, admit of no deviation; whenever that is attempted, deformity ensues, as is to be seen in the instance before us, where we behold a range of Ionic columns, level, it is true, at their bases, but rising from their due proportion at the extremities, in gradation, like the pipes in the front of an organ, to the central arch, where, instead of the proportion of a column, they assume that of a candle.*

It will perhaps be said, that the great elevation of the centre-arch required this preposterous elongation of the columns. To this it may be answered, that proportion is not to be wrested to bye-purposes, and that where beautiful forms cannot be introduced, they must be given up, and ornament yield place

* Columns thus disproportionate, but in a less degree, are also to be seen in the portico of the admiralty office, designed by Ripley, who, from a carpenter that kept a shop, and also a coffee-house, in Wood-street, Cheapside, by marrying a servant of a minister obtained a seat at the Board of Works.

to convenience. It is said, that the idea of columns standing on the piers of a bridge was suggested by a design of Piranesi, extant among his works, but without an assertion that he assumed the licence here reprobated. Should he in any instance be found to have done so, the example of a genius, so wildly magnificent as his, will weigh but little against the practice of Palladio, Scamozzi, Vignola, and, let me add, the earl of Pembroke, the architect of Westminster bridge, who, in all such emergencies as that insisted on, evaded the necessity of violating the rules of their art, by rejecting incongruous decorations, and trusted to the applause they should acquire by uniting levity and convenience with stability.

There are, it must be acknowledged, persons who are as blind to symmetry and the beauty of forms, as others are deaf to the harmony of according sounds who deny that there are any criteria by which we can discriminate beauty from deformity in one subject, and consonance from dissonance in the other, and who assert, that taste is capricious and has no standard, and that fancy is its own arbiter. Let such enjoy their ignorance, while we are engaged in an investigation of the principles into which the pleasure of the eye and ear are resolvable. The result of such an enquiry will be a thorough conviction, that all of what we understand by the terms symmetry and harmony has its foundation in mathematical ratios and proportions, that exist in all the modifications of matter, and are but emanations of that Power, which has ordered all things in number, weight, and measure.*

I forbear to remark the lesser errors in the construction of this edifice, such as the unwarrantable mutilation of the key-stones over the arches, and the injudicious position of the entablature of the balustrade: those I have pointed out may serve to shew, that the great encouragements given of late to the arts of design, have hitherto failed to call forth a genius in any degree comparable to those of former ages, Jones and Sir Christopher Wren; and that the citizens of London, in the meridian of its glory, having, with a view to eternize the memory of a favourite minister, erected an edifice, in which beauty and symmetry are in vain sought for, and called it by his name,† have thereby perpetuated their own disgrace, and subjected a whole nation to the reproach of foreigners.

* Of these the principal are the equal 1 to 1, the sesquilateral 2 to 3, the sesquitertian 3 to 4, and the duple 1 to 2, answering to the unison, the diapente, the diatessaron, and the diapason, the sweetest concords in music.[509]

† It is called Pitt's bridge, and the buildings adjacent to it, Chatham-place. Thirty years have not passed since the finishing it, and the whole edifice is become so ruinous, that the charge of repairing it is estimated at £10,000 so that it is highly probable that the passage over it will soon be subjected to a toll.

Neither the writing of his "Rasselas," nor the event of his mother's death, nor the bridge-controversy, stopped the hand of Johnson, nor interrupted the publication of the "Idler"; but the sale of the "Universal Chronicle," the vehicle that contained it, was in some degree obstructed by the practices of those literary depredators, who subsist by the labours of others, and whose conduct, with respect to the "Idler," the following paper, evidently drawn up by Johnson, will explain.

"London, January 5, 1759. Advertisement. The proprietors of the paper, entituled 'The Idler,' having found that those essays are inserted in the newspapers and magazines with so little regard to justice or decency, that the "Universal Chronicle," in which they first appear, is not always mentioned, think it necessary to declare to the publishers of those collections, that however patiently they have hitherto endured these injuries, made yet more injurious by contempt, they have now determined to endure them no longer. They have already seen essays, for which a very large price is paid, transferred, with the most shameless rapacity, into the weekly or monthly compilations, and their right, at least for the present, alienated from them, before they could themselves be said to enjoy it. But they would not willingly be thought to want tenderness, even for men by whom no tenderness hath been shewn. The past is without remedy, and shall be without resentment. But those who have been thus busy with their sickles in the fields of their neighbours, are henceforward to take notice, that the time of impunity is at an end. Whoever shall, without our leave, lay the hand of rapine upon our papers, is to expect that we shall vindicate our due, by the means which justice prescribes, and which are warranted by the immemorial prescriptions of honourable trade. We shall lay hold, in our turn, on their copies, degrade them from the pomp of wide margin and diffuse typography, contract them into a narrow space, and sell them at an humble price; yet not with a view of growing rich by confiscations, for we think not much better of money got by punishment than by crimes; we shall, therefore, when our losses are repaid, give what profit shall remain to the *Magdalens*; for we know not who can be more properly taxed for the support of penitent prostitutes, than prostitutes in whom there yet appears neither penitence nor shame."[510]

He continued this paper to the extent of one hundred and three numbers, and on Saturday the fifth day of April 1760, closed it with an essay, containing a solemn and very affecting contemplation on the words *this is the last*, in various significations. The concluding paragraph seems to have been written under the pressure of that melancholy, which almost incessantly afflicted him, heightened, perhaps, by the approach of a season of the year, to Christians the most solemn. The reflections, contained in it, are very serious, and

so elegantly expressed, that in the hope that the perusal of it will not prove contagious to the reader, I here give it at length.

"As the last 'Idler' is published in that solemn week which the Christian world has always set apart for the examination of the conscience, the review of life, the extinction of earthly desires, and the renovation of holy purposes; I hope that my readers are already disposed to view every incident with seriousness, and improve it by meditation; and that when they see their series of trifles brought to a conclusion, they will consider that, by outliving the 'Idler,' they have passed weeks, months, and years, which are now no longer in their power; that an end must in time be put to every thing great as to every thing little; that to life must come its last hour, and to this system of being, its last day; the hour at which probation ceases, and repentance will be in vain, the day in which every work of the hand, and imagination of the heart, shall be brought to judgment, and an everlasting futurity shall be determined by the past."[511]

The "Idler," taken as the title of a series of moral and oeconomical essays, is a designation that imports little; or rather, its most obvious meaning is a bad one. Johnson was at a loss for a fitter, but he could hit on no one that had not been pre-occupied. He chose an irony, and meant that his readers should understand by it just the reverse of what it signified; and, in this his intention, he was in little danger of being mistaken, or being charged with idleness by any of those whom he was labouring, by all the powers of reason and eloquence, to make wiser and better.

The plan and conduct of the "Idler" resembles so nearly that of the "Rambler" and "Adventurer," that what has been said of each of those publications might serve for a character of this, saving, that, in this latter, admission is given to a greater number of papers, calculated to entertain the mind with pleasing fictions, humourous characters, and varied representations of familiar life, than is to be found in either of the two former, the general effect whereof is, delight, too soon interrupted by their shortness. The second number of the "Idler" contains an invitation to correspondents, and it had the assistance of other hands; but I know but of three papers that can with certainty be said to have been written by any other than Johnson himself; one of the three is No. 67, by Mr. Langton; the other two, No. 76 and 79, are on the subject of painting, and, in an evening-hour when his pencil was at rest, were composed by Sir Joshua Reynolds. And here let me take notice, that in the publication of the "Idler," at least when it was collected into volumes, Johnson and Newbery were joint adventurers, and that they divided equally the profits arising from the sale thereof.

Of these essays, as also the "Rambler," and those in the "Adventurer,"

which Johnson wrote, little remains to be remarked, except that, notwithstanding the depth of thinking which they display, and nervous and elegant style in which they are penned, they were extemporaneous compositions, and hardly underwent a revision* before they were sent to the press. The original manuscripts of the "Rambler" have passed through my hands, and by the perusal of them I am warranted to say, as was said of Shakspeare by the players of his time, that he never blotted out a line; and I believe without the risque of that retort which Ben Jonson made to them, "Would he had blotted out a thousand!"[512]

Another circumstance, worthy of notice, is, that in the portraits of singular characters, that occur in the papers written by Johnson, the painting is so strong and lively, that some persons, then living, looking on them as resemblances of themselves, actually charged him with an intention to render them ridiculous, and were hardly appeased by his assurances that he copied no particular subject, but drew from archetypes which his observation had furnished, and his imagination had improved.

Johnson was now become so well known, and had by the "Rambler," and other of his writings, given such evidences, not only of great abilities, and of his skill in human life and manners, but of a sociable and benevolent disposition, that many became desirous of his acquaintance, and to this they were farther tempted by the character he had acquired of delighting in conversation, and being free and communicative in his discourse. He had removed, about the beginning of the year 1760, to chambers two doors down the Inner-Temple lane; and I have been told by his neighbour at the corner, that during the time he dwelt there, more enquiries were made at his shop for Mr. Johnson, than for all the inhabitants put together of both the Inner and Middle Temple. This circumstance in his life leads me to mention, that Richardson possessed, but in a less degree, the like powers of attraction, but they operated chiefly on young females, who, being desirous of instruction in the duties of life, were permitted by their parents and friends to visit and receive from him such lessons of prudence as he was ever ready and well qualified

* Of his facility in composition, and the rapidity with which he wrote for the press, here follows a few instances: Savage's life, containing a hundred and eighty octavo pages, was the work of thirty-six hours. He was wont to furnish for the "Gentleman's Magazine" three columns of the "Debates" in an hour, written, as myself can attest, in a character that almost any one might read. His preface to "The Preceptor," and his "Vision of Theodore," were each the work of one sitting, as was also the first seventy lines of his translation of the tenth satire of Juvenal, entitled, "The Vanity of Human Wishes"; and what is almost incredible, he never read his "Rasselas" but in the proofs which came to him from the press for correction.

to give them; and it is well known, that many ingenious young women, who resorted to his house as to an academy for tuition, became so improved by his conversation and his extemporary commentaries on his own writings, as afterwards to make a considerable figure in the literary world.* And here let me observe, that the benefits of oral instruction, joined with the perusal of such authors as we now put into female hands, may be estimated by the degree of mental improvement at which the sex is at this day arrived, which, as Johnson once remarked to me on receiving a lady's letter, is so great, that in that kind of composition, we who were their teachers, may learn of them.

From this propensity to discursive communication, in which Johnson and Richardson resembled each other, nothing more is to be understood, than that both took pleasure in that interchange of sentiments and opinions, which renders conversation instructive and delightful, for, in other respects, they were men of very different endowments and tempers. Richardson being bred to a mechanic occupation, had no learning, nor more reading than was sufficient to enable him to form a style easy and intelligible, and a little raised above that of vulgar narrative. His sentiments were his own, and of this he was so sensible, and also of the originality and importance of many of them, that he would ever be talking of his writings, and the words sentiment and sentimentality became, not only a part of the cant of his school, but were adopted by succeeding writers, and have been used to recommend to some readers sentimental journies, sentimental letters, sentimental sermons, and a world of trash, which, but for this silly epithet, would never have attracted notice.

Richardson's conversation was of the preceptive kind, but it wanted the diversity of Johnson's, and had no intermixture of wit and humour. Richardson could never relate a pleasant story, and hardly relish one told by another: he was ever thinking of his own writings, and listening to the praises which, with an emulous profusion, his friends were incessantly bestowing on them, he would scarce enter into free conversation with any one that he thought had not red "Clarissa," or "Sir Charles Grandison," and at best, he could not be said to be a companionable man.†

* See a poem in Fawkes and Woty's "Poetical Calendar," intitled "The Feminead,"[513] written by the Rev. Mr. Duncombe, late of Canterbury, deceased.

† I once travelled with him in the Fulham stage-coach, in which, at my getting in, I found him seated. I learned, by somewhat he said to the coachman, who he was, and made some essays toward conversation, but he seemed disinclined to any. There was one other passenger, who being a female, I was, in common civility, bound to take notice of; but my male companion I left to indulge himself in a reverie, which neither he nor I interrupted by the utterance of a single word, and lasted till he was set down at his house

Those who were unacquainted with Richardson, and had red his books, were led to believe, that they exhibited a picture of his own mind, and that his temper and domestic behaviour could not but correspond with that refined morality which they inculcate; but in this they were deceived. He was austere in the government of his family, and issued his orders to some of his servants in writing only. His nearest female relations, in the presence of strangers, were mutes, and seemed to me, in a visit I once made him, to have been disciplined in the school of Ben Jonson's Morose,[514] whose injunction to his servant was, "Answer me not but with your leg." In short, they appeared to have been taught to converse with him by signs; and it was too plain to me, that on his part, the most frequent of them were frowns and gesticulations, importing that they should leave his presence. I have heard it said, that he was what is called a nervous man; and how far nervosity,[515] with so good an understanding as he is allowed to have possessed, will excuse a conduct so opposite to that philanthropy which he laboured to inculcate, I cannot say: his benevolence might perhaps have taken another direction, and in other instances be very strong; for I was once a witness to his putting into the hand of Mr. Whiston the bookseller, ten guineas for the relief of one whom a sudden accident had made a widow.

Johnson's mind was never occupied on trifles; his speculations were grand and noble, his reading various and extensive, and, on some subjects, profound. As he professed always to speak in the best and most correct phrase, rejecting all such common and vulgar combinations of speech as are in use only till others equally affected and insignificant are invented, his conversation-style bore a great resemblance to that of his writings, so that, in his common discourse, he might seem to incur the censure which bishop Burnet casts on the lord chancellor Nottingham, of being too eloquent;[516] but so far were his hearers from thinking so, that many wished for the power of retaining as well the colloquial form as the substance of his conversations; and some there were, who to that end, in imitation of the "Colloquia Mensalia" of Luther, and the "Table-talk" of Selden, not to say of the books in *ana*,*[517] as they are called, made common-places of his sayings, his precepts, and his apophthegms; but the want of judgement in the selection of them, has rendered most of the collections of this kind, that I have ever seen, of little worth.

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on Parson's green. He had the courtesy to ask us in; but as our acquaintance had but lately commenced, and had received but little improvement in our journey, the civility was declined.

* There are the Menagiana, Parrahasiana, Huetiana, Scaligeriana, Naudaeana, Patiniana, Poggiana, Thuana, Perroniana, Pithaeana, Colomesiana, Sorberiana, Valesiana, and others less known.

Gesticular mimicry and buffoonery he hated, and would often huff Garrick for exercising it in his presence; but of the talent of humour he had an almost enviable portion. To describe the nature of this faculty, as he was wont to display it in his hours of mirth and relaxation, I must say, that it was ever of that arch and dry kind, which lies concealed under the appearance of gravity, and which acquiesces in an error for the purpose of refuting it.[518] Thus, in the "Rambler," No. 1, he tells his readers, very gravely, that it is one among many reasons for which he purposes to entertain his countrymen, that he hopes not much to tire those whom he shall not happen to please, and if he is not commended for the beauty of his works, to be at least pardoned for their brevity. "But whether," adds he, "my expectations are most fixed on pardon or praise, I think it not necessary to discover."—And in the "Idler," No. 3, he suggests consolation against the dread of an imaginary evil founded on false philosophy, by admitting, that, though certain, it is remote. The passage would be injured by contraction, and I therefore give it at length.

"Many philosophers imagine, that the elements themselves may in time be exhausted; that the sun, by shining long, will effuse all its light; and that by the continual waste of aqueous particles, the whole earth will at last become a sandy desart.

"I would not advise my readers to disturb themselves by contriving how they shall live without light and water; for the days of universal thirst and perpetual darkness are at a great distance. The ocean and the sun will last our time, and we may leave posterity to shift for themselves.

"But if the stores of nature are limited, much more narrow bounds must be set to the modes of life; and mankind may want a moral or amusing paper many years before they shall be deprived of drink or day-light. This want, which to the busy and inventive may seem easily remediable by some substitute or other, the whole race of idlers will feel with all the sensibility that all such torpid animals can suffer."

A friend of his used often to visit him,[519] who, though a man of learning and great good sense, had a style of conversing peculiarly eloquent and verbose, as to be sometimes unintelligible: Johnson had a mind one day to give me a specimen of it, and assuming his manner, he, in a connected speech on a familiar subject, uttered a succession of sentences, in language resembling the style of metaphysics, but, though fluent, so obscured by parentheses and other involutions, that I was unable to collect from it a single idea. After he had for five minutes continued this gibberish, he said, "This is the manner in which **** entertains me whenever he comes here."

In the same vein of humour he once ridiculed Hervey's "Meditations on a

Flower-garden" and other subjects, in the following extemporaneous reflections on a pudding:

"Let us seriously reflect on what a pudding is composed of. It is composed of flour that once waved in the golden grain, and drank the dews of the morning—of milk pressed from the swelling udder by the gentle hand of the beauteous milk-maid, whose beauty and innocence might have recommended a worse draught; who, whilst she stroked the udder, indulged no ambitious thoughts of dwelling in palaces, and formed no schemes for the destruction of her fellow-creatures—milk which is drawn from the cow, that useful animal, that eats the grass of the field, and supplies us with that which made the greatest part of the food of that age, which the poets have agreed to call golden.

"It is made with an egg, that miracle of nature, which the theoretical Burnet has compared to creation—an egg that contains water within its beautiful smooth surface, and an unformed mass which, by the incubation of the parent, becomes a regular animal, furnished with bones and sinews, and covered with feathers.

"Let us consider—can there be any thing wanting to complete this meditation on a pudding—if more is wanting, more may be found. It contains salt, which preserves the sea from putrefaction; salt, which is made the image of intellectual excellence, contributes to the formation of a pudding."[520]

He excelled also in the talent of burlesque versification,[521] and upon occasion of a discourse at Sir Joshua Reynolds's on Dr. Percy's "Reliques of ancient English poetry," in which the beautiful simplicity of many of the ballads therein contained was remarked with some exaggeration, Johnson contended, that what was called simplicity was, in truth, inanity; and, to illustrate his argument, and ridicule that kind of poetry, uttered the following impromptu:

"As with my hat upon my head,
  I walk'd along the Strand,
I there did meet another man,
  With his hat in his hand."

And it being at a tea-conversation, he, addressing himself to Miss Reynolds, went on rhyming thus:

"I pray thee, gentle Renny dear,
  That thou wilt give to me,
With cream and sugar temper'd well,
  Another dish of tea.

Nor fear that I, my gentle maid,
  Shall long detain the cup,
When once unto the bottom I
  Have drank the liquor up.

Yet hear, at last, this mournful truth,
  Nor hear it with a frown,
Thou canst not make the tea so fast,
  As I can gulp it down."

With these powers of instructing and delighting those with whom he conversed, it is no wonder that the acquaintance of Johnson was sought by many; and I will not say, either that he set so great a value on his time, as not to be accessible to all who wished for the pleasure of it, or that his vanity was not gratified by the visits of bishops, courtiers, senators, scholars, travellers, and women.

In his conversation with the last in this enumeration, he had such a felicity as would put vulgar gallantry out of countenance. Of the female mind, he conceived a higher opinion than many men, and though he was never suspected of a blameable intimacy with any individual of them, had great esteem for the sex. The defect in his powers of sight rendered him totally insensible to the charms of beauty; but he knew that beauty was the attribute of the sex, and treated all women with such an equable complacency, as flattered every one into a belief, that she had her share of that or some more valuable endowment. In his discourses with them, his compliments had ever a neat and elegant turn; they were never direct, but always implied the merit they were intended to attest.

In this enjoyment of himself and his friends, his engagements to the public were forgotten: his critical talents lay dormant, and not any, nor all of those who wished to see his Shakespeare, could rouse his attention to the prosecution of that work; yet was he ready, at the call of almost any one, to assist, either by correction, or by a preface, or dedication, in the publication of works not his own. Dr. Madden, so well known by his premiums for the encouragement of Protestant working schools in Ireland, and other instances of beneficence in favour of that country, in the year 1745 published a panegyrical poem on archbishop Boulter;[522] some years after, being minded to re-publish it, he submitted it to Johnson's correction, and I found among his books a copy of the poem, with a note, in a spare leaf thereof, purporting, that the author had made him a visit, and, for a very few remarks and alterations of it, had presented him with ten guineas. Such casual emoluments as these Johnson frequently derived from his profession of an author. For the dedication to

his present Majesty, of Adams's book on the Use of the Globes,[523] he was, as himself informed me, gratified with a present of a very curious meteorological instrument, of a new and ingenious construction.

About this time, as it is supposed, he, for sundry beneficed clergyman that requested him, composed pulpit discourses,* and for these, he made no scruple of confessing, he was paid: his price, I am informed, was a moderate one, two guineas; and such was his notion of justice, that having been paid, he considered them so absolutely the property of the purchaser, as to renounce all claim to them. He reckoned that he had written about forty sermons; but, except as to some, knew not in what hands they were—"I have," said he, "been paid for them, and have no right to enquire about them."†

I have now brought him to the year 1760,[524] the fifty-first of his age. He had nothing to depend on for subsistence but the labour of his brain; and that apprehension, touching the duration of his rational powers, which throughout his life haunted him, increased the terrors of approaching age. The accession of our present gracious sovereign to the throne, and the bounty exercised by him towards Johnson, dispelled this gloomy prospect, and placed him

* The practice of preaching sermons composed by others is now become so common, that many of the clergy scruple not to avow it, and think themselves justified by the authority of Mr. Addison, who in one of his "Spectators"[525] has very incautiously given countenance thereto, and put into the mouths not only of such clergymen as are *minus idonei*, but of such as, contrary to their engagement at their ordination, instead of being *diligent in*, are negligent of, *such studies as help to the knowledge of the scriptures*, a perpetual apology for ignorance and idleness; for, as long as they chuse to say there are better discourses extant, or to be procured, than they are able to make, the excuse will hold them; and accordingly many are not ashamed to claim the benefit of it, who have nothing to plead but what is an aggravation of their neglect; to which it may be added, that as it is an assumption of the merit of another, the practice is unjust, and, as it leads to a belief of that which is not true, in a high degree immoral.

† Myself have heard, in the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, sundry sermons, which I and many others judged, by the sentiments, style, and method, to be of his composition; one in particular, Johnson being present. The next visit I made him, I told him that I had seen him at St. Margaret's on the preceding Sunday, and that it was he who then preached. He heard me, and did not deny either assertion, which, if either had not been true, he certainly would have done. In his diary I find the following note: "77, Sept. 21. Concio pro Tayloro."[526]

As a contrast to the practice above reprobated, and an instance of conscientious sedulity in the discharge of the pastoral function, I here oppose the example of the late Dr. Thomas Gibbons, the dissenting teacher; who, upon a visit I once made him, took me into his library, and shewed me a press that contained the sermons, in manuscript, composed by him, during his ministry of forty years, amounting to near nineteen hundred.

in such a state of affluence as his utmost industry would hardly ever have enabled him to arrive at. Lord Bute was the minister at the time, and the person employed to notify to Johnson his Majesty's intention to reward him for his literary labours with a pension of £300 a year, was his friend Mr. Murphy. Upon receiving the news, Johnson was in doubt what answer to return, being, perhaps, disturbed with the reflection, that whatever he might deserve from the public, he had very little claim to the favour of any of the descendants of the house of Hanover; and desired that Mr. Murphy would give him till next day to deliberate upon a message so unexpected. At the end thereof he signified his willingness to accept it.

It was, by Johnson and his friends, thought fit, that he should return thanks for this distinguishing mark of the royal favour, and that lord Bute, who may be supposed to have been instrumental in procuring it, was the proper person to convey them. Accordingly, he waited on his lordship for the purpose, and, being admitted to him, testified his sense of the obligations; by having done this, he thought he had done enough, and never after could be prevailed on to knock at his door.

He had now suffered himself to be enrolled in the list of pensioners, and was become obnoxious to the censures of those, who, looking upon a perpetual enmity to government and its ministers as a proof of public virtue, endeavoured to have it believed, that all favours dispensed by the crown, even when meant as the rewards of merit, or the encouragement of learning, of ingenuity, or industry, were but the wages of iniquity. Johnson, it is true, had laid himself open to reproach, by his interpretation of the word Pension in his "Dictionary,"[527] written, it is evident, at a time when his political prejudices were strongest, and he found himself in a predicament similar to that of Dr. Sherlock, who, at the Revolution, was a non-juror to king William, but, after deliberating on his refusal as a case of conscience, took the side that made for his interest, but against his reputation. But who, except the Great Searcher of Hearts, can know, that in the case of Sherlock or Johnson, either made a sacrifice of his conscience? Or, seeing that the grant of Johnson's pension was confessedly unconditional, and bound him neither to the renunciation of any of his political principles, nor the exercise of his pen in the defence of any set of men or series of measures, who will have the face to say, that his acceptance of it was criminal; or that it was in the power of any one to pervert the integrity of a man, who, in the time of his necessity, had, from scruples of his own raising, declined the offer of a valuable ecclesiastical preferment, and thereby renounced an independent provision for the whole of his life?

It is yet difficult, if not impossible, to justify Johnson, both in the interpretation given by him of the word Pension, and in his becoming a pensioner: in

one instance or the other he was wrong, and either his discretion or integrity must be given up: in the former, he seems, in some of his actions, to have been wanting, in the latter never: not only charity, but reason, therefore, directs us in the opinion we are to form of an act which has drawn censure on his conduct, and proves nothing more than that he was not equally wise at all times.*

The addition of three hundred pounds a year, to what Johnson was able to earn by the ordinary exercise of his talents, raised him to a state of comparative affluence, and afforded him the means of assisting many whose real or pretended wants had formerly excited his compassion. He now practised a rule which he often recommended to his friends, always to go abroad with a quantity of loose money to give to beggars, imitating therein, though I am confident without intending it, that good but weak man, old Mr. Whiston, whom I have seen distributing, in the streets of London, money to beggars on each hand of him, till his pocket was nearly exhausted.

He had, early in his life, been a dabbler in physic, and laboured under some secret bodily infirmities that gave him occasion once to say to me, that he knew not what it was to be totally free from pain. He now drew into a closer intimacy with him a man, with whom he had been acquainted from the year 1746, one of the lowest practitioners in the art of healing that ever sought a livelihood by it: him he consulted in all that related to his health, and made so necessary to him as hardly to be able to live without him.

The name of this person was Robert Levett.[528] An account of him is given in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for February 1785: an earlier than that, I have now lying before me, in a letter from a person in the country to Johnson, written in answer to one in which he had desired to be informed of some particulars respecting his friend Levett, then lately deceased. The substance of this information is as follows:

He was born at Kirk Ella, a parish about five miles distant from Hull, and lived with his parents till about twenty years of age. He had acquired some knowledge of the Latin language, and had a propensity to learning, which his

* Some of Johnson's friends, and all his enemies, would have been glad had he imitated the conduct of Andrew Marvell, who, in the reign of Charles II. upon the offer of any post under the government that would please him, and of a thousand pounds in money, made him in a message from the king by the earl of Danby at a time when he wanted a guinea, refused both. But Johnson had no reason to practise such self-denial. Marvell, to be grateful, must have deserted his principles, and acquiesced in the measures of a corrupt court. Johnson, on the contrary, was in no danger, during such a reign as is the present, of being required to make a sacrifice of his conscience, and, being thus at liberty, he accepted the bounty of his sovereign.

parents not being able to gratify, he went to live as a shopman with a woollen-draper at Hull: with him he stayed two years, during which time he learned from a neighbour of his master somewhat of the practice of physic: at the end thereof he came to London, with a view possibly to improve himself in that profession; but by some strange accident was led to pursue another course, and became steward, or some other upper servant, to the then lord Cardigan [or Cadogan]; and having saved some money, he took a resolution to travel, and visited France and Italy for the purpose, as his letters mention, of gaining experience with physic, and, returning to London with a valuable library which he had collected abroad, placed one of his brothers apprentice to a mathematical-instrument maker, and provided for the education of another. After this he went to Paris, and, for improvement, attended the hospitals in that city. At the end of five years he returned to England, and taking lodgings in the house of an attorney in Northumberland court, near Charing cross, he became a practicer of physic. The letter adds, that he was about seventy-eight at the time of his death.

The account of Levett in the "Gentleman's Magazine" is anonymous; I nevertheless give it verbatim, and mean hereafter to insert a letter of Johnson's to Dr. Lawrence, notifying his death, and stanzas of his writing on that occasion.

"Mr Levett, though an Englishman by birth, became early in life a waiter at a coffee-house in Paris. The surgeons who frequented it, finding him of an inquisitive turn, and attentive to their conversation, made a purse for him, and gave him some instructions in their art. They afterwards furnished him with the means of other knowledge, by procuring him free admission to such lectures in pharmacy and anatomy as were read by the ablest professors of that period. Hence his introduction to a business, which afforded him a continual, though slender maintenance. Where the middle part of his life was spent, is uncertain. He resided, however, above twenty years under the roof of Johnson, who never wished him to be regarded as an inferior, or treated him like a dependent.* He breakfasted with the doctor every morning, and perhaps was seen no more by him till mid-night. Much of the day was employed in attendance on his patients, who were chiefly of the lowest rank of tradesmen. The remainder of his hours he dedicated to Hunter's lectures, and to as many different opportunities of improvement, as he could meet with on the same gratuitous conditions. 'All his medical knowledge,' said

* Dr. Johnson has frequently observed, that Levett was indebted to him for nothing more than house-room, his share in a penny loaf at breakfast, and now and then a dinner on a Sunday.

Johnson, 'and it is not inconsiderable,* was obtained through the ear. Though he buys books, he seldom looks into them, or discovers any power by which he can be supposed to judge of an author's merit.'

"Before he became a constant inmate of the doctor's house, he married, when he was near sixty, a woman of the town, who had persuaded him (notwithstanding their place of congress was a small-coal shed in Fetter-lane) that she was nearly related to a man of fortune, but was injuriously kept by him out of large possessions. It is almost needless to add, that both parties were disappointed in their views. If Levett took her for an heiress, who in time might be rich, she regarded him as a physician already in considerable practice.—Compared with the marvels of this transaction, as Johnson himself declared when relating them, the tales in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments seem familiar occurrences. Never was infant more completely duped than our hero. He had not been married four months, before a writ was taken out against him, for debts incurred by his wife.——He was secreted, and his friend then procured him protection from a foreign minister. In a short time afterwards, she ran away from him, and was tried, providentially, in his opinion, for picking pockets at the Old Bailey. Her husband was, with difficulty, prevented from attending the court, in the hope she would be hanged. She pleaded her own cause, and was acquitted; a separation between this ill-starred couple took place; and Dr. Johnson then took Levett home, where he continued till his death, which happened suddenly, without pain, Jan. 17, 1782. His vanity in supposing that a young woman of family and fortune should be enamoured of him, Dr. Johnson thought, deserved some check.—As no relations of his were known to Dr. Johnson, he advertised for them. In the course of a few weeks an heir at law appeared, and ascertained his title to what effects the deceased had left behind him.

"Levett's character was rendered valuable by repeated proof of honesty, tenderness, and gratitude to his benefactor, as well as by an unwearied diligence in his possession.—His single failing was, an occasional departure from sobriety. Johnson would observe, he was, perhaps, the only man who ever became intoxicated through motives of prudence. He reflected, that if he refused the gin or brandy offered him by some of his patients, he could have been no gainer by their cure, as they might have had nothing else to bestow on him. This habit of taking a fee, in whatever shape it was exhibited, could not be put off by advice or admonition of any kind. He would swallow what he did not like, nay, what he knew would injure him, rather than go home

* He had acted for many years in the capacity of surgeon and apothecary to Johnson, under the direction of Dr. Lawrence.[529]

with an idea, that his skill had been exerted without recompense. 'Had (said Johnson) all his patients maliciously combined to reward him with meat and strong liquors instead of money, he would either have burst, like the dragon in the apocrypha, through repletion, or been scorched up, like Portia, by swallowing fire.' But let not from hence an imputation of rapaciousness be fixed upon him. Though he took all that was offered him, he demanded nothing from the poor, nor was known in any instance to have enforced the payment of even what was justly his due.

"His person was middle-sized and thin; his visage swarthy, adust and corrugated. His conversation, except on professional subjects, barren. When in deshabille, he might have been mistaken for an alchemist, whose complexion had been hurt by the fumes of the crucible, and whose clothes had suffered from the sparks of the furnace.

"Such was Levett, whose whimsical frailty, if weighed against his good and useful qualities, was

"A floating atom, dust that falls unheeded
Into the adverse scale, nor shakes the balance."

"Irene."

To this character I here add as a supplement to it, a dictum of Johnson respecting Levett, viz. that his external appearance and behaviour was such, that he disgusted the rich, and terrified the poor.

But notwithstanding all these offensive particulars, Johnson, whose credulity in some instances was as great as his incredulity in others, conceived of him as of a skilful medical professor, and thought himself happy in having so near his person one who was to him, not solely a physician, a surgeon, or an apothecary, but all. In extraordinary cases he, however, availed himself of the assistance of his valued friend Dr. Lawrence, a man of whom, in respect of his piety, learning, and skill in his profession, it may almost be said, the world was not worthy, inasmuch as it suffered his talents, for the whole of his life, to remain, in a great measure, unemployed, and himself to end his days in sorrow and obscurity.

Of this person, with whom I was for many years acquainted, but who is now no more, gratitude for the benefits which myself and one most dear to me have derived from his skill and attention, obliges me to speak with reverence and respect. He was a native of Westminster, and having ended his studies at Oxford, came to London about the year 1734, at which time Dr. Frank Nicholls had attained great reputation for skill in anatomy. To complete them, he became a pupil of his, in that branch of medical science, and

upon Nicholls's discontinuing to read lectures therein, which he had for several years done with great applause, Dr. Lawrence took them up, and had many hearers, till Hunter, a surgeon, arrived from Scotland, who, settling in London, became his rival in the same practice, and having the advantage of Dr. Lawrence, in his manner of enunciating, together with the assistance and support of all his countrymen in this kingdom, and, moreover, being a man whose skill in his art was equal to his pretensions, he became a favourite with the leading men in the practice of physic, and in a few winters drew to him such a resort of pupils, as induced Dr. Lawrence to give up lecturing, and betake himself to the general exercise of his profession.

In his endeavours to attain to eminence, it was his misfortune to fail: he was above those arts by which popularity is acquired, and had besides some personal defects and habits which stood in his way; a vacuity of countenance very unfavourable to an opinion of his learning or sagacity, and certain convulsive motions of the head and features that gave pain to the beholders, and drew off attention to all that he said.*

He delighted much in naval architecture, and was able with his own hands, and a variety of tools of his own contrivance, to form a model of a ship of war of any rate; first framing it with ribs and such other timbers as are requisite in a ship for service, and afterwards covering it with planks of the thickness of a half-crown piece, and the breadth of about an inch, which he fastened to the ribs with wooden pins of a proportionable size, and in this manner of working he completed many such models, elegantly wrought and most beautiful in their forms. He was also a lover of music, and was able to play his part in concert on the violoncello† till hindered by deafness, a disorder that came upon him about the middle of his life, and at length drove him to seek a retreat from the world and all its cares at Canterbury, where, about the year

* It will hardly be believed, how much such particularities as these obstruct the progress of one who is to make his way in a profession: a stammering, or a bad articulation, spoil an orator, and a disgusting appearance hurts a physician. Pemberton, the Gresham professor, a great man in his time, was consigned to indigence, by a habit of distorting the muscles of his face, which was become irresistible.

† He had a younger brother named Charles, a solicitor of great practice, who also played on the violoncello, and, having been a pupil on that instrument, of Caporale, was the best performer on it of any gentleman in England. About the year 1740, I was used to meet both the brothers at a tavern in Gracechurch-street, where was a private concert, to which none but such as could join in it were admitted. Many of those who frequented it were great masters, namely, Mr. Stanley, who played the first violin, the above Sig. Caporale, Vincent the hautboy player, and Balicourt, who performed on the German flute: the rest were organists and gentlemen performers.

1783, he died. To console him under some family disappointments, Johnson addressed to him a fine Latin ode, which is inserted in his works.

He wrote the life of his friend Dr. Nicholls, in very elegant Latin, but it was never published; his sole design in printing it being to gratify those of his own profession. In the same language he wrote the Life of Dr. William Harvey, prefixed to an edition of his works, published by the College of Physicians in 1766, in one volume 4to.

The sincere and lasting friendship that subsisted between Johnson and Levett, may serve to shew, that although a similarity of dispositions and qualities has a tendency to beget affection, or something very nearly resembling it, it may be contracted and subsist where this inducement is wanting; for hardly were ever two men less like each other, in this respect, than were they. Levett had not an understanding capable of comprehending the talents of Johnson: the mind of Johnson was therefore, as to him, a blank; and Johnson, had the eye of his mind been more penetrating than it was, could not discern, what did not exist, any particulars in Levett's character that at all resembled his own. He had no learning, and consequently was an unfit companion for a learned man; and though it may be said, that having lived some years abroad, he must have seen and remarked many things that would have afforded entertainment in the relation, this advantage was counterbalanced by an utter inability for continued conversation, taciturnity being one of the most obvious features in his character: the consideration of all which particulars almost impels me to say, that Levett admired Johnson because others admired him, and that Johnson in pity loved Levett, because few others could find any thing in him to love.

And here I cannot forbear remarking, that, almost throughout his life, poverty and distressed circumstances seemed to be the strongest of all recommendations to his favour. When asked by one of his most intimate friends,[530] how he could bear to be surrounded by such necessitous and undeserving people as he had about him, his answer was, "If I did not assist them no one else would, and they must be lost for want." Among many others whom he thus patronized, was a worthless fellow, a dancing-master by profession, and an assistant in teaching to the famous Noverre the favourite of Mr. Garrick. This man, notwithstanding the nature of his employment, which was a genteel one, and led to no such connections, delighted in the company and conversation of marshal's-court attornies, and of bailiffs and their followers, and others of a lower class, sharpers and swindlers, who, when they had made him drunk, would get him to sign notes and engagements of various kinds, which, he not being able to discharge, they had him arrested upon, and this was so frequently the case, that much of his time was passed in confine-

ment. His wife, through Mrs. Williams, got at Johnson and told him her tale, which was, that her husband was, at that instant, detained for a small debt in a spunging-house, and he conceiving it to be a piteous one, and an additional proof that in human life the evil accidents outnumber the good, sent her to me for advice. I heard her story, and learned from it, that all the merit of the fellow lay in his heels, that he had neither principle nor discretion, and, in short, was a cully,[531] the dupe of every one that would make him drunk. I therefore dismissed her with a message to Johnson to this effect: that her husband made it impossible for his friends to help him, and must submit to his destiny. When I next saw Johnson, I told him that there seemed to be as exact a fitness between the character of this man and his associates, as is between the web of a spider and the wings of a fly, and I could not but think he was born to be cheated. Johnson seemed to acquiesce in my opinion; but I believe, before that, had set him at liberty by paying the debt.

Another of Johnson's distressed friends was Mr. Edmund Southwell, a younger brother of Thomas lord Southwell, of the kingdom of Ireland. This gentleman, having no patrimony, was, in his younger days, a cornet of horse; but having in a duel, into which he was forced, slain his antagonist, he quitted the service, and trusted to Providence for a support. He was a man of wonderful parts, of lively and entertaining conversation, and well acquainted with the world; he was also a brother in affliction with Johnson, that is to say, he laboured under a depression of mind, occasioned by the misadventure above-mentioned, that often approached to insanity. Being without employment, his practice was to wander about the streets of London, and call in at such coffee-houses, for instance, the Smyrna and Cocoa-tree in Pall-Mall, and Child's and Batson's in the city, as were frequented by men of intelligence, or where any thing like conversation was going forward: in these he found means to make friends, from whom he derived a precarious support. In the city he was so well known, and so much beloved and pitied, that many, by private donations, relieved his wants. In particular, Sir Robert Ladbroke, an alderman thereof, and a man of opulence, made him frequent presents of money to supply his necessities; and Mr. Bates, the master of the Queen's-arms tavern in St. Paul's church-yard, suffered him, as often as he pleased, to add to an ideal account subsisting between them, the expence of a dinner. A gentleman of great worth in the city, who knew and pitied his distresses, procured, unknown to him, from a lady famous for her beneficence, a pension of a hundred pounds a year, which he lived but few years to receive.

Johnson was a great lover of penitents, and of all such men as, in their conversation, made professions of piety; of this man he would say, that he was one of the most pious of all his acquaintance, but in this, as he frequently

was in the judgment he formed of others, he was mistaken. It is possible that Southwell might, in his conversation, express such sentiments of religion and moral obligation, as served to shew that he was not an infidel, but he seldom went sober to-bed, and as seldom rose from it before noon.

He was also an admirer of such as he thought well-bred men. What was his notion of good breeding I could never learn. If it was not courtesy and affability, it could to him be nothing; for he was an incompetent judge of graceful attitudes and motions, and of the ritual of behaviour. Of lord Southwell, the brother of the above person, and of Tom Hervey,[532] a profligate, worthless man, the author of the letter to Sir Thomas Hanmer, and who had nothing in his external appearance that could in the least recommend him, he was used to say, they were each of them a model for the first man of quality in the kingdom. In this method of estimating behaviour, he seemed to think that good breeding is a faculty, which, like fencing, dancing, and other bodily exercises, must be learned before they can be practised; whereas, it is obvious, that this quality is nothing more than artificial benevolence, and that politeness, which it is the employment of the instructors of youth to teach, is but a substitute for those dispositions of mind, which, whoever possesses, and takes care to cultivate, will have very little need of foreign assistance in the forming of his manners.

He once mentioned to me a saying of Dr. Nicholls, and highly commended it, viz. that it was a point of wisdom to form intimacies, and to choose for our friends only persons of known worth and integrity; and that to do so had been the rule of his life. It is, therefore, difficult, to account for the conduct of Johnson in the choice of many of his associates, and particularly of those who, when his circumstances became easy, he suffered to intrude on him. Of these he had some at bed and board, who had elbowed through the world, and subsisted by lying, begging, and shifting; all which he knew, but seemed to think never the worse of them. In his endeavours to promote the interests of people of this class, he, in some instances, went such lengths as were hardly consistent with that integrity, which he manifested on all other occasions; for he would frequently, by letters, recommend those to credit, who could obtain it by no other means, and thereby enabled them to contract debts which he had good reason to suspect, if they ever could, they would never pay.

These connections exposed him to trouble and incessant solicitation, which he bore well enough; but his inmates were enemies to peace, and occasioned him great disquiet: the jealousy that subsisted among them rendered his dwellings irksome to him, and he seldom approached it, after an evening's conversation abroad, but with the dread of finding it a scene of discord, and of having his ears filled with the complaints of Mrs. Williams of Frank's neglect

of his duty and inattention to the interests of his master, and of Frank against Mrs. Williams, for the authority she assumed over him, and exercised with an unwarrantable severity. Even those intruders who had taken shelter under his roof, and who, in his absence from home, brought thither their children, found cause to murmur; their provision of food was scanty, or their dinners ill dressed; all which he chose to endure rather than put an end to their clamours, by ridding his house of such thankless and troublesome guests. Nay, so insensible was he of the ingratitude of those whom he suffered thus to hang on him, and among whom he may be said to have divided an income which was little more than sufficient for his own support, that he would submit to reproach and personal affront from some of them; even Levett would sometimes insult him, and Mrs. Williams, in her paroxysms of rage, has been known to drive him from her presence.

Who, that reflects on Johnson's pusillanimity in these instances, can reconcile it to that spirit which prompted him, or with those endowments which enabled him to maintain a superiority over all with whom he conversed? or to that seeming ferocity of temper that gave occasion to some to consider him as an animal not to be approached without terror? or account for the inconsistency above noted, otherwise than by resolving it into those principles that dictated patience, under all the provocations of a female tongue, to Socrates? In truth, there was more asperity in his manner of expression than in his natural disposition; for I have heard that, in many instances, and in some with tears in his eyes, he has apologized to those whom he had offended by contradiction or roughness of behaviour.

To this inconsistency of character it must be imputed, that he failed to attract reverence and respect from those who lived in greatest intimacy with him. There was wanting in his conduct and behaviour that dignity which results from a regular and orderly course of action, and by an irresistible power commands esteem. He could not be said to be a stayed man, nor so to have adjusted in his mind the balance of reason and passion, as to give occasion to say, what may be observed of some men, that all they do is just, fit, and right: and although he was strict, and even punctilious, in the practice of the great duties of morality, he trusted but little to his domestic conduct, to his method of employing his time, and governing his family, for the good opinion he wished the world to entertain of him, but, in these particulars, gave way to the love of ease, and to self-indulgence, little regarding, in his own practice, those counsels of prudence, those oeconomical maxims, and those reflections on the shortness of human life, with which his writings abound. To a lady, who signified a great desire to increase her acquaintance with authors,

conceiving that more might be learned from their conversation and manner of living, than from their works—"Madam," said he, "the best part of an author will always be found in his writings."[533]—And to a person, who once said he paid little regard to those writers on religion or morality, whose practice corresponded not with their precepts, he imputed a want of knowledge of mankind, saying, it was gross ignorance in him not to know, that good principles and an irregular life were consistent with each other.

This was a secret which, without much mischief, might have been revealed in conversation, but Johnson has thought fit to send it abroad in the fourteenth number of the "Rambler," with this apology:

"We are not to wonder that most fail, amidst tumult, and snares, and dangers, in the observance of those precepts which they lay down in solitude, safety, and tranquillity, with a mind unbiassed, and with liberty unobstructed. It is the condition of our present state to see more than we can attain; the exactest vigilance and caution can never maintain a single day of innocence, much less can the utmost efforts of incorporated mind reach the summits of speculative virtue."

He farther says, "It is recorded of Sir Matthew Hale, that he, for a long time, concealed the consecration of himself to the stricter duties of religion, lest, by some flagitious and shameful action, he should bring piety into disgrace";* and upon this his conduct he suggests, that "it may be prudent for a writer, who apprehends that he shall not enforce his own maxims by his domestic character, to conceal his name that he may not injure them."

In this passage, Johnson seems to prepare his readers for that contrariety which is often observed between the lives of authors and their writings, or, which is much the same, between perceptive and practical wisdom and virtue, as if they were scarcely consistent with each other; whereas, had his acquaintance lain, at this time, as in the latter part of his life it did, with persons of rank and condition, he might have formed different notions on the subject,

* This kind of timidity surely stands in need of some excuse; for what would become of the world were all religious men subjected by the same fear? or how would that precept be obeyed, which requires us to let our light so shine, as that men may see our good works?[534] Men in conspicuous stations of life, and, in particular, magistrates, are under the strongest obligations to favour and support the cause of religion, so it be done without ostentation. And in private life our duty requires, that the fear of being thought weak or superstitious should never deter us from making an open profession of our faith. He, that in his study affects to be found with a Bible before him, may be justly suspected of hypocrisy; but he that, upon the approach of a friend, conveys it away, is guilty of meanness, and, of the two, the greater criminal.

and been convinced, that all ages, and even the present, have afforded examples of men, in whom learning and parts, and even wit, were but auxiliaries to qualities more estimable.*

The above facts and observations are meant to shew some of the most conspicuous features and foibles in Johnson's character, and go to prove, not only that his ferocity was not so terrific, as that any one endued with temper, and disposed to moderation and forbearance, might not only withstand, but overcome it, but that he had a natural imbecillity about him, arising from humanity and pity to the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, that was prejudicial to his interests; and also, that he neither sought nor expected praise for those acts of beneficence which he was daily performing, nor looked for any retribution from those who were nourished by his bounty. Indeed, they were such creatures as were incapable of being awed by a sense of his worth, or of discerning the motives that actuated him; they were people of the lowest and vulgarest minds,† whom idleness had made poor, and liberality impudent, and what is to be expected from such, is known to all that are, in the slightest degree, acquainted with the world.

The history of learning furnishes us with many examples of men who have

* Bishop Taylor and lord Clarendon were both men of learning and parts, teachers of wisdom, and exemplary in their lives; the same may be said of lord chancellor Hardwicke and bishop Hoadly: the two latter, over and above their other great endowments, were classical scholars, and, what is more, they wrote verses; yet were they eminent for their skill in all the concerns of human life. Of the sagacity of the last, I am able to relate a fact which the bishop himself told me. A man of the name of Fournier, a clergyman and a proselyte from the Romish church, had, upon a franked cover with the bishop's name to it, forged a promissory note for £8800. The bishop brought a bill in chancery for a discovery of the consideration of the pretended note, upon which, the defendant, with a view to entrap him, sent it by his wife to the bishop, with a permission for him, if he pleased, to burn it. The paper was of a singular form, and had on it the marks of several folds, the appearance of a rasure of the word *free*, and was, upon the face of it, in many other respects, extremely suspicious; but the bishop, seeing the snare that was laid for him, and with a view that these evidences of forgery should for ever remain with the note, first made a memorandum of these several particulars, and then, with great temper, returned it to the woman. Had he destroyed the note as he was authorised, and as almost any man else, knowing it to be a forgery, would have done, the *evidentia rei* had been lost, and the defendant had been in a better condition than he ever could be while the note existed. At the hearing of the cause, the note, upon the face of it, was condemned, and the bishop secured against demand of payment.

† Of such, lord Bacon observes, that "the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle work in them astonishment and admiration; but of the higher virtues they have no sense or perceiving." Essay on Praise.[535]

deviated from the study of polite literature to that of the hermetic science,[536] or, in plainer English, to that sublimer chemistry which leads to the transmutation of metals; and those who may have heard that Johnson exercised himself in chemical processes, may perhaps think, that his view therein was suddenly to become the possessor of immense riches; but I am able to obviate this suspicion, and assure them, that his motive thereto was only curiosity, and his end mere amusement. At the time he frequented the club in Ivy lane, Dyer was going through a course of chemistry under Dr. Pemberton, of Gresham college, and would sometimes give us such descriptions of processes as were very entertaining, particularly to Johnson, who would listen to them attentively. We may suppose, that, in the course of his reading, he had acquired some knowledge of the theory of the art, and that he wished for an opportunity of reducing that knowledge into practice: he thought that time now come, and though he had no fitter an apartment for a laboratory than the garret over his chambers in the Inner Temple, he furnished that with an elembic, with retorts, receivers, and other vessels adapted to the cheapest and least operose processes. What his aims were at first, I know not, having forgotten the account he once gave me of the earliest of his chemical operations; but I have since learned, that they dwindled down to mere distillation, and that from substances of the simplest and coarsest sort, namely, peppermint, and the dregs of strong beer, from the latter whereof he was able to extract a strong but very nauseous spirit, which all might smell, but few chose to taste.

Johnson had now considerably extended the circle of his acquaintance, and added to the number of his friends sundry persons of distinguished eminence: among them were, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Edmund Burke, Mr. Beauclerk, and Mr. Langton. With these he passed much of his time, and was desirous of being still closer connected. How much he delighted in convivial meetings, how he loved conversation, and how sensibly he felt the attractions of a tavern, has already been mentioned; and it was but a natural consequence of these dispositions, that he should wish for frequent opportunities of indulging them in a way that would free him from domestic restraints, from the observance of hours, and a conformity to the regiment of families. A tavern was the place for these enjoyments, and a weekly club[537] was instituted for his gratification and the mutual entertainment and delight of its several members. The first movers in this association were Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds: the number of persons included in it was nine: the place of meeting was the Turk's-head in Gerard-street: the day Monday in every week, and the hour of assembling seven in the evening. To this association I had the honour of being invited. The members were,

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|---|---|
| Johnson, | Mr. Topham Beauclerk, |
| Sir Joshua Reynolds, | Mr. Bennet Langton, |
| Mr. Edmund Burke, | Mr. Anthony Chamier, and |
| Christ. Nugent, M.D. | Myself. |
| Oliver Goldsmith, M.B. | |

As some of the persons above-mentioned are happily yet living, and are too eminently known to receive honour from any thing I am able to say of them, I shall content myself with giving the characters of such of them as are now no more.

Dr. Nugent was a physician, of the Romish communion, and rising into practice with persons of that persuasion. He was an ingenious, sensible, and learned man, of easy conversation, and elegant manners. Johnson had a high opinion of him, and always spoke of him in terms of great respect.

Goldsmith is well known by his writings to have been a man of genius and of very fine parts; but of his character and general deportment, it is the hardest task any one can undertake to give a description. I will, however, attempt it, trusting to be excused if, in the spirit of a faithful historian, I record as well his singularities as his merits.

There are certain memoirs of him extant,[538] from which we learn, that his inclination, co-operating with his fortunes, which were but scanty, led him into a course of life little differing from vagrancy, that deprived him of the benefits of regular study: it however gratified his humour, stored his mind with ideas and some knowledge, which, when he became settled, he improved by various reading; yet, to all the graces of urbanity he was a stranger. With the greatest pretensions to polished manners he was rude, and, when he most meant the contrary, absurd. He affected Johnson's style and manner of conversation, and, when he had uttered, as he often would, a laboured sentence, so tumid as to be scarce intelligible, would ask, if that was not truly Johnsonian; yet he loved not Johnson, but rather envied him for his parts; and once intreated a friend to desist from praising him, "for in doing so," said he, "you harrow up my very soul."

He had some wit, but no humour, and never told a story but he spoiled it. The following anecdotes will convey some idea of the style and manner of his conversation:

He was used to say he could play on the German-flute as well as most men;—at other times, as well as any man living; and in his poem of "the Traveller," has hinted at this attainment in the following lines:

"To kinder skies, where gentler manners reign,
I turn; and France displays her bright domain:
Gay sprightly land of mirth and social ease,
Pleas'd with thyself, whom all the world can please,
How often have I led thy sportive choir,
With tuneless pipe, beside the murmuring Loire!
Where shading elms along the margin grew,
And, freshen'd from the wave, the zephyr flew;
And haply, though my harsh touch, falt'ring still,
But mock'd all tune, and marr'd the dancers skill,
Yet would the village praise my wond'rous power,
And dance, forgetful of the noon-tide hour."[539]

But, in the truth, he understood not the character in which music is written, and played on that instrument, as many of the vulgar do, merely by ear. Roubiliac the sculptor, a merry fellow, once heard him play, and minding to put a trick on him, pretended to be charmed with his performance, as also, that himself was skilled in the art, and intreated him to repeat the air, that he might write it down. Goldsmith readily consenting, Roubiliac called for paper, and scored thereon a few five-lined staves, which having done, Goldsmith proceeded to play, and Roubiliac to write; but his writing was only such random notes on the lines and spaces as any one might set down who had ever inspected a page of music. When they had both done, Roubiliac shewed the paper to Goldsmith, who looking it over with seeming great attention, said, it was very correct, and that if he had not seen him do it, he never could have believed his friend capable of writing music after him.

He would frequently preface a story thus:—"I'll now tell you a story of myself, which some people laugh at, and some do not."—

At the breaking up of an evening at a tavern, he intreated the company to sit down, and told them if they would call for another bottle they should hear one of his bons mots:—they agreed, and he began thus:—"I was once told that Sheridan the player, in order to improve himself in stage gestures, had looking-glasses, to the number of ten, hung about his room, and that he practised before them; upon which I said, then there were ten ugly fellows together."—The company were all silent: he asked why they did not laugh, which they not doing, he, without tasting the wine, left the room in anger.

In a large company he once said, "Yesterday I heard an excellent story, and I would relate it now if I thought any of you able to understand it." The company laughed, and one of them said, "Doctor, you are very rude"; but he made no apology.

He once complained to a friend in these words:—"Mr. Martinelli is a rude man: I said in his hearing, that there were no good writers among the Italians, and he said to one that sat near him, that I was very ignorant."*

"People," said he, "are greatly mistaken in me: a notion goes about, that when I am silent I mean to be impudent; but I assure you, gentlemen, my silence arises from bashfulness."

Having one day a call to wait on the late duke, then earl of Northumberland, I found Goldsmith waiting for an audience in an outer room; I asked him what had brought him there: he told me an invitation from his lordship. I made my business as short as I could, and, as a reason, mentioned, that Dr. Goldsmith was waiting without. The earl asked me if I was acquainted with him: I told him I was, adding what I thought likely to recommend him. I retired, and staid in the outer room to take him home. Upon his coming out, I asked him the result of his conversation:—"His lordship," says he, "told me he had read my poem," meaning "the Traveller," "and was much delighted with it; that he was going lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and that, hearing that I was a native of that country, he should be glad to do me any kindness."—"And what did you answer," asked I, "to this gracious offer?" "Why," said he, "I could say nothing but that I had a brother there, a clergyman, that stood in need of help: as for myself, I have no dependence on the promises of great men: I look to the booksellers for support; they are my best friends, and I am not inclined to forsake them for others."

Thus did this idiot, in the affairs of the world, trifle with his fortunes, and put back the hand that was held out to assist him! Other offers of a like kind he either rejected or failed to improve, contenting himself with the patronage of one nobleman, whose mansion afforded him the delights of a splendid table, and a retreat for a few days from the metropolis.

While I was writing the History of Music, he, at the club, communicated to me some curious matter: I desired he would reduce it to writing; he promised me he would, and desired to see me at his chambers: I called on him there; he stepped into a closet, and tore out of a printed book six leaves that contained what he had mentioned to me.

As he wrote for the booksellers, we, at the club, looked on him as a mere literary drudge, equal to the task of compiling and translating, but little capable of original, and still less of poetical composition: he had, nevertheless, unknown to us, written and addressed to the countess, afterwards duchess, of Northumberland, one of the finest poems of the lyric kind that our language

* Mr. Martinelli is an Italian.

has to boast of, the ballad "Turn gentle Hermit of the dale";* and surprised us with "The Traveller," a poem that contains some particulars of his own history. Johnson was supposed to have assisted him in it; but he contributed to the perfection of it only four lines: his opinion of it was, that it was the best written poem since the time of Pope.

Of the booksellers whom he styled his friends, Mr. Newbery was one. This person had apartments in Canonbury-house, where Goldsmith often lay concealed from his creditors. Under a pressing necessity he there wrote his "Vicar of Wakefield," and for it received of Newbery forty pounds.

Of a man named Griffin, a bookseller in Catherine-street in the Strand, he had borrowed by two and three guineas at a time, money to the amount of two hundred pounds; to discharge this debt he wrote "the Deserted Village," but was two years about it. Soon after its publication, Griffin declared, that it had discharged the whole of the debt.

His poems are replete with fine moral sentiments, and bespeak a great dignity of mind; yet he had no sense of the shame, nor dread of the evils, of poverty. In the latter he was at one time so involved, that for the clamours of a woman, to whom he was indebted for lodging, and for bailiffs that waited to arrest him, he was equally unable, till he had made himself drunk, to stay within doors, or go abroad to hawk among the booksellers a piece of his writing, the title whereof my author does not remember. In this distress he sent for Johnson, who immediately went to one of them, and brought back money for his relief.

In his dealings with the booksellers, he is said to have acted very dishonestly, never fulfilling his engagements. In one year he got of them, and by his plays, the sum of £1800 which he dissipated by gaming and extravagance, and died poor in 1774.

He that can account for the inconsistencies of character above-noted, otherwise than by shewing, that wit and wisdom are seldom found to meet in the same mind, will do more than any of Goldsmith's friends were ever able to do. He was buried in the Temple Church-yard. A monument was erected for him in the Poets corner in Westminster Abbey, by a subscription of his friends, and is placed over the entrance into St. Blase's chapel. The inscription thereon was written by Johnson. This I am able to say with certainty, for he shewed it to me in manuscript.

* Printed in his poetical works, vol. I. That this beautiful poem now exists, we owe to Dr. Chapman a physician now resident at Sudbury. Soon after he had wrote it, Goldsmith shewed it to the Doctor, and was by him hardly dissuaded from throwing it into the fire.

The members of our club that remain to be spoken of, were persons of less celebrity than him above-mentioned, but were better acquainted with the world, and qualified for social intercourse. Mr. Beauclerk, was the son of lord Sidney Beauclerk of the St. Alban's family, and took his christian name from Mr. Topham of Windsor, the famous collector of pictures and drawings. To the character of a scholar, and a man of fine parts, he added that of a man of fashion, of which his dress and equipage shewed him to be emulous. In the early period of his life he was the exemplar of all who wished, without incurring the censure of foppery, to become conspicuous in the gay world. Travel, and a long residence at Rome, and at Venice, had given the last polish to his manners, and stored his mind with entertaining information. In painting and sculpture his taste and judgment were accurate; in classic literature, exquisite; and in the knowledge of history, and the study of antiquities, he had few equals. His conversation was of the most excellent kind; learned, witty, polite, and, where the subject required it, serious; and over all his behaviour there beamed such a sunshine of chearfulness and good humour, as communicated itself to all around him. He was a great collector of books, and left at his death a library, which, at a sale by auction, yielded upwards of five thousand pounds.

Mr. Anthony Chamier was descended from a French Protestant family, that has produced one or more very eminent divines, and were refugees in this country at the end of the last century. He was bred to the profession of a stock-broker; but, having had a liberal education, his deportment and manner of transacting business distinguished him greatly from most others of that calling. He had acquired a knowledge of the modern languages, particularly of the Spanish, in the study whereof he took great delight. His connections, at his setting out in the world, were of the best kind, for very early in his life, he was employed by those liberal-minded brothers the Van Necks, whose riches, and general munificence, have ranked them in the same class of wealthy men with the Fuggers of Augsburg, a company of money dealers, who, in their time, held the balance of the Antwerp exchange, and by their transactions at that mart, influenced the politics of all the courts of Europe.* By his dealings in the funds, and, it was supposed, with the advantage of intelligence which, previous to the conclusion of the peace before the last, he had obtained, he acquired such a fortune as enabled him, though young, to quit business, and become, what indeed he seemed by nature intended for, a gentleman. At the beginning of his present Majesty's reign, he had a prospect of going secre-

* A curious account of these three brothers may be seen in Moreri's "Dictionary," art. Fugger ou Foucker. Mention of them is also made in the Journal of Edward VI. inserted in an appendix to one of the volumes of bishop Burnet's "History of the Reformation."

tary to an embassy to Spain, and was preparing for it, by the improvement of himself in the language of that country; but a change in the appointment of an ambassador kept him at home, and gave him opportunity of becoming acquainted with lord Weymouth, who, upon his being made secretary of state, took him for one of his under-secretaries. In this station he was continued by his successor lord Hilsborough, and remained till the time of his death.

It was Johnson's original intention, that the number of this our club should not exceed nine; but Mr. Dyer, a member of that in Ivy-lane, before spoken of, and who for some years had been abroad, made his appearance among us, and was cordially received. By the recommendation of Mr. Belchier the banker, and member for Southwark, he had obtained an appointment to be one of the commissaries in our army in Germany; but, on the conclusion of the peace, he returned to England, very little the better for an employment which few have been known to quit without having made a fortune.

The hours which Johnson spent in this society seemed to be the happiest of his life: he would often applaud his own sagacity in the selection of it, and was so constant at our meetings as never to absent himself.[540] It is true, he came late, but then he stayed late, for, as has been already said of him, he little regarded hours. Our evening toast was the motto of Padre Paolo, "Esto perpetua."[541] A lady,[542] distinguished by her beauty, and taste for literature, invited us two successive years to a dinner at her house. Curiosity was her motive, and possibly a desire of intermingling with our conversation the charms of her own. She affected to consider us as a set of literary men, and perhaps gave the first occasion for distinguishing the society by the name of the Literary Club, an appellation which it never assumed to itself.

At these our meetings, Johnson, as indeed he did every where, led the conversation, yet was he far from arrogating to himself that superiority, which, some years before, he was disposed to contend for. He had seen enough of the world to know, that respect was not to be extorted, and began now to be satisfied with that degree of eminence to which his writings had exalted him. This change in his behaviour was remarked by those who were best acquainted with his character, and it rendered him an easy and delightful companion. Our discourse was miscellaneous, but chiefly literary. Politics, the most vulgar of all topics, were alone excluded. On that subject most of us were of the same opinion. The British lion was then licking his wounds, and we drank to the peace of Old England.*

* As I was the only seceder from this society,[543] my withdrawing myself from it seems to require an apology. We seldom got together till nine: the enquiry into the contents of the larder, and preparing supper, took up till ten; and by the time that the table was

The institution of this society was in the winter of 1763, at which time Mr. Garrick was abroad with his wife, who, for the recovery of her health, was sent to the baths of Padua. Upon his return, he was informed of our association, and trusted, that the least intimation of a desire to come among us, would procure him a ready admission, but in this he was mistaken. Johnson consulted me upon it, and when I could find no objection to receiving him, exclaimed:—"He will disturb us by his buffoonery";—and afterwards so managed matters, that he was never formally proposed, nor, by consequence, ever admitted.[544]

This conduct of Johnson gave me, for the first time, to understand, that the friendship between him and Garrick was not so strong as it might be supposed to be: it was not like that of David and Jonathan;[545] it passed not the love of women, and hardly exceeded the strengths of an adventitious intimacy: Garrick had a profound veneration for the learning and talents of Johnson, but was used to complain to me, that he was capricious in his friendship, and, as he termed it, coquettish in his display of it. Johnson, on his part, hated the profession of a player, and perhaps might contemplate with indignation, that disposition of the public, which assigns to those who minister to their pleasures, greater rewards than to those whose employment it is to supply their most essential wants. He might possibly reflect that, in his outset in life as an instructor of youth, his hopes were bounded by the prospect of five hundred pounds a year, and that the mimetic powers of Garrick, for under that denomination he ranked all his excellencies, produced to the possessor of them an income of four thousand.

These are such excuses for Johnson's coolness towards an old friend as charity might suggest; but, alas! it had a deeper root, and it is to be feared that it sprung from envy,[546] a passion, which he sometimes was candid enough to confess he was subject to, and laboured through his life to eradicate. His behaviour to Garrick was ever austere, like that of a schoolmaster to one of his scholars,* and he flattered himself, that in all he said and did, he stood in awe of his frown.—"I was," said Johnson, once to a friend, "last night, behind the scenes of Drury-lane, and met Davy dressed for his part. I was glad to see

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cleared, it was near eleven, at which hour my servants were ordered to come for me; and, as I could not enjoy the pleasure of these meetings without disturbing the oeconomy of my family, and foresaw the impossibility of preventing the subversion of our society by the admission of exceptionable persons, I chose to forego it.

* He assumed a right of correcting his enunciation, and, by an instance, convinced Garrick that it was sometimes erroneous.—"You often," said Johnson, "mistake the emphatical word of a sentence."—"Give me an example," said Garrick.—"I cannot," answered Johnson, "recollect one; but repeat the seventh commandment."—Garrick

him; but I believe he was ashamed to see me."—A supposition hardly to be admitted, even if he had been dressed in the rags of Drugger.[547]

Garrick took his rejection very patiently, and shewed his resentment of it no otherwise, than enquiring of me, from time to time, how we went on at the club. He would often stop at my gate, in his way to and from Hampton, with messages from Johnson relating to his Shakespeare, then in the press, and ask such questions as these:—"Were you at the club on Monday night?"—"What did you talk of?"—"Was Johnson there?"—"I suppose he said something of Davy—that Davy was a clever fellow in his way, full of convivial pleasantry; but no poet, no writer, ha?"—I was vexed at these enquiries, and told him, that this perpetual solicitude about what was said of him, was unnecessary, and could only tend to disturb him; that he might well be content with that share of the public favour which he enjoyed, that he had nothing to do but to possess it in quietness, and that too great an anxiety to obtain applause would provoke envy, and tend to intercept, if not totally deprive him of it.

The greatest of Mr. Garrick's foibles was, a notion of the importance of his profession: he thought that Shakespeare and himself were, or ought to be, the objects of all mens' attention. When the king of Denmark was in England, he received an order from the lord-chamberlain to entertain that monarch with an exhibition of himself in six of his principal characters. In his way to London, to receive his instructions, he called on me, and told me this as news. I could plainly discern in his looks the joy that transported him; but he affected to be vexed at the shortness of the notice, and seemed to arraign the wisdom of our councils, by exclaiming—"You see what heads they have!"

Johnson's objection to the admission of Garrick may seem to be cynical, and to have arisen from jealousy or resentment, but it admits of palliation: the truth is, that Garrick was no disquisitor; his reading had been confined, and he could contribute but little to the pleasures of sober and instructive conversation. Even his knowledge of the world was derived through the medium of the dramatic writers, who, all men know, are not guides to be trusted; and, in his intercourse with mankind, and manner of conducting business, he frequently betrayed such ignorance and inattention, as the following instance will illustrate.

There stood near the dwelling of Mr. Garrick at Hampton, and adjoining

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pronounced it—"Thou *shalt* not commit adultery."—"You are wrong," said Johnson: "It is a negative precept, and ought to be pronounced thus:

"Thou shalt *not* commit adultery."

to his garden next the river, a small house, the owner and occupier whereof was Mr. Peele a bookseller, who had retired from business. Mr. Peele had often said, that as he knew it would be an accommodation to Mr. Garrick, he had given directions, that at his decease he should have the refusal of it. A man in the neighbourhood had set his eye upon it, and formed a scheme to make it his own. He had got intelligence that there was a relation or friend of Mr. Peele's living in the country, and immediately on Mr. Peele's death applied to his executors, pretending that he had a commission from him to purchase the house at any price; and, upon this suggestion, procured a conveyance of it to a person nominated by him, but under a secret trust for himself. Mr. Garrick, seeing himself thus balked of his hopes, and in danger of being troubled with an ill neighbour, thought he had nothing to do but to complain. He told his sad story to me, and in a lucky hour; for, just before his entering my house, I had been reading the life of the lord-keeper Guildford,[548] and therein a case of a similar fraud, against which his lordship decreed: it was the case of the duke of Buckinghamshire and Ambrose Philips, who had purchased of the duke an estate as for Mr. Heneage Finch, a son of the lord Nottingham, but in truth for himself, at two thousand pounds less than he would have sold it for to any but Mr. Finch. Upon hearing Mr. Garrick's story, I searched farther, and found the case in law language in Vernon's Chancery Reports and giving him a note of it, told him, he might file a bill in chancery, and, on the authority of that determination, hope for relief. About six months after, I being in town, a message came to me in the evening from Mr. Garrick, signifying, that his cause was to come on the next morning, and requesting me to furnish him with a note of a case that I had formerly mentioned to him as resembling his own. Astonished at his remissness, and knowing that no time was to be lost, I immediately borrowed the book I had referred him to, and giving it my servant, went with it to Drury-lane theatre, where, upon enquiry, I was informed, that he was busily employed in exhibiting an imitation of a spectacle then recent, the procession of the coronation of his present Majesty, in an after-piece to the play for that night. I waited in an outer room till all was over, when in entered Mr. and Mrs. Garrick, and, after giving him time to recover from his fatigue, I told him what I had been doing to help him in his distress, and produced the book; but his thoughts were so wholly taken up by the pageant he was come from, which seemed still to be passing before his eyes, that he could scarcely attend to me, but asked Mrs. Garrick twenty questions about it, how it went off, and whether she did not think the applause of the audience great. He then turned to me, took from me the book, and said he should lay it before his counsel. The book was returned in a few days, but I heard nothing of the decree of the court till some months after,

when meeting his brother George, in the court of requests, I asked him how the cause had gone: —"Oh," said he, "with us:—the first purchase is decreed fraudulent, and the defendant is condemned in costs."

Mr. Garrick's forgetfulness and inattention, in a concern that gave him some uneasiness, is not to be accounted for by those who believe, contrary to the fact, that he was ever sufficiently awake to his own interest, nor, indeed, by any who were not well acquainted with his character. In all that related to the theatre he was very acute; but in business of other kinds, a novice. His profession was of such a nature, as left him no intervals of thought or cool deliberation: his mind was either elevated to the highest pitch of intension,[549] or let down to the lowest degree of remission. In the former state, it was inflated by the ideas with which the course of his reading had stored his memory; in the latter, it sunk into an indolent levity, which indulged in jokes, in mimicry, and witticisms.

In the first of these situations, I have described him by the relation of his conduct in a law-suit: in a season of vacuity, he was another man, easy and chearful, and disposed, out of every thing he saw or heard, to extract mirth. The following story I give as an instance of his pleasantry, at times when the business of the theatre did not occupy his thoughts.

Living at Twickenham, at about two miles distance from his house at Hampton, I made him, as I frequently did when in the country, an afternoon visit. It was in the month of August, and I found him and Mrs. Garrick in the garden, eating figs. He complained that the wasps, which that year were very numerous, had left him very few; and, talking farther about those noxious insects, told me he had heard, that a person near Uxbridge, having swallowed one of them in a draught of liquor, had died of the sting. I told him it was true; for that at a turn-pike meeting at Uxbridge I had dined with the apothecary that had attended him, and he had assured me of the fact.—"I believe it," said Mr. Garrick, "and have been persuading this lady," pointing to Mrs. Garrick, "to do so; but I cannot convince her, and yet, she can believe the story of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins!"—Mrs. Garrick, it is no secret, is of the Romish persuasion.

Davies, in his "Life of Garrick,"[550] has mentioned a variety of particulars that do honour to his memory. Among others, he gives several instances of liberality to his friends. Johnson would frequently say, that he gave away more money than any man of his income in England: and his readiness to give the profits of a night to public charities, and to families and individuals in distress, will long be remembered. He was the first that attempted to reform the stage, by banishing from it all profaneness and immorality, and by expunging from the plays acted at his theatre, every expression capable of any other

than a good meaning. And whereas it had for many years been the custom, at one or more of the theatres, to indulge the mob, in the evening of the Lord-mayor's day, with the representation of "The London Cuckolds," a comedy written by Ravenscroft in times of great licentiousness, and abounding in scenes of vulgar humour, he paid a handsome compliment to the citizens, and shewed his regard for the welfare of youth, by discontinuing the practice, and substituting in its place the affecting tragedy of "George Barnwell," a play adapted to the situation and circumstances of city apprentices, and affording an instructive lesson of discretion and morality.

Notwithstanding the perpetual competition between him and Rich, for the favour of the town, they lived together upon the most friendly terms. Rich, who was never celebrated either for his wit or his understanding, once made him a very elegant compliment: the occasion was this: Rich had improved his house at Covent-garden, by altering the disposition of the seats, so as to accommodate a greater number of spectators than formerly it would, and Mr. Garrick wishing to see these improvements, Mr. Rich invited him to his house, and went with him all over it. In the course of their survey, Mr. Garrick asked, in the language of the theatre, what sum of money the house would hold.—"Sir," said Mr. Rich, "that question I am at present unable to answer: but were Mr. Garrick to appear but one night on my stage, I should be able to tell to the utmost shilling."

After all that has been said of Mr. Garrick, envy must allow, that he owed his celebrity to merit; and yet, of that himself seemed so diffident, that he practised sundry little, but innocent arts, to insure the favour of the public. He kept up an interest in the city by appearing about twice in a winter at Tom's coffee-house in Cornhill, the usual rendezvous of young merchants at 'change time;[551] and frequented a club, established for the sake of his company, at the Queen's-arms tavern in St. Paul's church-yard, where were used to assemble Mr. Samuel Sharp the surgeon, Mr. Paterson the city solicitor, Mr. Draper the bookseller, Mr. Clutterbuck a mercer and a few others; they were none of them drinkers, and, in order to make a reckoning, called only for French wine. These were his standing council in theatrical affairs, and were of use to him in moderating his resentment after those riots at his theatre, which would sometimes happen, and the indignation he once felt upon an attack on his dwelling-house, in which the windows thereof were broken.

He had also a strong party of friends at Batson's coffee-house, and among them Dr. Wilson[552] a physician, a man of great learning,* but no practice, who having an easy fortune and no family, and being master of his own time,

* He was the editor of the works of Benjamin Robins, published in two volumes, 8vo.

was at liberty to indulge himself in a variety of pursuits and humours that distinguished him from most other men. He lodged in an obscure part of the town, and spent his morning in mathematical studies; but at noon was constantly to be seen at Batson's, with a circle of persons round him, whom he entertained with conversation. He had no taste for polite literature or stage entertainments; but in his old age took it into his head to be an admirer of Mr. Garrick, and seldom failed to be at his theatre, whenever he had a part in the play of the night. His constant appearance there had procured him almost a prescriptive right to a particular seat in the pit. In that region of the house he was the first, and almost the loudest applauder of Mr. Garrick; and his praises were the chief subject of his discourse the succeeding day. To this person, as to a city friend, Mr. Garrick held himself obliged, and by many personal civilities he courted his favour.

Such as those above noted were the foibles in the character of that celebrated actor of whom I have been speaking, and such were the arts which he practised to acquire and ensure popularity; arts as unnecessary as they were innocent, seeing that, almost from the time he first became known, he was in the actual possession of that applause which he was seeking, and received from the public an ample reward of reputation, as well for the part he acted in social life, as for his excellent performance on the stage.

Besides Mr. Garrick, there were others that were desirous of becoming members of this our club, the fame whereof had spread abroad, and induced many, who hoped to acquire a reputation for literature, to wish for an admission among us. That unfortunate divine, as he was called, Dr. William Dodd,[553] was one of the number, and made a secret effort for this purpose. This person, at that time, dwelt with his wife in an obscure corner of Hounslow-heath, near a village called Worton; but kept, in a back lane near him, a girl who went by the name of Kennedy. His pretensions to learning, and especially to classical erudition, were very great; and he had in his house a few young gentlemen, who, at very expensive rates, were committed to his care, as to an academy, for instruction. A brother of his wife's rented some land of me, and of him I learned from time to time many particulars respecting his character and manner of living, which latter, as he represented it, was ever such as his visible income would no way account for. He said that he was the most importunate suitor for preferment ever known; and that himself had been the bearer of letters and messages to great men, soliciting promotion to vacant livings, and had hardly escaped kicking down stairs. Dodd's wish to be received into our society was conveyed to us only by a whisper, and that being the case, all opposition to his admission became unnecessary.

Johnson was now at ease in his circumstances: he wanted his usual mo-

tive to impel him to the exertion of his talents, necessity, and he sunk into indolence. Whoever called in on him at about midday, found him and Levett at breakfast, Johnson in deshabille, as just risen from bed, and Levett filling out tea for himself and his patron alternately, no conversation passing between them. All that visited him at these hours were welcome. A night's rest, and breakfast, seldom failed to refresh and fit him for discourse, and whoever withdrew went too soon. His invitations to dinners abroad were numerous, and he seldom balked them. At evening parties, where were no cards, he very often made one; and from these, when once engaged, most unwillingly retired.

In the relaxation of mind, which almost any one might have foreseen would follow the grant of his pension, he made little account of that lapse of time, on which, in many of his papers, he so severely moralizes. And, though he was so exact an observer of the passing minutes, as frequently, after his coming from church, to note in his diary how many the service took up in reading, and the sermon in preaching; he seemed to forget how many years had passed since he had begun to take in subscriptions for his edition of Shakespeare. Such a torpor had seized his faculties, as not all the remonstrances of his friends were able to cure: applied to some minds, they would have burned like caustics, but Johnson felt them not: to other objects he was sufficiently attentive, as I shall presently shew.

In the performance of the engagement I am under, I find myself compelled to make public, as well those particulars of Johnson that may be thought to abase as those that exalt his character. Among the former, may be reckoned the credit he for some time gave to the idle story of the Cock-lane ghost,[554] concerning which the following facts are the least unworthy of being noted. In the month of January 1762, it was reported, that at a house in Cock-lane near West Smithfield, there were heard certain noises, accompanied with extraordinary circumstances, tending to the discovery of the death of a young woman who was said to have been destroyed by poison. The agent in this business was a girl, who pretended that the spirit of the deceased appeared to her, and terrified her with the noises above-mentioned. This report drew many persons to the house, who, being thus assembled, put several questions to the girl, and received answers, as from the ghost, describing the circumstances of the poisoning, and a promise, by an affirmative signal, that it would attend one of the querists into the vault under the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, where the body was deposited, and give a token of its presence by a knock upon the coffin: it was therefore determined to make trial of the existence or veracity of the supposed spirit; and it was then advertised, that the person, to whom the promise was made, was about to visit the vault; and

accordingly the whole company present adjourned to the church. He who had a claim to the performance of the promise, and most of the company, went into the vault, and solemnly required the signal; but nothing more ensued. The person accused of the poisoning, with several others, then descended the vault, but no effect was perceived. It was, therefore, the opinion of the whole assembly, that the girl had some art of making or counterfeiting particular noises, and that there was no agency of any higher cause.

Johnson, whose sentiments with respect to supernatural interpositions are discoverable in many parts of his writings, was prompted by curiosity to visit this place, and wait for the appearance of the ghost. Mr. Saunders Welch, his intimate friend, would have dissuaded him from his purpose, urging, that it would expose him to ridicule; but all his arguments had no effect; he went to the house, and, as it is supposed, into the church, and gave countenance to the vulgar expectation, that the ghost would appear; but at length, being convinced that the whole transaction was an imposture, he drew up, as may be inferred from the style and advertisement at the end of the paper, an account of the detection thereof, published in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for February 1762.

Soon after this, the imposture being more clearly and even to demonstration detected, the persons concerned in it were prosecuted, and underwent a punishment suited to their offence.

What Mr. Welch foretold, in his advice to Johnson, touching this imposture, was now verified: he was censured for his credulity; his wisdom was arraigned, and his religious opinions resolved into superstition. A reverend divine of the time,[555] who had taken effectual care by his conduct to avoid the like imputations, but was enough distinguished by a greater folly, political enthusiasm, exhibited him to ridicule in a satyrical poem, and revived the remembrance of that engagement to the public, which, by this, and other instances of the laxity of his mind, he seemed not much inclined to fulfill.

Nor was this all: that facetious gentleman Mr. Foote,[556] who, upon the strength and success of his satyrical vein in comedy, had assumed the name of the modern Aristophanes, and at his theatre had long entertained the town with caricatures of living persons, with all their singularities and weaknesses, thought that Johnson at this time was become a fit subject for ridicule, and that an exhibition of him in a drama, written for the purpose, in which himself should represent Johnson, and in his mien, his garb, and his speech, should display all his comic powers, would yield him a golden harvest. Johnson was apprised of his intention; and gave Mr. Foote to understand, that the licence, under which he was permitted to entertain the town, would not justify the liberties he was accustomed to take with private characters, and

that, if he persisted in his design, himself would be a spectator of his disgrace, and would, by a severe chastisement of his representative on the stage, and in the face of the whole audience, convince the world, that, whatever were his infirmities, or even his foibles, they should not be made the sport of the public, or the means of gain to any one of his profession.* Foote, upon this intimation, had discretion enough to desist from his purpose. Johnson entertained no resentment against him, and they were ever after friends.

Johnson was insensible to the effects of this abuse; but the poem abovementioned had brought to remembrance, that his edition of Shakespeare had long been due.[557] His friends took the alarm, and, by all the arts of reasoning and persuasion, laboured to convince him, that, having taken subscriptions for a work in which he had made no progress, his credit was at stake. He confessed he was culpable, and promised from time to time to begin a course of such reading as was necessary to qualify him for the work: this was no more than he had formerly done in an engagement with Coxeter,[558] to whom he had bound himself to write the life of Shakespeare; but he never could be prevailed on to begin it, so that, even now, it was questioned whether his promises were to be relied on. For this reason, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and some other of his friends, who were more concerned for his reputation than himself seemed to be, contrived to entangle him by a wager, or some other pecuniary engagement, to perform his task by a certain time, and this, together

* Had Johnson been provoked to an exercise of his prowess on this occasion, it would not have been the first display of his resentment on the stage of the theatre. He was once with Garrick at the representation of a play in his native city of Lichfield, when, having taken his seat in a chair placed on the stage, he had soon a call to quit it. A Scots officer, who had no good-will towards him, persuaded an innkeeper of the town to take it; and he did as he was bid. Johnson, on his return, finding his seat full, civilly told the intruder, that by going out it was not his intention to give it up, and demanded it as his right: the innkeeper, encouraged by the officer, seemed resolved to maintain his situation: Johnson expostulated the matter with him; but, finding him obstinate, lifted up the chair, the man sitting in it, and, with such an Herculean force, flung both to the opposite side of the stage, that the Scotsman cried out, "Damn him, he has broke his limbs"; but that not being the case, Johnson having thus emptied the chair, and Mr. Walmsley interposing, he resumed his seat in it, and with great composure sat out the play.

Johnson had great confidence in his corporeal strength, and, from this and some other particulars in his life, I am inclined to think he was vain of it. Such foibles are not uncommon in the greatest characters. Sir Isaac Newton, at the age of four-score, would strip up his shirt-sleeve to shew his muscular, brawny arm, and relate how dextrous he was in his youth at boxing. And an intimate friend of mine, a serjeant at law, of the first eminence in his profession, who had nearly lost the use of his feet, was used to relate to me his dancing whole nights, when a young man, without feeling the least weariness.

possibly with some distrust of the continuance of his mental powers, set him to work; but, as he had been remiss in making collections for the purpose, he found it an irksome task. Theobald declares, that to settle the text of his author, and to elucidate obscure passages in him, he had found it necessary to peruse a great number of plays and other publications, to the very titles of most whereof it is certain Johnson was a stranger. He, it is true, had read as many old English books as came in his way, but he had never sought after any such; he was no collector, and in fact was destitute of materials for his work. All therefore that he did, or could do, after the waste of so much time, was, to read over his author in the former editions, and solicit help from his friends; who, if he is not mistaken in his assertion, were but slack in offering him assistance. To me, among others, he did the honour of sending for such notes as he thought I might have made in the course of my reading. Mr. Garrick was his messenger, as he frequently passed by my gate in the country; and though I was at that time deeply engaged in the "History of Music," I furnished him with a few remarks, which, unimportant as they are, he thought fit to insert. Others, more valuable, he got from such of his friends as were at leisure to assist him.

The year 1765 gave to the world an edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works by Samuel Johnson, the greatest proficient in vernacular erudition, and one of the ablest critics of his time. Much had been expected from it, and little now appeared to have been performed; a few conjectural emendations of the text, and some scattered remarks on particular passages, were all that was presented to our view that had any pretence to novelty, except some general observations, which serve to illustrate the beauties, and mark the defects, of the several plays, and are inserted at the end of each.

For the apparent meagreness of the work, the paucity of the notes, and other evidences of the editor's want of industry, and, indeed, unfitness for the office of a scholiast,[559] so far as it regards the illustration of the text, some atonement, it must be confessed, is made by the preface, wherein, as if the author had reserved himself for one great effort of his genius, all the powers of eloquence and critical erudition are displayed. In truth, it is an essay of dramatic poesy in general, in which, with a degree of perspicacity that had never before been exercised on the subject, he has exhibited the perfections of his author in a blaze of splendour that distracts us with its radiance. To temper our admiration, he has, however, thought fit to note the slumbers of even this great genius, his violations of historical truth, his deviations from dramatic regularity, his low conceits, and the frequent recurrence of scenes that suspend actions of importance, and, wherever interposed, are excrescences; and this not in a style of perfunctory disquisition, but with such a

degree of asperity as critics discover when they are criticising the works of a rival.

For thus detracting from the merit of his favourite, Mr. Garrick was to the highest degree exasperated with Johnson: he reproached him, though not to his face, with want of feeling and the knowledge of human nature, of which, he said, he understood nothing, but what he had learned from books:—"All that he writes," added he, "comes from his head: Shakespeare, when he sat down to write, dipped his pen into his own heart."*

Johnson seemed to be conscious that this work would fall short of the expectations it had raised, and endeavoured to ward off the censure of the public by an insinuation in the preface, that his friends had been backward in furnishing him with assistance. The passage is pretty strongly pointed, and is here given in his own words.

"Having classed the observations of others, I was at last to try what I could substitute for their mistakes, and how I could supply their omissions. I col-

* The recollection of this forcible and just expression, which Mr. Garrick uttered to me, induces me to relate a transaction, that may serve to prove, how deeply Shakespeare was skilled in the science of human nature, and that his imagination could suggest sentiments and language suitable to characters and situations, with which he could not be supposed ever to have been conversant. No one thinks that he had ever been a witness to such a scene as that in Macbeth, where the lady, who had excited her husband to the murder of the king, is herself restrained from the perpetration of it by the sole reflection, that in his sleep he resembled her father: yet see how wonderfully his representation of it accords with the workings of nature.

A few years since, and while I was chairman of the quarter-sessions of the county for Middlesex, an indictment came before me for trial at Hicks's-hall, the ground whereof was the following case: A vessel, moored by a hawser, or cable-rope, was lying in the Thames near Wapping, at a time when a barge was driving up the river with so strong a tide, that the men on board her were in great danger of running, as they call it, athwart the hawser, and of oversetting. To prevent this mischief, a young active man, who guided the barge, leaped into the vessel, a liberty in such cases always allowed, and loosening the end of the hawser from what it was tied to, let it drop. The men on board the vessel, ignorant perhaps of the usage, opposed the young man in his attempt; and a fray ensued, in which, provoked to resistance, he seized a hand-spike, and with it knocked one of the sailors down. The noise of this scuffle drew up the master, a person advanced in years, who all the while was under deck; and he, being told what had passed, asked the stranger what he meant by knocking his man down.—"I did it," answered he, "in my own defence; and if you had been in his place, and your old grey locks had not put me in mind of my own father, I would have knocked you down too"—the very sentiment that restrained lady Macbeth from the murder of Duncan:

"————— Had he not resembled
My father as he slept, I had don't."[560]

lated such copies as I could procure, and wished for more, but have not found the collectors of these rarities very communicative. Of the editions which chance or kindness put into my hands, I have given an enumeration, that I may not be blamed for neglecting what I had not the power to do."[561]

Few there were who saw this passage, and knew that Mr. Garrick had the earliest editions of all Shakespeare's plays, but construed this into a reproach on him; in that sense he understood it, and it gave him great offence. To clear himself of the imputation of a conduct so unfriendly, he protested to me, that his collection had ever been accessible to Johnson, and that himself had signified, that any or all the books in it were at his service; and, farther to convince me, he, at the next visit I made him, called in his man Charles, and bade him relate to me his instructions respecting the use of his library, or the loan of books to Johnson.—"Sir," said the man, "I was told to let Mr. Johnson have whatever books he wanted; but he never applied for any."*

To say the truth, Mr. Garrick was rather forward in offering the use of his library to the writers of the time: he did it to Mr. Whalley, when editing the works of Ben Jonson; and to Dr. Percy, the collector and publisher of the "Reliques of ancient English poetry." His view, as I conjecture, was, to receive, in return for his kindness, thanks, with perhaps some additional compliment; and in these two instances he was gratified with both. I imagine that Johnson was unwilling to buy the favour intended him at that price, and that therefore he declined it.

We are not to suppose that the publication of Shakespeare, a work undertaken without any impulse, and executed with reluctance, would greatly add to the literary reputation of Johnson; yet such was the character he had acquired by his "Dictionary," and other of his writings, that the heads of the university of Dublin were moved to testify their sense of his merits; and accordingly, on the twenty-third day of July 1765, he was, by them, presented with a diploma, creating him doctor in both laws; a distinction the more to be valued, as it was unsolicited, and a voluntary testimony of the esteem in which he was held by that learned body. The causes assigned for bestowing it are contained in the following words, part of the instrument, "ob egregiam scriptorum elegantiam et utilitatem."[562]

* Mr. Garrick knew not what risque he ran by this offer. Johnson had so strange a forgetfulness of obligations of this sort, that few who lent him books ever saw them again. Among the books in his library, at the time of his decease, I found a very old and curious edition of the works of Politian,[563] which appeared to belong to Pembroke college, Oxford. It was probably taken out of the library when he was preparing to publish a part of that author, viz. in 1734, and had been used as his own for upwards of fifty years.

His great affection for our own universities, and particularly his attachment to Oxford, prevented Johnson from receiving this honour as it was intended, and he never assumed the title which it conferred. He was as little pleased to be called Doctor in consequence of it, as he was with the title Domine,[564] which a friend of his once incautiously addressed him by. He thought it alluded to his having been a school-master; and, though he has ably vindicated Milton from the reproach that Salmasius meant to fix on him, by saying that he was of that profession,*[565] he wished to have it forgot, that himself had ever been driven to it as the means of subsistence, and had failed in the attempt.

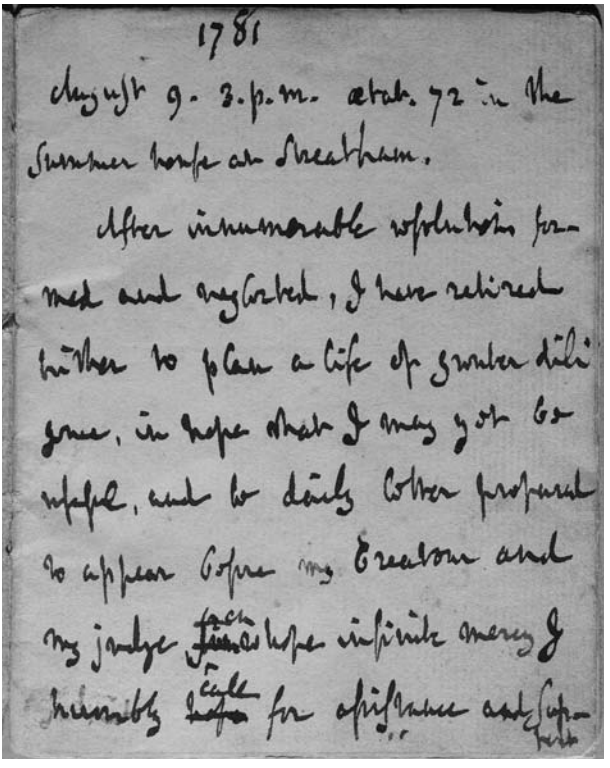
Johnson was now arrived at the fifty-sixth year of his age, and had actually attained to that state of independence, which before he could only affect. He was now in possession of an income that freed him from the apprehensions of want, and exempted him from the necessity of mental labour. He had discharged his obligations to the public, and, with no incumbrance of a family, or any thing to controul his wishes or desires, he had his mode of living to chuse. Blest with what was to him a competence, he had it now in his power to study, to meditate, and to put in practice a variety of good resolutions, which, almost from his first entrance into life, he had been making. Some specimens of these have been given in a collection of prayers and devotional exercises lately published by his direction, to which I could add a great number. They are the effusions of a fervent piety, and the result of most severe examinations of himself in his hours of retirement; and have for their objects, early rising, a good use of time, abstinence, the study of the Scriptures, and a constant attendance on divine worship; in the performance of all which duties he seems to construe his frequent interruptions into criminal remissness. One extract from his diary I however here insert, for the purpose of shewing the state of his mind at about the beginning of the year 1766.

"Since the last reception of the Sacrament, I hope I have no otherwise grown worse, than as continuance in sin makes the sinner's condition more dangerous. Since last New-year's day, I have risen every morning by eight, at least, not after nine: which is more superiority over my habits than I have ever before been able to obtain. Scruples still distress me. My resolution, with the blessing of God, is, to contend with them, and, if I can, to conquer them.

"My resolutions are,

To conquer scruples.
To read the Bible this year.

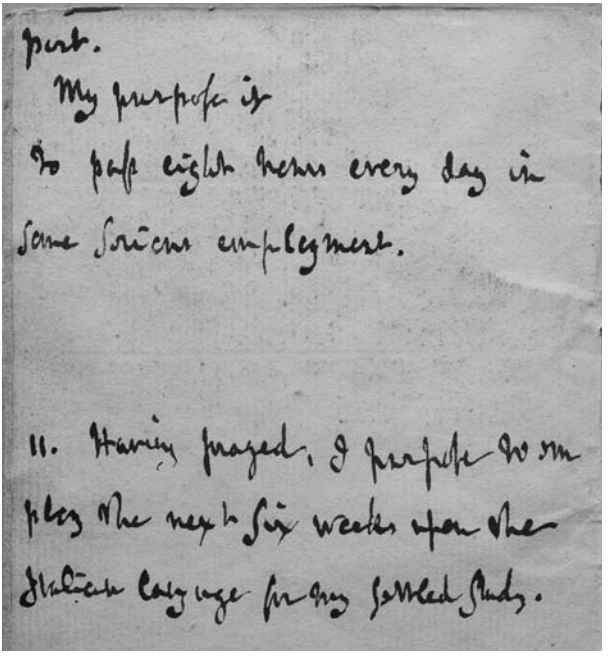
* See his "Life of Milton" among the "Lives of the Poets."



1781

August 9. 3. p. m. ætat. 72 in the Summer house at Streatham.

After innumerable supplications formed and neglected, I have retired hither to pass a life of greater diligence, in hope that I may yet be useful, and be daily better prepared to appear before my Creator and my Judge from whose infinite mercy I hourly [illegible] for assistance and support.



port.

My purpose is

to pass eight hours every day in some serious employment.

11. Having prayed, I purpose to employ the next six weeks upon the Italian Language for my settled Study.

Pages of Samuel Johnson's diary for 9–11 August 1781. (HM 2599, reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California)

To try to rise more early.
To study divinity.
To live methodically.
To oppose idleness.
To frequent divine worship."[566]

It was a frequent practice with him, in his addresses to the divine Majesty, to commemorate and recommend to mercy his wife and departed friends; and the knowledge thereof has induced a suspicion, that he adopted the Romish tenet of Purgatory. To clear his memory from this imputation, I am necessitated to mention a few particulars which I learned from him in conversation, that may serve to shew, that no such conclusion is to be drawn from his practice in this respect; for that his acquiescence therein arose from a controversy, which, about the year 1715,[567] was agitated between certain divines of a Protestant communion that profess to deny, not less than they did the doctrine of transubstantiation, that of purgatory.

These were, the non-juring clergy of the time; of whom, and also of their writings, Johnson was ever used to speak with great respect. One of them, Dr. Thomas Brett,[568] was a man profoundly skilled in ritual literature, as appears by a dissertation of his, printed, together with a collection of ancient liturgies, in 1720;* and he, as I infer from the style of the book and the method of reasoning therein, wrote a tract intitled, "Reasons for restoring some prayers and directions, as they stand in the communion-service of the first English reformed liturgy, compiled by the bishops in the second and third years of king Edward VI." among which he argues for the following petition, part of the prayer for the whole state of Christ's church, since called a prayer for the whole state of Christ's church militant here on earth. "We commend unto thy mercye, O Lord, all other thy seruauntes, which are departed hence from us, with the signe of faythe, and nowe do rest in the slepe of peace: Graunte unto them, we beseche thee, thy mercy, and euerlastyng peace, and that at the daie of the generall resurrection, we and all they which bee of the misticall body of thy sonne, may altogether bee set on his right hand, and heare that his most joyfull voice: Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my father, and possesse the kingdome whiche is prepared for you from the begynning of the worlde: Graunt this, O Father, for Jesus Christes sake, our onely mediatour and aduocate."

* Johnson once told me, he had heard his father say, that, when he was young in trade, king Edward the Sixth's first liturgy was much enquired for, and fetched a great price; but that the publication of this book, which contained the whole communion-office as it stands in the former, reduced the price of it to that of a common book.

He first shews, that the recommending the dead to the mercy of God is nothing of the remains of popery, but a constant usage of the primitive church; and for this assertion, he produces the authority of Tertullian, who flourished within an hundred years after the death of the apostle St. John, and also, the authority of St. Cyprian, St. Cyril, St. Ambrose, St. Epiphanius, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine, by citations from the several writings of those fathers.

He then argues, that this custom neither supposes the modern purgatory, nor gives encouragement to libertinism and vice; that the ancient church believed the recommending the dead a serviceable office; that the custom seems to have gone upon this principle, that supreme happiness is not to be expected till the resurrection, and that the interval between death and the end of the world is a state of imperfect bliss; the church, therefore, concludes he, might believe her prayers; for good people would improve their condition, and raise the satisfactions of this period.

No one will say that these are mean authorities, or object to the practice of thus recommending the dead, as an innovation, excepting those persons who reject all tradition in matters of religion. Bucer was one that did, and, therefore, being consulted in the revisal of king Edward's first liturgy, he argued, that there being no express warrant in Scripture for the practice, prayer for the dead was sinful; and, accordingly, the words contended for were omitted in the second.

This tract was, with great acuteness, and no less learning, answered by another nonjuring divine, in one intituled "No sufficient reasons for restoring some prayers and directions of king Edward the sixth's liturgy." A reply was given to it, and the controversy was carried on to a great length; the result of it was, a schism among the nonjurors; those, for restoring the prayers, compiled a new communion-office; others, who were against widening the breach with the national church, chose to abide by the present form; and this diversity of sentiments and practice was, as Johnson once told me, the ruin of the nonjuring cause.

In the study of this controversy, which I have reason to think interested Johnson very deeply, he seems to have taken part with Dr. Brett and the separatists his followers, whose conduct is accounted for and vindicated, in the dissertation on liturgies abovementioned.

Such as are disposed to charge Johnson with weakness and superstition, and are so weak as to insinuate that, because he recommended his deceased wife and friends to the divine mercy, (though with the qualifying words, "so far as it may be lawful")[569] he must have been popishly affected, or a believer in the doctrine of purgatory, may hence learn to be less severe in their cen-

sures, and lament their ignorance of ecclesiastical history, which would have taught them, that the practice prevailed long before popery was established, or purgatory thought of; and that, though it may upon the whole be defensible, there is more to be said for it, than many of the enemies to his memory are able to answer.*

And to those of his friends, who think that, for the sake of his reputation, the prayers and meditations, in which these sentiments have appeared, should have been suppressed, it ought surely to be an answer, that they were put into the hands of the reverend divine,[570] who, to my knowledge, attended him with great affection and assiduity through his last illness, with an express charge to commit them to the press, and who, if he had forborne this friendly office, had deprived a charitable and laudable institution of a benefit, which the performance of it was intended to confer.

With a view to improve the leisure he now enjoyed, and seemingly determined to reform those habits of indolence, which, in the former part of his life, he had contracted, he removed from the Temple into a house in Johnson's court, Fleet-street, and invited thither his friend Mrs. Williams. An upper room, which had the advantages of a good light and free air, he fitted up for a study, and furnished with books, chosen with so little regard to editions or their external appearance, as shewed they were intended for use, and that he disdained the ostentation of learning. Here he was in a situation and circumstances that enabled him to enjoy the visits of his friends, and to receive them in a manner suitable to the rank and condition of many of them. A silver standish, and some useful plate, which he had been prevailed on to accept as pledges of kindness from some who most esteemed him, together with furniture that would not have disgraced a better dwelling, banished those appearances of squalid indigence, which, in his less happy days, disgusted those who came to see him.

In one of his diaries he noted down a resolution to take a seat in the church;[571] this he might possibly do about the time of this his removal. The church he frequented was that of St. Clement Danes, which, though not his parish-church, he preferred to that of the Temple, which I recommended to him, as being free from noise, and, in other respects, more commodious. His only reason was, that in the former he was best known. He was not constant in his attendance on divine worship; but, from an opinion peculiar to himself, and which he once intimated to me, seemed to wait for some secret impulse as a motive to it.

* Johnson in his early years associated with this sect of nonjurors,[572] and from them, probably, imbibed many of his religious and political principles.

I could never collect from his discourse, that he was drawn to public worship by the charms of pulpit eloquence, or any affection for popular preachers, who, in general, are the worst; nor can I form any judgment of the value he set on it, having never been present with him at church but once, and that at a time, when, in compliment to him, as it may be supposed, the preacher gave us a sermon, that read like a Saturday's "Rambler,"* and was, by many, soon discovered to have been cast in the same mould, or, in other words, of Johnson's composing; but he seemed to think it a duty to accept in good part the endeavours of all public instructors, however meanly qualified for the office, and ever to forbear exercising his critical talents on the effusions of men inferior in learning and abilities to himself. Probably he, on such occasions, recollected the quaint distich of Herbert:

"The worst have something good; where all want sense,
God takes the text and preacheth patience."[573]

Or he might have read, among the essays of the Messieurs of Port-Royal,[574] one that teaches us how to profit by bad preaching.

The Sundays which he passed at home were, nevertheless, spent in private exercises of devotion,† and sanctified by acts of charity of a singular kind: on that day, he accepted of no invitation abroad, but gave a dinner to such of his poor friends as might else have gone without one.

He had little now to conflict with but what he called his morbid melancholy, which, though oppressive, had its intermissions, and left him the free exercise of all his faculties, and the power of enjoying the conversation of his numerous friends and visitants. These reliefs he owed in a great measure to the use of opium, which, as I have elsewhere mentioned, he was accustomed to take in large quantities, the effect whereof was generally such an exhilaration of his spirits as he sometimes suspected for intoxication.

I am now about to mention a remarkable era of his life, distinguished by a connexion that, for many years, was a source of great satisfaction and comfort to him. It was a friendship, contracted, as his diary imports, in 1765, with Mr. Thrale,[575] a brewer, in Southwark, who, though a follower of a trade, which in other countries is lightly thought of, yet as in this it implies great

* The "Ramblers" published on Saturdays were generally on religious or moral subjects.

† He was accustomed on these days to read the Scriptures, and particularly the Greek Testament, with the paraphrase of Erasmus. Very late in his life he formed a resolution to read the Bible through, which he confessed to me he had never done; at the same time lamenting, that he had so long neglected to peruse, what he called the charter of his salvation.

opulence, and the power of conducing in various ways to the interests of the community, ranked as a gentleman. He had received the benefit of an university education, and was a representative in parliament, as his father had been, for the above-mentioned borough; and in every view of his character, could not but be deemed a valuable addition to the number of Johnson's friends. To his villa at Streatham, in Surrey, Johnson was invited, not as a guest, but as a resiant,[576] whenever he was disposed to change the town for the country air: for his accommodation, an apartment was allotted; for his entertainment, a library was furnished with such books as himself chose, and little was wanting to persuade him, that, when at Streatham, he was at home. He soon experienced the salutary effects of his new abode, and there is little doubt that to it he was indebted for some years of his life.

It might have been expected that Johnson, in the easy circumstances in which he had for some time felt himself, and with such a love of independence as he affected, would have declined obligations that he was unable to repay, at least in kind; but he knew that friendship weighs not in a balance the favours it confers. Mr. Thrale's tenders carried in them all the evidences of sincerity, and he had the example of men, equally wise with himself, to justify his acceptance of such invitations as were now made him.* The only obligation they subjected him to was, that of supporting his character, and, in a family where there were many visitants, furnishing such conversation was to be expected from a man who had distinguished himself by his learning, his wit, and his eloquence. This, it must be confessed, was a burdensome task to one who, like others, must be supposed to have had his sombrous[577] intervals, and, in the hour of repletion, to wish for the indulgence of being silent, or, at least, of talking like other men. To be continually uttering ap-

* The instances of this kind, that occur in the lives of eminent men, to speak of those of this country only, are not few. Hobbes of Malmesbury, passed many years of his life in philosophical retirement at Chatsworth, in the family of the earl of Devonshire; memorials whereof were formerly visible in Latin verses, written by him, with a diamond, on the windows of the house. Selden, at the countess of Kent's in White-friars, adjoining to the Temple. Mr. Locke was considered as one of the family of lady Masham, at Oates in the county of Essex. She was a daughter of Dr. Ralph Cudworth, a woman of such eminence for learning and piety, that the book intituled, "The whole Duty of Man," was, for some time, believed to be of her writing; and, lastly, Dr. Isaac Watts found a comfortable retreat from the cares of the world, in the family of Sir Thomas Abney, and his worthy descendants, at Newington in Middlesex. Johnson's situation in Mr. Thrale's family, was not so constant and uninterrupted as was that of the persons above-mentioned in their several abodes; but, in respect of the liberties allowed him, and the kindness with which he was treated, the comparison is no way to the disadvantage of this his friend.

ophthegms, or speeches worthy of remembrance, was more than could have been expected of Socrates.*

Besides the conveniences for study, with which he was furnished at Streatham, he had opportunities of exercise, and the pleasure of airings and excursions. He was once prevailed on by Mr. Thrale to join in the pleasures of the chace, in which he shewed himself a bold rider, for he either leaped, or broke through, many of the hedges that obstructed him. This he did, not because he was eager in the pursuit, but, as he said, to save the trouble of alighting and remounting. He did not derive the pleasure or benefit from riding that many do: it had no tendency to raise his spirits; and he once told me that, in a journey on horseback, he fell asleep. In the exercise of a coach he had great delight; it afforded him the indulgence of indolent postures, and,

* What were Johnson's sentiments of a situation like this, may be gathered from the following note, which I meet with in his "Adversaria,"[578] or Collections for the "Rambler," now in my possession, and spoken of in a preceding page.

"Philomeidis invited to the house of Largus in the country, as a wit. Largus means to credit himself by his acquaintance—calls in the country to be entertained—they come, big with expectation, full of awe. Silent; therefore, I silent—disappointed—Largus chagrined—Behaviour of boors before a wit—their eagerness, expectation, surprise, at any thing common. I near dull—Cleora, a lady dreaded for her elegance and knowledge, came by chance; I shone: I now am proud; nobody worth speaking to. Inform them, Mr. Rambler, that no man can be a wit at pleasure, or converse wittily by himself.—I was at first invited to tables—my friend now goes without me—I restrain, not direct.

"Nothing so unfortunate as a wit by profession, one who raises expectation at his entry—always in debt—many pay with common places—others unwilling to part with what chance has brought them, spend their lives in straining, or get at one place to retail in another. Wit depends upon a thousand casualties—an occasion, combination of ideas, presence of mind, time, accidental fit. Those that excel in wit will own it is very little in a man's power. That no man can appoint an hour in which he will be witty. The luckiest thoughts such as a man not led to by a regular train. The mind of a witty man the soil in which wit planted grows, but few cultivate. A man, many thoughts in walk, bed, which when he has his pen and paper he cannot recover. Folly of suffering reputation to depend on a repartee which often favours the dull. The first principle of wit out of our power. Scaliger's genius. The English—Misery of writing without the vein then flowing. The happy have their days, and the unhappy, and the genius the happy, who has flows often and knows their value. The little power men have over their effusions Genius made ancients attribute to impulse."

The hints here inserted, were indubitably the rudiments of a paper, No. 101, in the "Rambler," the concluding paragraph of which is in the following words: "I believe, Mr. Rambler, that it has sometimes happened to others, who have the good or ill fortune to be celebrated for wits, to fall under the same censures upon the like occasions. I hope, therefore, that you will prevent any misrepresentations of such failures, by remarking,

as I discovered when I have had him in my own, the noise of it assisted his hearing.*

It cannot be supposed but that these indulgences were a great relief to Johnson in his declining years, they, nevertheless, indisposed him for meditation and reflection; and, as he has noted in his diary, assigning for the reason the irregularity of the family, it broke his habit of early rising, which he had persisted in from new-year's day 1765, to about the midsummer following.† It is possible that the family, had they been disposed to it, might with equal truth have complained, that he was little less irregular, and that, if they obliged him to break his resolution of early rising, he often prevented their retiring to rest, at a seasonable hour, that he might not want the gratification of tea.

About this time, Johnson had the honour of a conversation with his majesty,[579] in the library, at the queen's house. Whether the occasion of it was accidental, or otherwise, I have never been informed; but from this account of it, given by him, it afforded him great satisfaction. He spoke to me of the king's behaviour in terms of the highest gratitude and approbation, and described it as equalling in grace and condescension what might have been expected from Lewis the fourteenth, when the manners of the French court were in the highest state of cultivation. The public are already in possession of the handsome compliment which his majesty made him; I will, nevertheless, give it here a place: he asked Johnson if he intended to give the world

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that invention is not wholly at the command of its possessor; that the power of pleasing is very often obstructed by the desire; that all expectation lessens surprise, yet some surprise is necessary to gaiety; and that those who desire to partake of the pleasure of wit, must contribute to its production since the mind stagnates without external ventilation: and that effervescence of the fancy, which flashes into transport, can be raised only by the infusion of dissimilar ideas."

* In "Dr. Pope's Wish,"[580] I meet with the following note: "I have known several who could hear but little in their chambers, but when they were in a coach rattling upon the stones heard very well. I also knew a lady in Essex, whose name was Tyrrel, who, while she had occasion to discourse, used to beat a great drum, without which she could not hear at all; the reason whereof is this; the most frequent cause of deafness is, the relaxation of the tympanum or drum of the ear, which, by this violent and continual agitation of the air, is extended, and made more tight and springy, and better reflects sounds, like a drum new-braced."

† "March 3. I have never, I thank God, since new year's day, deviated from the practice of rising.

"In this practice I persisted till I went to Mr. Thrale's some time before Midsummer: the irregularity of that family broke my habit of rising. I was there till after Michaelmas."[581]

any more of his compositions; Johnson answered, he believed he should not, for that he thought he had written enough; "I should have thought so too," replied his majesty, "if you had not written so well."*

Johnson was now approaching towards sixty. He was an exact computer of time, and, as his essays abundantly shew, regretted deeply the lapse of those minutes that could not be recalled, and though, in his own judgment of himself, he had been criminal in the waste of it, he was ever resolving to subtract from his sleep those hours which are fittest for study and meditation. Numberless are the resolutions that I meet with in his diaries, for a series of years back, to rise at eight; but he was unable, for any long continuance, to perform them, a weakness, less inexcusable than he thought it, for he was ever a bad sleeper, and was sufficiently sensible of his infirmity, in that respect, to have allayed his scrupulosity, had he not been a most rigorous judge of his actions. To impress the more strongly on his mind the value of time, and the use it behoved every wise man to make of it, he indulged himself in an article of luxury, which, as far as my observation and remembrance will serve me, he never enjoyed till this late period of his life: it was a watch, which he caused to be made for him, in the year 1768, by those eminent artists Mudge and Dutton: it was of metal, and the outer case covered with tortoise-shell; he paid for it seventeen guineas. On the dial-plate thereof, which was of enamel, he caused to be inscribed, in the original Greek, these words of our blessed Saviour, Νυξ γαρ ερχεται,† but with the mistake of a letter μ for ν; the meaning of them is, "For the night cometh."[582] This, though a memento of great importance, he, about three years after, thought pedantic; he, therefore, exchanged the dial-plate for one in which the inscription was omitted.

In the same year, 1768, upon the establishment of the royal academy of painting, sculpture, &c. Johnson was nominated professor of ancient literature, an office merely honorary, and conferred on him, as it is supposed, upon the recommendation of the president, Sir Joshua Reynolds.

* Many sayings of princes have been thought worthy of recording. I recollect one, of George the Second, which, for the elegance of it, deserves to be remembered. In the rebellion in 1745, Mr. Thornton, a Yorkshire gentleman, raised, at his own expence, a body of horse, and, though but newly married to a beautiful young woman, headed it, and joined the king's army. After the defeat at Culloden, he, with his wife, went to court, where being seen by the king, who had noticed Mrs. Thornton, he was thus accosted by the monarch: "Mr. Thornton, I have been told of the services you have rendered to your country, and your attachment to me and my family, and have held myself obliged to you for both; but I was never able to estimate the degree of the obligation till now that I see the lady whom you left behind you."

† John, chap. ix. v. 4.

In the variety of subjects on which he had exercised his pen, Johnson had hitherto forborne to meddle with the disputes of contending factions, which is all, that, at this day, is to be understood by the word politics. He was ever a friend to government, in a general sense of the term, as knowing what benefits society derives from it; and was never tempted to write on the side of what is called opposition, but at a period of his life, when experience had not enabled him to judge of the motives which induce men to assume the characters of patriots.[583] In the year 1769 he saw with indignation the methods which, in the business of Wilkes, were taken to work upon the populace, and, in 1770, published a pamphlet, intituled "The False Alarm,"[584] wherein he asserts, and labours to shew, by a variety of arguments founded on precedents, that the expulsion of a member of the House of Commons, for such offences as he had been convicted of, was both just and seasonable, and that no such calamity as the subversion of the constitution, was to be feared from an act, that had usage, which is the law of parliament, to warrant it. The non-acquiescence of the people interested in the question, is therefore branded by him with folly and madness, in the following animated expressions:—"Every artifice of sedition has been since practised to awaken discontent, and inflame indignation. The papers of every day have been filled with exhortations and menaces of faction. The madness has spread through all ranks and both sexes; women and children have clamoured for Mr. Wilkes; honest simplicity has been cheated into fury, and only the wise have escaped the infection."

To ridicule the conduct of opposition, he adopts a term, invented by the leaders thereof, and calls the conjuncture of events, at the time of which he is speaking, an *alarming crisis*, but endeavours to abate the fears of its termination, by alluding to parliamentary decisions apparently partial, and sometimes oppressive; and shewing that the vexation excited by injustice, suffered, or supposed to be suffered, by any private man or single community, was local and temporary. This position he illustrates by the following observation: "We have found by experience, that though a squire has given ale and venison in vain, and a borough has been compelled to see its dearest interests in the hands of him whom it did not trust, yet the general state of the nation has continued the same. The sun has risen, and the corn has grown, and whatever talk has been of the danger of property, yet he that ploughed the field commonly reaped it, and he that built the house was master of the door."

In a tone more grave, he addresses such as are capable of conviction, and tells them—that "they have as much happiness as the condition of life will easily receive; and that a government, of which an erroneous, or unjust, rep-

resentation of one county only, is the greatest crime that interest can discover, or malice can upbraid, is a government approaching nearer to perfection than any that experience has shewn, or history related."

The pamphlet concludes with some shrewd remarks on the support given to faction by the sectaries, and that frigid neutrality of the tories in this business, which he censures in these words: "They do not yet consider that they have at last a king, who knows not the name of a party, and who wishes to be the common father of his people."

It was not to be imagined, that a publication, so unpopular as this, would long remain unanswered. Of many answers to it, one alone seemed to Johnson worthy of a reply;[585] but, in a consultation with his friends, he was advised to forbear. Had he engaged in a vindication of "The False Alarm," the world might possibly have been entertained with a specimen of his abilities in controversial writing, in which there is little doubt that he would have displayed the temper and perspicuity of Hooker, the strength of Chillingworth, and the dexterity of Hoadly, though, in truth, he was no friend to controversy; his opinion on that subject being, that it seldom produced conviction, that an impotent argument against a book was best refuted by silence, and that it is want of policy to give immortality to that which must of itself expire.

In the next succeeding year, a subject of more general importance to the interests of this country engaged his attention: it was a question between us and the court of Spain, touching the pre-discovery, and, consequently, the right of dominion over certain islands in the South Seas, known to us by the name of Pepys's or Falkland's islands,[586] and to the Spaniards by that of the Malouines, spots of earth so inconsiderable, as Johnson asserts, that in the desert of the ocean they had almost escaped human notice: and which, if they had not happened to make a sea-mark, had perhaps never had a name. Lord Anson, in his voyage, had noticed these islands, and the relator thereof had recommended them as necessary to the success of any future expedition against the coast of Chili, and, of such importance, that the possession of them would produce many advantages in peace; and in war would make us masters of the South Sea. In 1748, our ministry sent out a few sloops, for a fuller knowledge of Pepys's and Falkland's islands, and for further discoveries in the South sea; but, upon a remonstrance of Wall, the Spanish ambassador here, maintaining the right of his master to the exclusive dominion of the South sea, they relinquished part of their original design, and our purpose of settling there was disowned. Thus the matter rested, till lord Egmont was appointed to the direction of our naval operations, who, in the year 1765, sent out an expedition, the commander whereof took possession of Falkland's island in the name of his Britannic majesty, and placed a garrison in a place

of defence, to which he gave the appellation of Port Egmont. In this settlement, we were soon after disturbed; for Madariaga, a Spanish commodore, with five frigates and a train of artillery, appearing before the island, obliged our people to capitulate, and obtained possession. This event was no sooner known at our court, than hostilities against Spain were resolved on, and a powerful fleet was assembled: these preparations brought on a conference between prince Masserano, the Spanish ambassador here, and our minister, and a subsequent negotiation at Madrid, between Mr. Harris our minister there, and the marquis Grimaldi: the result was, a disavowal on the part of Spain of the violent enterprise of Buccarelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, who had sent the force that dispossessed the English, and a promise to restore the port and fort called Egmont, with all the artillery and stores therein, but with a declaration, that this engagement should not affect the question of the prior right of sovereignty of the Malouine, otherwise called Falkland's islands.*

The acquiescence of our court in these concessions of that of Madrid, and the reference of a disputable question to the Greek calends,[587] furnished the leaders of faction with a new topic for clamour, and war became the cry. The heavy burthen of debt, incurred by the last, was no reason against a new one, and millions were to be expended, and thousands murdered, for the titular sovereignty of an island, which Johnson thus strongly and even poetically characterises:—"A bleak and gloomy solitude, an island thrown aside from human use, stormy in winter, and barren in summer: an island which not the southern savages have dignified with habitation; where a garrison must be kept in a state that contemplates with envy the exiles of Siberia; of which the expence will be perpetual, and the use only occasional, and which, if fortune smile upon our labours, may become a nest of smugglers in peace, and in war the future refuge of buccaniers."

These are his sentiments respecting the incommodities of this contested settlement: against the advantages suggested by the relator of Anson's expedition, whom he represents as having written under the influence of a heated

* The conference at London was with lord Rochford, then secretary of state for the southern department, who, in discourse with me, gave an account of it to this effect, viz. that he represented to the Spanish ambassador, that the inflexibility of his court in this business had compelled us to arm, that our fleet was manned, and the officers and sailors impatient for action; that the nation having incurred the expence of a naval equipment, would hardly be satisfied without a trial of what it was able to effect; and that a refusal of concessions on the part of Spain would inevitably bring on a war between the two powers, which, as it would be confined to the sea, must prove a short one.

imagination, he opposes the following arguments founded in true policy and sound morality:

"That such a settlement may be of use in war, no man that considers its situation will deny. But war is not the whole business of life; it happens but seldom, and every man, either good or wise, wishes that its frequency were still less. That conduct which betrays designs of future hostility, if it does not excite violence, will always generate malignity: it must for ever exclude confidence and friendship, and continue a cold and sluggish rivalry, by a sly reciprocation of indirect injuries, without the bravery of war, or the security of peace.

"The advantage of such a settlement in time of peace is, I think, not easily to be proved. For, what use can it have but of a station for contraband traders, a nursery of fraud, and a receptacle of theft? Narborough, about a century ago, was of opinion, that no advantages could be obtained in voyages to the South sea, except by such an armament as, with a sailor's morality, *might trade by force*. It is well known, that the prohibitions of commerce are, in these countries, to the last degree, rigorous, and that no man, not authorized by the king of Spain, can trade there but by force or stealth. Whatever profit is obtained, must be gained by the violence of rapine, or dexterity of fraud.

"Government will not, perhaps, soon arrive at such purity and excellence, but that some connivance at least will be indulged to the triumphant robber and successful cheat. He that brings wealth home, is seldom interrogated by what means it was obtained. This, however, is one of those modes of corruption with which mankind ought always to struggle, and which they may, in time, hope to overcome. There is reason to expect, that as the world is more enlightened, policy and morality will at last be reconciled, and that nations will learn not to do what they would not suffer.

"But the silent toleration of suspected guilt is a degree of depravity far below that which openly incites and manifestly protects it. To pardon a pirate may be injurious to mankind; but how much greater is the crime of opening a port in which all pirates will be safe? The contraband trader is not more worthy of protection: if, with Narborough, he trades by force, he is a pirate; if he trades secretly, he is only a thief. Those who honestly refuse his traffic, he hates as obstructors of profit; and those with whom he deals he cheats, because he knows that they dare not complain. He lives with a heart full of that malignity, which fear of detection always generates in those who are to defend unjust acquisitions against lawful authority; and when he comes home with riches thus acquired, he brings a mind hardened in evil, too proud for reproof, and too stupid for reflection; he offends the high by his insolence, and corrupts the low by his example."

To silence this clamour, to defeat the purposes of a wicked and malevolent faction, to allay the thirst for human blood, and to bring the deluded people to a sense of their true interest, was the aim of Johnson in writing this most judicious pamphlet: he succeeded in his endeavour, the miseries of war were averted, the contractors disappointed, and a few months restored the populace to the use of their understandings.

In a review of the several particulars herein before related, it will appear, that Johnson's course of life was very uniform. London was a place of residence which he preferred to all others, as affording more intelligence, and better opportunities of conversation than were elsewhere to be found, and he was but little delighted either with rural scenes or manners. Novelty, and variety of occupations, it is true, were objects that engaged his attention, and from these he never failed to extract information. Though born and bred in a city, he well understood both the theory and practice of agriculture, and even the management of a farm: he could describe, with great accuracy, the process of malting; and, had necessity driven him to it, could have thatched a dwelling. Of field recreations, such as hunting, setting, and shooting, he would discourse like a sportsman, though his personal defects rendered him, in a great measure, incapable of deriving pleasure from any such exercises.

But he had taken a very comprehensive view of human life and manners, and, that he was well acquainted with the views and pursuits of all classes and characters of men, his writings abundantly shew. This kind of knowledge he was ever desirous of increasing, even as he advanced in years: to gratify it, he was accessible to all comers, and yielded to the invitations of such of his friends as had residences in the country, to vary his course of living, and pass the pleasanter months of the year in the shades of obscurity.

In these visits, where there were children in the family, he took great delight in examining them as to their progress in learning, or, to make use of a term almost obsolete, of apposing them.* To this purpose, I once heard him say, that in a visit to Mrs. Percy,[588] who had the care of one of the young princes, at the queen's house, the prince of Wales, being then a child, came

* To appose signifies to put questions. Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, who was educated in the old school of the abbey of Westminster, relates, that he was frequently examined in this manner by Editha the wife of Edward the confessor:—"Vidi ego illam multotiens, cum patrem meum in regis curia morantem adhuc puer inviserem, et saepius mihi de scholis venienti de literis ac versu meo apponebat, cum occurrerem, et libentissime de grammatica soliditate ad logicam levitatem, qua callebat, declinans, cum argumentorum subtili ligamine me conclusisset, semper tribus aut quatuor nummis per ancillulam numeratis ad regium penu transmisit, et refectum dimisit."—"Ingulphi historia," inter scriptores post Bedam, edit. Lond. 1596, p. 509. a.

into the room, and began to play about; when Johnson, with his usual curiosity, took an opportunity of asking him what books he was reading, and, in particular, enquired as to his knowledge of the Scriptures: the prince, in his answers, gave him great satisfaction; and, as to the last, said, that part of his daily exercises was to read Ostervald. In many families into which he went, the fathers were often desirous of producing their sons to him for his opinion of their parts, and of the proficiency they had made at school, which, in frequent instances, came out to be but small. He once told me, that being at the house of a friend, whose son in his school-vacation was come home, the father spoke of this child as a lad of pregnant parts, and said, that he was well versed in the classics, and acquainted with history, in the study whereof he took great delight. Having this information, Johnson, as a test of the young scholar's attainments, put this question to him:——"At what time did the heathen oracles cease?"——The boy, not in the least daunted, answered:——"At the dissolution of religious houses."[589]

By the exercise of such offices as these; by his disposition to encourage children in their learning, and joining admonition to instruction, to exhort them to obedience to their parents and teachers, Johnson rendered himself a welcome guest in all the families into which he was admitted, and, in various ways, did he employ his talents in the gratification of his friends. A gentleman, with whom he had maintained a long and strict friendship, had the misfortune to lose his wife, and wished Johnson, from the outlines of her character, which he should give him, and his own knowledge of her worth, to compose a monumental inscription for her: he returned the husband thanks for the confidence he placed in him, and acquitted himself of the task in the following fine eulogium, now to be seen in the parish church of Watford in Hertfordshire:

In the vault below are deposited the remains of
JANE BELL,[590] wife of JOHN BELL, Esq;
who, in the fifty-third year of her age,
surrounded with many worldly blessings,
heard, with fortitude and composure truly great,

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Which passage, Stow in his "Annals," has thus rendered:

"I have seen her (saith Ingulphus) then, when being yet but a boy, I came to see my father dwelling in the king's court. And often coming from school, when I met her, she would appose me touching my learning and lesson, and falling from grammar to logicke, wherein she had some knowledge, would subtilly conclude an argument with me, and by a hand-maiden give three or foure peeces of money, and send me unto the place where I should receive some victuals, and so be dismissed."[591]

the horrible malady, which had for some time begun to
afflict her,
pronounced incurable;
and for more than three years,
endured with patience and concealed with decency,
the daily tortures of gradual death;
continued to divide the hours not allotted to devotion,
between the cares of her family, and the converse of
her friends;
rewarded the attendance of duty,
and acknowledged the offices of affection;
and while she endeavoured to alleviate by chearfulness,
her husband's sufferings and sorrows,
increased them by her gratitude for his care,
and her solicitude for his quiet.

To the memory of these virtues,
more highly honoured as more familiarly known,
this monument is erected by
JOHN BELL.*

He had long been solicited by Mr. James Boswell, a native of Scotland, and one that highly valued him, to accompany him in a journey to the Hebrides, or Western islands of that kingdom, as to a part of the world in which nature was to be viewed in her rudest and most terrific form; and where, whatever was wanting to delight the eye, or soothe the imagination, was made up by objects that could not fail to expand it, and turn delight into astonishment; and being now, in the year 1773, his own master, having no literary engagement to fulfil, he accepted the invitation. He began the tour proposed, in the autumn of the year above-mentioned, and, computing from the eighteenth day of August, when he left Edinburgh, to the ninth of November, when he returned thither, completed it in seven[592] weeks and six days; and, at his return to England, drew up and published an account of it.[593]

The Western islands of Scotland are called by the ancient geographers, the Aebudae and Hebrides. The Scotch historians, namely, Hector Boethius, bishop Lesly, Buchanan, and Johnson, have given us little more concerning them than their names. Camden has given a general but brief description of them, and speaks of their number as about forty-four; but bishop Gibson adds, that they have been reckoned at three hundred, in which computation

* She died in the month of October, 1771.

of every spot or islet must be supposed to be included: but a particular description of the Western islands was wanting to the world till the year 1703, when a person of the name of Martin,[594] published a book with that title, containing a full account of those islands, and of the government, religion, and customs of the inhabitants thereof; and also "of the second sight or faculty of fore-seeing things by vision, so common among them."

Of this writer little more is known, than that of which himself seems to be the relator, viz. that he was born in one of the most *spacious* and *fertile* isles in the west of Scotland; and, besides his liberal education at the university, had the advantage of seeing foreign places, and conversing with some of the royal society; but who, nevertheless, seems to have been a very weak, credulous, and superstitious man, and, notwithstanding his liberal education, with respect both to matter and form, an injudicious writer. The same person had a few years before made a voyage to St. Kilda, the most remote of the Western islands, and, in 1698, published a description thereof.

The defects of Martin, in the accounts given by him of the Hebrides, and the inhabitants of the several isles so called, are amply supplied by a late traveller thither, Mr. Pennant,[595] who, in the years 1769 and 1772 made the tour of Scotland, and, with a curious and penetrating eye remarked all that seems to have been worthy of notice, respecting either the situation of the spots by him described, or the people whom necessity has doomed, or particular circumstances have led, to become dwellers there.

The extent of these islands, from north to south, is computed at two hundred miles, and their medium width such as, were they one continent, would make a country as large as Scotland. Of the inhabitants, those of St. Kilda for instance, some are Christians, resembling, both in their religious tenets and purity of their lives, those of the primitive times; others are of the Romish communion, and the rest are of that denomination of protestants, who adhere to the reformation of that furious bigot John Knox. The civil constitution of these several tracts of land, for countries they are not to be called, is uniform: it is feudatory,[596] and of this the many castles and places of defence, every where visible among them, in which their lords and chieftains reside, are evident proofs. In extent of land they differ greatly: Sky, the largest of them, is above sixty measured miles long; but, the greater number of them are less than four miles in length, and two in breadth. Iona, or Icolmkill is but two miles long and one broad, yet it was once an episcopal seat, and had on it a cathedral and a place of sepulture, in which no fewer than forty-eight Scottish, eight Norwegian, and four Irish kings, are interred; and also, two monastic establishments, the one for men, the other for women: the ruins of these edifices are yet remaining, and may be seen, accurately delineated, in

Mr. Pennant's "Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides," made in 1772, and published in 1774. Others of these isles are yet smaller: Cannay is three miles by one, and Staffa is a mile long, and half a mile broad, and has but one house.

The situation of these islands, in the bosom of the deep, exposed to howling winds, and beating waves that excavate their very foundations, and rains whose intermission is little more than casual, together with the inconveniences of an excision[597] from the continent, is a circumstance so much against them, as to deprive the inhabitants of many of the greatest social comforts, and the possibility of subsisting under the want of them is hardly conceivable. It is true, that in some of the islands, nearest the continent, the necessaries, and some of the luxuries, of life are attainable, by a communication with the nearest shore; but extreme indigence is the lot of all the islanders, excepting their chieftains, and the proprietors of land held in feudal subjection immediately under them. In the subordinate ranks, the condition of the people is so forlorn and destitute, that, were it not that they are as virtuous and innocent as they are poor, they must be deemed the most wretched inhabitants of the earth.*

* Martin, a writer, that in mere matters of fact may be trusted, in his voyage to St. Kilda relates a variety of particulars respecting that island and the inhabitants thereof. Of the island he says, that it is two miles long, one broad, and five in circumference, and is one hard rock, with earth from six inches to three foot deep; but with not a tree, nor even a shrub thereon. Of the inhabitants, and their manner of living, he gives a description, which, being abridged, has furnished the following account. They are computed at about one hundred and eighty: they observe the christian Sabbath, and believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and have three chapels covered with thatch, and in one of them a brazen crucifix, on which they swear, and contract matrimony: they speak the Erse language, are charitable to each other, and shew great humanity to shipwrecked strangers. The head of the Mac-Leod family is the proprietor of the island, who governs it by his steward. Though they have sheep and a few oxen, their chief food is Solan geese and their eggs, both which they come at by climbing the rocks at the peril of their lives: to take them they are suspended from the precipices by ropes of an immense length, covered with salted cow-hides, of which there are only three on the island, which are the joint property of all the dwellers thereon. When they climb the rocks, it is with their elbows, their backs being to the rock. The dress of the women is partly linen, and partly plaid: they wear shoes only in winter, and those the skins of the neck of the Solan goose; that part which covers the head of the fowl serving for the heel. Their bread is made of barley or oats, and their drink water or whey. They have only one steel and tinder-box on the whole island, and that is private property. The women are beautiful and innocent, and the inhabitants in general courteous: their ordinary form of salutation, "God save you." In common with the people of the northern regions, they have a vein of poetry, that is to say, a faculty in rhyming, and are lovers of music and dancing, but know no instrument save the jews' harp.

The circumstances of discrimination between these people and the rest of mankind, are so many, and their characters, by consequence, so different, their manners and customs so singular, and their mode of life so inconsistent with all that can be conceived, even in the lowest degree of civilization, that we are not to seek for the motives which, at different times, have induced travellers to visit them.

The islands which Johnson and his friend saw, though few in comparison with the whole number, were some of the most considerable of the Hebrides; and his manner of describing them and the inhabitants, as also, his reception, is entertaining; but it is not enough particular to render it intelligible to a stranger. In the relation of historical facts, and local circumstances, Johnson delighted not: whatever intelligence came in his way, furnished him with matter for reflection, and his book is rather a disquisition on Hebridian manners, than such a description of the islands and the people as it was in his power to give.

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The same author, in his latter publication, "The description of the Western isles," gives a pleasant account of an inhabitant of St. Kilda, who, being prevailed on to accompany some traders to Glasgow, was astonished at the length of the voyage, and the prospect of that city. His relation is as follows:

"Upon his arrival at Glasgow, he was like one that had dropped from the clouds into a new world, whose language, habit, &c. were, in all respects, new to him: he never imagined that such big houses of stone were made with hands; and, for the pavements of the streets, he thought it must needs be altogether natural; for he could not believe that men would be at the pains to beat stones into the ground to walk upon. He stood dumb at the door of his lodging with the greatest admiration; and, when he saw a coach and two horses, he thought it to be a little house they were drawing at their tail with men in it; but he condemned the coachman for a fool to sit so uneasy, for he thought it safer to sit on the horse's back. The mechanism of the coach-wheel, and its running about, was the greatest of all his wonders.

"When he went through the streets, he desired to have one to lead him by the hand. Thomas Ross a merchant, and others, that took the diversion to carry him through the town, asked his opinion of the high church. He answered, that it was a large rock, yet, there were some in St. Kilda much higher, but that these were the best caves he ever saw; for that was the idea which he conceived of the pillars and arches upon which the church stands. When they carried him into the church, he was yet more surprised, and held up his hands with admiration, wondering how it was possible for men to build such a prodigious fabric, which he supposed to be the largest in the universe. He could not imagine what the pews were designed for, and he fancied the people that wore masks, (not knowing whether they were men or women) had been guilty of some ill thing, for which they dared not shew their faces. He was amazed at womens' wearing patches, and fancied them to have been blisters. Pendants seemed to him the most ridiculous of all things: he condemned perriwigs mightily, and much more the powder used in them: in fine, he condemned all things as superfluous he saw not in his own country. He looked

As an instance of Johnson's inattention to historical facts, let me mention his account of Icolmkill,*[598] called also Iona, which, though introduced by a sentiment that is admired for its piety and pathos of expression, is so abrupt, as to displease. He calls it that illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonia regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion; but who can read thus much, concerning a spot so dignified, without wishing, that the author had mentioned a few of those historical particulars, on which his reflections are founded? He might have told us from Bede, that the island takes its name from Columb, an abbot, who, about the year 565, came from Ireland, and preached the Gospel to the northern Picts, and was called the apostle of the Picts, and that Melischen their king, being converted to the faith of Christ, gave the abbot the Isle of Iona, by Bede called Hy or Hu, who built two churches thereon, in one whereof he is interred, and also a monastery.

Bede flourished about 734, and may be said to speak from recent authority. Bishop Gibson had recognised his account and adds, that in a little village here, or hereabout, named Sodor, or, as others call it, Soa, a bishop's see was erected, from which all the adjacent isles, including Iona, took the name

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with amazement on every thing that was new to him. When he heard the church bells ring, he was under a mighty consternation, as if the fabric of the world had been in great disorder. He did not think there had been so many people in the world as in the city of Glasgow; and it was a great mystery to him to think what they could all design by living so many in one place. He wondered how they could all be furnished with provision; and when he saw big loaves, he could not tell whether they were bread, stone, or wood. He was amazed to think how they could be provided with ale, for he never saw any there that drank water. He wondered how they made them fine cloaths; and to see stockings made without being first cut, and afterwards sewn, was no small wonder to him. He thought it foolish in women to wear thin silks, as being a very improper habit for such as pretended to any sort of employment. When he saw the womens' feet, he judged them to be of another shape than those of the men, because of the different shape of their shoes. He did not approve of the heels of shoes worn by men or women; and, when he observed horses with shoes on their feet, and fastened with iron nails, he could not forbear laughing, and thought it the most ridiculous thing that ever fell under his observation. He longed to see his native country again, and passionately wished it were blessed with ale, brandy, tobacco and iron, as Glasgow was."

* Martin says, that the word *Kill* in the Irish or Erse language signifies a church; if then we reject the preposition *I*, and call it Columkill, we seem to have an intelligible name for it, i.e. Columb's church island. He farther relates, that the churches and the monastery were, by the kings of Scotland, endowed with revenues to the amount of 4000 marks a year. But, whoever wishes for satisfaction in this, and many other particulars respecting this island, will receive it in the perusal of Mr. Pennant's "Voyage to the Hebrides."

of Sodorenses: the jurisdiction thereof, he elsewhere says, was given to the bishop of the isle of Man, and hence arises the compound appellative, bishop of Sodor and Man. In the first of these particulars, he, however, stands corrected in a relation cited by Mr. Pennant, and founded on good authority, purporting, that during the time that the Norwegians were in possession of the isles, they divided them into two parts; the northern, which comprehended all that lay to the north of a certain promontory, and were, therefore, called the Norderys; and the southern, which were those that lay to the south thereof, and were, for a similar reason, called the Suderys. "Voyage to the Hebrides," 257.

I have some reason to think that, in writing the account of his journey to the Western islands, Johnson has in his eye one of the most delightful books of the like kind in our language, "Maundrell's journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem."[599] The motives that induced him to undertake a labour so formidable to a man of his age, as his tour must be thought, I will not enquire into: doubtless, curiosity was one of them; but, it was curiosity directed to no peculiar object. He was neither an antiquary nor a naturalist; he had little acquaintance with the treasures which lie below the surface of the earth; and for the study of botany he never discovered the least relish. If any particular subject may be said to have engaged his attention, it must have been the manners of a people of whom he knew little but by report, the knowledge whereof might furnish him with new topics for reflection and disquisition, an exercise of his mental powers which, of all others, he most delighted in. That in this employment he has conducted himself with that impartiality which becomes a lover of truth, the natives of the kingdom he visited deny; and, that he carried out of this country the temper of a man who hoped for an hospitable reception among strangers, few are so hardy as to assert. Accordingly, we find in his narrative an intermixture, not only of praise and blame, but of gratitude and invective.

The volume which this tour gave birth to may properly be called a dissertation,[600] for it has scarcely any facts, and consists chiefly in propositions which he hunts down, and enlivens with amusing disquisition. As he says himself, on another occasion, the negative catalogue of particulars is very copious: what he did not see, what he could not learn, what he would not believe, what he did not enquire about, and what he is not sure of, altogether form a considerable enumeration. Yet the merit of this tract is great; for, though I will admit that no one going his route could derive from him direction or intelligence; though no remembrance could be refreshed, nor remarks corroborated; because his web was spun, not from objects that presented themselves to his view, but from his own pre-existent ideas; I am convinced,

that every body must have regretted the omission, had he, for any reason, withheld so entertaining a series of reflections.

A reference to the work will discover both the cause and effect of the confined observation that must be remarked in it: he professes his views to be directed to life and manners: of the former, if taken in its general sense, he could obtain but little knowledge who was entertained by the opulent, at the best houses, with the best fare of the country, and who, while he suffered no inconvenience within doors, enquired after little without; and, of the latter he could gain little information, for the manners he most closely observed were imported from the places where southern elegance is taught. His known love of ease precluded him from intelligence: all deficiencies by which he could suffer, the natural hospitality of those to whom he was a guest, temporarily supplied or concealed, and happy was it for him that he found not the same prejudices that he carried with him.

In all Johnson's disquisitions, whether argumentative or critical, there is a certain even-handed justice that leaves the mind in a strange perplexity. When he speaks of the paucity of trees in Scotland, his indignation seems excited at the supineness it manifested. He says—"to drop a seed into the ground can cost nothing, and the trouble is not great of protecting the young plant till it is out of danger."[601]——In this the reader willingly acquiesces, and wonders, with Johnson, that plantation is neglected, till he is told in conclusion of the paragraph, that it must be allowed difficult, where there is neither wood for palisades, nor thorns for hedges. He again, in a subsequent page, resumes the same kind of satirical admiration, which he balances by observing, that the land which covers future forests cannot be arable. This also is satisfactory: the question of first importance certainly is—Where shall *corn*[602] grow?—no one will deny, that food must be secured, before the delights of foliage, or the emoluments of timber are thought of. But all our wonder and regret at national inactivity, is dissipated, when we are told, that Sir James Macdonald had made an experiment by planting several millions of trees, which the want of fences to keep the cattle off, had rendered abortive. Thus it is that he frequently raises an edifice, which appears founded and supported to resist any attack; and then, with the next stroke, annihilates it, and leaves the vacuity he found.

With respect to the inaccuracy he has been charged with,[603] it must, in justice, be imputed to the defect of his perceptions: he neither saw nor heard clearly; and, though this might be urged against his attempting to relate what he had met with or been told, it must be admitted in excuse for any mis-representation; since no one could acquire credit by doubting the uniform verac-

ity of Johnson. He candidly confesses his inability, whenever he suspected it; and owns, that his thoughts are the thoughts of one who has seen little.

I wish I could as readily apologize for the manner in which he speaks of the people of that part of Scotland he visited. He seems to think a barren soil disgraceful to the proprietors; and his aversion is most excited; where he finds the comforts of life most sparingly bestowed: where he meets with refinement, he is placid, and is unwilling to depart from elegance; but, when he is displeased, or unsatisfied, he expresses himself with a keenness of satire, which, however it may delight by its poignancy, is not to be justified; and I have reason to think very highly, not only of the kindness which consulted his humour, but of that temper and forbearance which restrained those persons who, while they were endeavouring to gratify him, received indubitable proof of his antipathy to their country.

But it is due to him to take notice, that in civility he has preserved the same equilibrium as in argument. If he has stigmatized Scotland as a country, and the Scots as a people, his compliments to individuals, in some measure atone for it: they are judicious, elegant, and well conceived, and express the sense of gratitude proportioned to the favours he experienced.

I will not repeat, for I do not wish to perpetuate, those passages that have given disgust. I have ever esteemed the Scots as a brave, hospitable, and virtuous people, and should be very sorry if they imagined Johnson's prejudices common to their southern neighbours. If, in his journey across their continent, he had remembered, that a very commendable and well-directed spirit of literary industry had distinguished them, and, when among the Hebridians, that a perpetual struggle against difficulties, and a patient toleration of irremediable evils, is eminently laudable, I am persuaded he would have written with less asperity, and that his remarks would not have given that offence which I cannot but own well founded.

It is no less to be lamented, that he left not behind him those prejudices against the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland and the religious persuasion of the people, which, though in England they gave little offence, could not, in that kingdom, be indulged without the suspicion of bigotry. It is pretty well agreed that, between the church of England and that of Scotland, the questions in dispute relate not to doctrines, but to discipline, which, in the judgment of many sober persons, is numbered among things indifferent. Being in a country of which Christianity, in its utmost purity, is the religion, it might have been expected, that Johnson, with a true catholic spirit, and as a testimony of respect for their teachers, would occasionally have been present at divine service in their churches; but his narrative contains not the

least hint of any such compliance, though he has noted his joining in public worship at the English non-juring episcopal chapel at Aberdeen.*[604]

From a tour to which he had no stronger an incentive, from which he was so little able to extract pleasure, and which had occasioned a suspension of the enjoyments he found in a metropolis, it seems at first wonderful, that he should have returned satisfied: that he did so is certain; and it must be attributed to the gratification he felt in the respect that had been paid to him, in seeing the celebrity he had acquired, and in increasing the stock of his ideas.

Had Johnson been more explicit in his acknowledgments of the hospitable and courteous treatment he experienced from a people, who had reason to look on him rather as a spy than a traveller, and might have said to him—"To discover the nakedness of the land are ye come,"[605]—he would have given a proof, that he had, in some degree, overcome his prejudices against them and their country; but they seemed to be unconquerable.

One of the last duties we learn, is that of considering mankind as one great family, and the natives of foreign countries, however differing from us in opinions, manners, customs, and other particulars, as standing in the same relation with ourselves to the common Father of us all: a duty which leads us, as Thomson elegantly expresses it, to

"——scan our nature with a brother's eye."[606]

Johnson's prejudices were too strong to permit him to extend his philanthropy much beyond the limits of his native country, and the pale of his own church; and, that he was unable to conquer his habits of thinking and judging, is the only apology that can be offered for his asperity towards the people whose country and manners he, in his journey above spoken of, has taken upon him to describe; or that he has forborne to display any such generous sentiments respecting the inhabitants of Scotland as others have done who have visited that country.

In the close of his book he might have at large expressed some sense of gratitude for the many courtesies that had been shewn him. He might have at least said, "the barbarous people shewed us much kindness"; but the last paragraph is frigid and unanimated to an excess of affectation, and must ever suffer by a comparison with the conclusion of Mr. Pennant's "Tour," which,

* For this condescension he would have had the example of Mr. Richard Baxter, a man whom he professed to admire, who, as I have been credibly informed, to testify his charity towards those from whom he dissented in opinion, was wont, once in every year, to communicate with the established church.

as well for its elegance, as the benevolent spirit which it evidences, I here insert.

"I look back to the North, and with a grateful mind acknowledge every benefit I received, from the remotest of the Hebrides to the present spot; whether I think of the hospitality of the rich, or the efforts of unblameable poverty, straining every nerve to accommodate me, amidst the dreary hills and ungenial skies. The little accidents of diet or of lodging, affect not me: I look farther than the mere differences of living or of customs, to the good heart, and extensive benevolence, which softens every hardship, and turns into delicacies the grossest fare. My constitution never yet was disposed to apathy, for which I can claim no merit, but am thankful to the author of my frame."——And, in a quotation from the "Religio Medici" of Sir Thomas Brown, he adds:——"I feel not in myself those common antipathies that I can discover in others: those national repugnancies do not touch me; nor do I behold with prejudice the French, Italian, Spaniard, or Dutch, much more my fellow-subjects, howsoever remotely placed from me. But, where I find the actions in balance with my countrymen's, I honour, love, and embrace them in some degree. I was born in the right climate, but seem to be framed and constellated unto all: all places, all airs, make unto me one country; I am in England every where and under every meridian."[607]

I must here observe, as it was a circumstance that gave him some trouble after his return to England, that during his stay in the Hebrides, Johnson was very industrious in his enquiries touching the Earse language, with a view to ascertain the degree of credit due to certain poems then lately published and ascribed to Ossian, an ancient bard, who, till then, had scarce been heard of. His opinion, upon the question of their genuineness, is pretty decisive, and will appear best in his own words.

"I suppose my opinion of the poems of Ossian is already discovered. I believe they never existed in any other form than that which we have seen. The editor, or author, never could shew the original;* nor can it be shewn by any other. To revenge reasonable incredulity by refusing evidence, is a degree of insolence with which the world is not yet acquainted; and stubborn audacity is the last refuge of guilt. It would be easy to shew it, if he had it; but whence could it be had? It is too long to be remembered, and the language formerly had nothing written. He has doubtless inserted names that circulate in popular stories, and may have translated some wandering ballads, if any can be found; and the names, and some of the images, being recollected, make an

* Johnson had required, that it should be deposited in either the King's or the Marischal college at Aberdeen, and submitted to public inspection; but this was never done.

inaccurate auditor imagine, by the help of Caledonian bigotry, that he has formerly heard the whole.

"I asked a very learned minister in Sky, who had used all arts to make me believe the genuineness of the book, whether at last he believed it himself; but he would not answer. He wished me to be deceived, for the honour of his country; but would not directly and formally deceive me. Yet, has this man's testimony been publicly produced, as of one that held Fingal to be the work of Ossian.

"It is said, that some men of integrity profess to have heard parts of it, but they all heard them when they were boys; and it was never said, that any of them could recite six lines. They remember names, and, perhaps, some proverbial sentiments; and, having no distinct ideas, coin a resemblance without an original. The persuasion of the Scots, however, is far from universal; and, in a question so capable of proof, why should doubt be suffered to continue? The editor has been heard to say, that part of the poem was received by him, in the Saxon character. He has then found, by some peculiar fortune, an unwritten language, written in a character which the natives probably never beheld.

"I have yet supposed no imposture, but in the publisher; yet, I am far from certainty, that some translations have not been lately made, that may now be obtruded as parts of the original work. Credulity on one part is a strong temptation to deceit on the other, especially to deceit of which no personal injury is the consequence, and which flatters the author with his own ingenuity. The Scots have something to plead for their easy reception of an improbable fiction: they are seduced by their fondness for their supposed ancestors. A Scotchman must be a very sturdy moralist, who does not love Scotland better than truth; he will always love it better than inquiry: and, if falshood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it. Neither ought the English to be much influenced by Scotch authority; for of the past and present state of the whole Earse nation, the Lowlanders are, at least, as ignorant as ourselves. To be ignorant is painful; but it is dangerous to quiet our uneasiness by the delusive opiate of hasty persuasion.

"But this is the age in which those who could not read, have been supposed to write; in which the giants of antiquated romance have been exhibited as realities. If we know little of the ancient Highlanders, let us not fill the vacuity with Ossian. If we have not searched the Magellanick regions, let us, however, forbear to people them with Patagons."[608]

No sooner did this strong and unequivocal declaration of Johnson's opinion of the poems of Ossian appear, than Mr. James Macpherson, the pub-

lisher of them, not only repelled the charge of forgery therein contained, but, in a letter to the author of it, threatened him with corporal chastisement. If Mr. Macpherson had known his man, he would probably have forborne the thought of such a revenge. To shew his contempt of him and all that he was able to do that could hurt him, Johnson returned the following brief but spirited answer:

"Mr. James Macpherson, No date.

"I received your foolish and impudent letter.—Any violence that shall be attempted upon me, I will do my best to repel; and what I cannot do for myself, the law shall do for me; for I will not be hindered from exposing what I think a cheat, by the menaces of a ruffian. What would you have me retract? I thought your work an imposition; I think so still; and, for my opinion, I have given reasons which I here dare you to refute.——Your abilities, since your Homer, are not so formidable; and, what I hear of your morality, inclines me to credit rather what you shall prove, than what you shall say."[609]

Whether Johnson was apprehensive that his adversary would put his threat in execution, or that he meant to shew all who came to see him, that he stood upon his guard, he provided himself with a weapon, both of the defensive and offensive kind. It was an oak-plant of a tremendous size; a plant, I say, and not a shoot or branch, for it had a root, which being trimmed to the size of a large orange, became the head of it. Its height was upwards of six feet, and from about an inch in diameter at the lower end, increased to near three: this he kept in his bed-chamber, so near the chair in which he constantly sat, as to be within reach.

But this precaution for his defence turned out to be unnecessary. Johnson's letter, above inserted, put an end to the dispute between him and Macpherson; but, by other persons, it was continued with a degree of asperity equal to that which was shewn in the controversy concerning the genuineness of Phalaris's epistles, and with as much acuteness as that which tended to ascertain the question, whether the poems lately ascribed to Rowlie are not forgeries. Moderators have also interposed, as there did in the dispute about the authenticity of the Sybilline oracles,[610] and with as little success: the world remains, and is likely ever to remain, without satisfaction in respect of either the one or the other.

Before this time, Johnson had undertaken to revise the former edition of his Shakespeare,[611] and extend his plan, by admitting the corrections and il-

lustrations of various other commentators. He therefore, in conjunction with Mr. George Steevens, published in 1773, a new edition of that author, in ten octavo volumes, which was republished with additions in 1778.

In 1774, the parliament having been dissolved, and Mr. Wilkes persisting in his endeavours to become a representative in that which was about to be chosen, Johnson addressed to the electors of Great Britain a pamphlet, entitled, "The Patriot";[612] the design whereof is to guard them from imposition, and teach them to distinguish that which of itself seems sufficiently obvious, the difference between true and false patriotism; but the madness of the people was then at its height, and they needed to be told how often in their lucid intervals they had lamented the deceits practised on them by artful and designing men. With this view, he describes a patriot, as one whose public conduct is regulated by one single motive, the love of his country; who, as an agent in parliament, has, for himself, neither hope nor fear, neither kindness nor resentment, but refers every thing to the common interest. These, and other marks of patriotism by him pointed out, he allows to be such as artifice may counterfeit, or folly misapply; but he enumerates several characteristical modes of speaking and acting, which may prove a man not to be a patriot; which discrimination he illustrates in sundry instances, by pointed references to the conduct of many of those men who were courting the favour of the people: these, an abridgment would injure, and I therefore give them in his own words: "It may safely be pronounced, that those men are no patriots, who, when the national honour was vindicated in the sight of Europe, and the Spaniards having invaded what they call their own, had shrunk to a disavowal of their attempt, and a relaxation of their claim, would still have instigated us to a war for a bleak and barren spot in the Magellanic ocean, of which no use could be made, unless it were a place of exile for the hypocrites of patriotism.——He that wishes to see his country robbed of its rights, cannot be a patriot. That man, therefore, is no patriot, who justifies the ridiculous claims of American usurpation; who endeavours to deprive the nation of its natural and lawful authority over its own colonies, those colonies which were settled under English protection, were constituted by an English charter, and have been defended by English arms. To suppose that, by sending out a colony, the nation established an independent power; that when, by indulgence and favour, emigrants are become rich, they shall not contribute to their own defence, but at their own pleasure, and that they shall not be included, like millions of their fellow-subjects, in the general system of representation, involves such an accumulation of absurdity, as nothing but the shew of patriotism would palliate."——His last designation of the class of men whom he means to stigmatise, is the following:——"That man is not

a patriot, who denies his governors their due praise, and who conceals from the public the benefits which they receive. Those, therefore, can lay no claim to this illustrious appellation, who impute want of public spirit to the late parliament; an assembly of men, who, notwithstanding some fluctuations of counsel, and some weakness of agency, the nation must always remember with gratitude, since it is indebted to them for a very ample concession in the resignation of protections, and a wise and honest attempt to improve the constitution, in the new judicature instituted to try elections."

Johnson published also in 1775, a pamphlet intitled, "Taxation no Tyranny,"[613] an answer to the resolutions and address of the American congress; in which, as the ground of his argument, he assumes as self-evident, the following proposition: "In all the parts of human knowledge, whether terminating in science merely speculative, or operating upon life private or civil, are admitted some fundamental principles, or common axioms, which, being generally received, are little doubted, and being little doubted, have been rarely proved.

"Of these gratuitous and acknowledged truths, it is often the fate to become less evident by endeavours to explain them, however necessary such endeavours may be made by the misapprehensions of absurdity, or the sophistries of interest. It is difficult to prove the principles of science, because notions cannot always be found more intelligible than those which are questioned. It is difficult to prove the principles of practice, because they have, for the most part, not been discovered by investigation, but obtruded by experience; and the demonstrator will find, after an operose deduction, that he has been trying to make that seen, which can be only felt.

"Of this kind is the position that *the supreme power of every community has the right of requiring from all its subjects such contributions as are necessary to the public safety or public prosperity*, which was considered by all mankind as comprising the primary and essential condition of all political society, till it became disputed by those zealots of anarchy, who have denied to the parliament of Britain the right of taxing the American colonies."

With much wit does he ridicule, and with force of reasoning refute, the arguments founded on the inability of the Americans to bear taxation, their powers of resistance, the stubbornness of their tempers, and the profits accruing to this country by its commerce with them: these, he tells us, are used only as auxiliaries to that other, which, as he briefly states it, is—"that to tax the colonies is usurpation and oppression, an invasion of natural and legal rights, and a violation of those principles which support the constitution of the English government."

He next considers the legal consequences of migration from a mother

country, and afterwards proceeds to an examination of that fallacious position, that from an Englishman nothing can be taken but by his own consent, and of the argument grounded thereon, that the Americans, being unrepresented in parliament, cannot be said to have consented in their corporate capacity, and that, refusing their consent as individuals, they cannot legally be taxed.

Of this he says, that "it is a position of a mighty sound, but that every man that utters it, with whatever confidence, and every man that hears it, with whatever acquiescence, if consent be supposed to imply the power of refusal, feels to be false, for that, in wide extended dominions, the business of the public must be done by delegation, and the choice of delegates is by a select number of electors, who are often far from unanimity in their choice; and where the numbers approach to equality, almost half must be governed, not only without, but against their choice." Of those, who are not electors, he says:—"they stand idle and helpless spectators of the commonweal, wholly unconcerned in the government of themselves." The resolution of the Congress, that their ancestors, who first settled the colonies, were, at the time of their emigration from the mother-country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects within the realm of England, he admits; but granting it, he contends, that their boast of original rights is at an end, and that, by their emigration, they sunk down into colonists, governed by a charter; and that though, by such emigration, they had not forfeited, surrendered, or lost, any of those rights, they had lost them by natural effects, that is to say, had abandoned them.——"A man," says he, "can be but in one place at once; he cannot have the advantages of multiplied residence. He that will enjoy the brightness of sunshine, must quit the coolness of the shade. And though an emigrant, having a right to vote for a knight or burgess, by crossing the Atlantic does not nullify that right, he renders the exertion of it no longer possible.[614]——But the privileges of an American," adds he, "scorn the limits of place; they are part of himself, and cannot be lost by departure from his country; they float in the air, or glide under the ocean."

He next considers the legal operation of charters, and forgets not to note, that from the exemption of the first settlers in Massachuset's bay from taxes for seven years, it must be inferred, that at the end thereof they were liable to taxation.

It is not my purpose to give at length the several arguments contained in this most excellent pamphlet. I shall, therefore, content myself with extracting from it a few passages, which stand distinguished from others, either by

their wit, or the strengths of reasoning displayed in them. Of that class are these that follow:

"To be prejudiced is always to be weak; yet there are prejudices so near to laudable, that they have often been praised, and are always pardoned. To love their country has been considered as virtue in men whose love could not be otherwise than blind, because their preference was made without comparison; but it has never been my fortune to find, either in ancient or modern writers, any honourable mention of those who have, with equal blindness, hated their country.

"These anti-patriotic prejudices are the abortions of folly, impregnated by faction, which, being produced against the standing order of nature, have not strength sufficient for long life. They are born only to scream and perish, and leave them to contempt or detestation, whose kindness was employed to nurse them into mischief."[615]

To the menaces of the heroes of Boston, that they would leave their town and be free, rather than submit to the stamp-act, in which case he says, they would leave good houses to wiser men, he opposes this sober advice:

"Yet, before they quit the comforts of a warm home for the founding something which they think better, he cannot be thought their enemy who advises them to consider well whether they shall find it. By turning fishermen or hunters, woodmen or shepherds, they may become wild, but it is not so easy to conceive them free; for who can be more a slave than he that is driven by force from the comforts of life, is compelled to leave his house to a casual comer, and, whatever he does, or wherever he wanders, finds every moment some new testimony of his own subjection? If choice of evils be freedom, the felon in the gallies has his choice of labour or stripes. The Bostonian may quit his house to starve in the fields; his dog may refuse to set, and smart under the lash, and they may then congratulate each other on the smiles of liberty, *profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight*.*

"To treat such designs as serious would be to think too contemptibly of Bostonian understandings. The artifice, indeed, is not new: the blusterer who threatened in vain his opponent, has sometimes obtained his end, by making it believed he would hang himself."[616]

In a more serious strain of reasoning, he thus argues: "Our colonies, however distant, have been hitherto treated as constituent parts of the British empire. The inhabitants, incorporated by English charters, are entitled to all the rights of Englishmen. They are governed by English laws, entitled to

* Addison's "Letter from Italy."

English dignities, regulated by English counsels, and protected by English arms; and it seems to follow by consequence not easily avoided, that they are subject to English government, and chargeable by English taxation."

The above citations are evidences of Johnson's skill in political controversy, and are but slight specimens of that species of oratory which delights the ear, and convinces the understanding. With respect to logical precision, and strength of argument, the tracts, from whence they are severally taken, defy all comparison; and, as they abound in wit, and discover nothing of that acrimony which disgraces former controversies, the Disciplinarian and Bangorian[617] not excepted, may be considered as standing exemplars of polemical eloquence, and political ratiocination.

The friends of sedition and rebellion were highly exasperated against Johnson for his interfering, by these publications, in the debate of political questions: they were provoked to see such talents as his employed in exposing the malignity of faction, and detecting the artifices of those, who, by specious oratory and false reasoning, were courting popularity, and deluding the inhabitants of this country into a resignation of their rights. It was not, said they, for a man of his abstracted genius, a philosopher, a moralist, and a poet, to concern himself in the contentions between parent-state and its offspring. The muses, gentle creatures! are of no party: they

"————————in a ring
Ay round about Jove's altar sing."

IL PENSEROSO.[618]

And, in conformity to this character, it behoved him to be a silent spectator of all that was passing, and leave the agitation of political questions to men, whose malevolence comprehended in it all the qualifications necessary in the course of such a warfare.*

But Johnson was of another mind: he was conscious of his own abilities, and felt within himself such powers of reasoning, such a knowledge of the principles of civil policy, as qualified him for a contest, not with American planters, or colony agents, but with tumid orators, factious lawyers, and interested selfish merchants. And, in this exercise of his pen, he was not less

* In like manner did they before resent the publication by Mr. Hogarth of a print called "The Times," the intent whereof was to unite the people, and facilitate the negociations for peace. The patriots in opposition to Sir Robert Walpole had, in their time, viz. immediately after the publication of "The Rake's Progress," endeavoured to engage Mr. Hogarth to design a series of prints, to be intitled "The Statesman's Progress," but he, scorning to prostitute his art to the purposes of faction, rejected their offer.[619]

sincere than formidable. Admitting him to be a tory, he was a friend to both the ecclesiastical and civil establishment of his country; and he thought it his duty, as a good subject, when the legislative authority was denied, to refute the arguments of such as resisted it.

It has been insinuated, that in his vindication of the measures of government, as contained in the several pamphlets before cited, Johnson had an eye rather to the obligation which his pension implied, than to the questions in debate.[620] This, if it could be proved, might be an objection to his integrity, but sets him but on a level with his opponents, whose apparent and known motive to opposition and clamour was the desire of popularity, as a means, whereby the ambitious among them hoped to attain power, and the indigent to acquire places or emoluments; and who will say, that an itch for vulgar applause is not as corrupt a motive to an action as any that can be imputed to one in Johnson's situation? But with matters of opinion, motives have nothing to do: arguments alone are the weapons of controversy. With respect to the first pamphlet, "The False Alarm," the question there agitated was, whether the expulsion of a member of one of the houses of parliament, by a majority of votes, imported a design on the liberties of the people; and impartial posterity, which must decide upon it, will look no farther than to the reasoning of each party.

Of those who endeavour at this time to excite suspicions of this nature, it may be truly said, that they understand neither the constitution, nor the politics of this country; nor do they know, that the former is now so amended by the concessions which, since the restoration, have been made by the crown to the people, that less is to be feared from princes, or their ministers, who are ever responsible for their conduct, than from artful and designing men, stimulated by ambition, or provoked by disappointment, and furnished with the fascinating powers of popular eloquence.

I forbear to animadvert on the two next succeeding pamphlets, "Falkland islands," and "The Patriot"; but shall observe, that the last of the four, "Taxation no Tyranny," has not only never received an answer,[621] but the converse of the proposition has never yet been so proved, by arguments founded on legal principles, as to make a vindication of Johnson's reasoning necessary, for any other purpose, than that of preventing the ignorant man from being misled. The principle assumed by Johnson, that "the supreme power of every community has the right of requiring from all its subjects such contributions as are necessary to the public safety, or public prosperity,"[622] is as self-evident, as that obedience is due from children to parents, and is not refuted by that assertion, that the consent of those who are required thus to contribute, is necessary, for, were it so, what becomes of the right? Neither is the position,

that taxation and representation are correlative, to be admitted as a principle of the English constitution, seeing it does not, nor ever did, exist as a part of it; and that the far greater number of the subjects of England, men who are not freeholders to a certain amount, copyholders, who are a third of the landholders in this kingdom, and all women, are unrepresented in parliament, and bound by laws enacted by the representatives of others, but in no sense of themselves. In cities, and boroughs, the representation is often of the meanest of the people; in London, for instance, where a mechanic, if he be a liveryman, has a vote, and a freeholder, wanting that qualification, though assessed ever so high to the land-tax, has none.

This assertion might possibly have place in a state about to be founded, as none ever was or is likely to be, on solemn agreement, or that political fiction called an original contract; but, the constitution of a state already formed, is to be taken as we find it. Nor has any one of those who deny the right of a mother-country to tax its colonies, attempted to prove an exemption, by any other arguments than are to be found in Mr. Locke's Essay on Government,[623] a discourse of general import, and which applies to no existing constitution on earth.*

The above tracts, as they contain no evidence of a personal attachment of the author to those who, at the respective times of their appearance, had the direction of the public councils, are a refutation of all those slanders which they drew on him; and, as the subjects of them, severally, are questions of the greatest national importance, sufficiently distinguish him from those hireling scribblers, who, in the contests of factions, are retained on the side of either party, and whom the vulgar style political writers. In like manner did Addison and Hoadly employ their talents: they were both friends of government, and wrote in defence of the public measures, and not only escaped obloquy, but were and still are celebrated as lovers of their country.

I have hitherto forborne to speak, otherwise than in general terms, of Johnson's political principles; but, the task of reviewing the tracts above cited, has

* I once had a conversation on this subject with a nobleman, who afterwards attained to the height of power in the administration, and was against the prosecution of the American war; the same who was once heard to utter this stabbing truth, that the sun of Great Britain's glory was then set; who went no farther than to doubt of the right above spoken of; and, for this doubt he had no better a reason to urge, than that Cromwell, in his levies on the Americans for the common service, contented himself with a bare requisition of such supplies as they, in their discretion, should judge proportionate to their circumstances and abilities. The same offer had been made by Mr. Grenville to the American agents here; but, being kept back from their constituents, it failed of its effect.[624]

revived in my memory many of his sentiments, which, at different times, he communicated to me, on the subjects of government, the English constitution, and the motives to party opposition. That he was a tory, he not only never hesitated to confess, but, by his frequent invectives against the whigs, was forward to proclaim: yet, was he not so besotted in his notions, as to abett what is called the patriarchal scheme, as delineated by Sir Robert Filmer[625] and other writers on government; nor, with others of a more sober cast, to acquiesce in the opinion that, because submission to governors is, in general terms, inculcated in the Holy Scriptures,[626] the resistance of tyranny and oppression is, in all cases, unlawful: he seemed rather to adopt the sentiments of Hooker on the subject, as explained by Hoadly,[627] and, by consequence, to look on submission to lawful authority as a moral obligation: he, therefore, condemned the conduct of James the second during his short reign; and, had he been a subject of that weak and infatuated monarch, would, I am persuaded, have resisted any invasion of his right or unwarrantable exertion of power, with the same spirit, as did the president and fellows of Magdalen college, or those conscientious divines the seven bishops.[628] This disposition, as it leads to whiggism, one would have thought, might have reconciled him to the memory of his successor, whose exercise of the regal authority among us merited better returns than were made him; but, it had no such effect: he never spoke of king William but in terms of reproach,[629] and, in his opinion of him, seemed to adopt all the prejudices of jacobite bigotry and rancour.

For the English constitution,[630] as originally framed, he ever expressed a profound reverence. He understood it well, and had noted in his mind the changes it had at various periods undergone, that is to say, first, in the reign of Hen. VII when the yeomanry were put into a state of competition with the nobility; afterwards, when by the abolition of tenures, and the putting down the court of wards and liveries, occasion was given to Sir Harbottle Grimston[631] to say that, in that transaction, neither did the crown know what it lost, nor the people what they had gained; and lastly, by the erecting a monied, in opposition to the landed, interest, and the introduction of the science and practice of funding.

He, therefore, looked not on Magna Charta as the palladium of our liberties, (knowing full well, that, excepting that chapter thereof, which has been so often partially cited, that is to say, with the omission of the words, vel per legem terrae,* very little of the whole statute will apply to the constitution in its now improved state;) but to the subsequent concessions of the crown in

* Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut disseisietur de libero tenemento suo, vel libertatibus, vel liberis consuetudinibus suis, aut utlegatur, aut exuletur, aut

favour of the people, such as are the petition of right, the habeas-corpus act, the bill of rights, and numerous other statutes of a like beneficial tendency.

To party-opposition he ever expressed great aversion;[632] and, of the pretences of patriots, always spoke with indignation and contempt. He partook of the short-lived joy that infatuated the public, when Sir Robert Walpole ceased to have the direction of the national councils, and trusted to the professions of Mr. Pulteney and his adherents, who called themselves the country-party, that all elections should thenceforward be free and uninfluenced, and that bribery and corruption, which were never practised but by courtiers and their agents, should be no more. A few weeks, nay, a few days, convinced Johnson, and indeed all England, that what had assumed the appearance of patriotism, was personal hatred and inveterate malice in some, and in others, an ambition for that power, which, when they had got it, they knew not how to exercise. A change of men, and in some respect, of measures, took place: Mr. Pulteney's ambition was gratified by a peerage; the wants of his associates were relieved by places, and seats at the public boards; and, in a short time, the stream of government resumed its former channel, and ran with a current as even as it had ever done.

Upon this development of the motives, the views, and the consistency of the above-mentioned band of patriots, Johnson once remarked to me, that it had given more strength to government than all that had been written in its defence, meaning thereby, that it had destroyed all confidence in men of that character. Little did he then think, that the people of this country would again be deluded, by fallacious reasoning and specious eloquence, into a fruitless expenditure of more than one hundred millions, or that statues would ever be erected to eternize the memory of a minister,[633] of whom, in 1771, he said it would be happy if the nation should dismiss him to nameless obscurity; and of whom an able and experienced statesman once said, it would have been good for this country if he had never been born.

History has been said to be philosophy teaching by example,[634] and well would it be for mankind, if they would convert events into precepts, and not postpone their care to prevent evils, till their own experience shall have brought them home to themselves. New generations of men arise in succession, who, in the nonnage of their faculties, are credulous, weak, and open to deceit: these, unhackneyed in the ways of the world, trust to the professions of all who pretend a friendship for them; and, when they are told they are

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aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, vel per legem terrae. Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus justitiam, vel rectum.[635]

ill governed, are as ready, as were the Israelites of old, to murmur against their rulers.[636] And let all be said that can of a principle in men invested with power, to abuse it and become tyrants, the history of the world will inform us, that there is also a disease, which the Scriptures emphatically term, the madness of the people,[637] from which evils greater than from despotism are to be feared, and that government, even where it is best administered, subsists more by force than by the consent of those who derive benefit from it. What an advantage, then, does this disposition in a people give to ambitious men, endowed with that kind of eloquence, which fascinates without conviction, and, while it delights, stupifies!

His frequent reflections on the politics of this country, and the willingness of the people to be deceived, had begot in Johnson such an apathy, as rendered him deaf to the calls of those who were watching over our dearest rights. When the cry was loudest against general warrants,[638] he took not the alarm; and, when they were declared illegal, he protested to me, that he would, at no time of his life, have given half a crown to be for ever indemnified against their operation. The question of the legality of that kind of process is now at an end, and I will not arraign the decision that condemned it; but it will ever remain a question, whether we have not lost more by it than we have gained; and, that the friends of liberty, particularly the citizens of London, may be enabled to discuss it, I will furnish them with a few facts, that I believe they have never yet been aware of.

Few are so ignorant as not to know, that the English manufactures excel those of all other countries; but many there are who need to be told, that the time may come, when they shall cease to maintain the character. Many of the princes of Europe have become emulous of our greatness, and have long been labouring to establish, in their dominions, such articles of trade, as should not only rival ours, but, in respect of cheapness, gain a preference at foreign markets. To this end, it has, for some years past, been the practice of the emissaries of foreign courts, by their agents, and the temptation of large premiums, to engage artificers to leave this country, and, taking with them their wives and families, as also their engines, tools, and implements of their respective trades, to settle abroad. Clothiers, weavers, frame-work-knitters, watch-makers, and men of various other occupations, have been the people whom they have chiefly thus inveigled, and have, from time to time, in great numbers, in ships provided and stationed for the purpose, transported out of the kingdom. To check this practice, acts of parliament have been made, which lay such emigrants under great disabilities, even to the depriving them of the privileges of subjects, and others that inflict heavy penalties on those that seduce them; and the aid of government has been frequently implored to

restrain, in their flight from their native land, ship-loads of the most useful of all subjects. The method has uniformly been, upon information given at his office, for a secretary of state to issue his warrant, a general one, that is to say, without any specification of names, to stop the sailing of the vessel, which, perhaps, was lying at Wapping, Ratcliff, or Blackwell, ready with the tide to depart. Warrants of this kind seldom failed of their effect; the emigrants were seized, and the mischief prevented.

This relief it is now not in the power of government or its ministers to grant: the answer to such an application is now, and must be—"General warrants have been determined to be illegal: furnish us with the names of the persons whom you would have apprehended, or we cannot help you."*

The licence, which this determination affords, has already begun to operate, and, perhaps, in no instance more than in the article of watches. For many years past, this manufacture has flourished to such a degree, that large fortunes have been acquired by it, and that chiefly in our commerce with Spain, in which country, a watch, fabricated in England, has been deemed a present for a grandee, and even for a sovereign prince. It is well known, that the late king of Spain[639] was extremely fond of clocks and watches, and that he was used, by letters in his own hand-writing, to correspond with Mr. Ellicot on the subject of his art; and, that this ingenious artificer learnt the Spanish language, to enable him to maintain the correspondence with his majesty. Since that time, the French, and also the Genevans, have become our rivals in this curious species of mechanism, and we have lately experi-

* In cases where it has been possible to aid the manufacturers of this kingdom, the secretaries of state are, however, still ready to exert the little authority which the decision on general warrants has left them, as will appear by the following article of news, extracted from the "St. James's Chronicle" of the tenth of December, 1785:

"Liverpool, Dec. 1. Tuesday last a man was committed to jail, on a charge of having in his possession a great number of machines for spinning, &c. of cotton, with intent to get such machines conveyed to the dominions of the emperor of Germany. He also stands charged with another very serious offence, the enticing a number of manufacturers in the cotton branch to go and settle in the emperor's dominions. The vigilance and activity of ministry have traced out this most notorious offender, and several others engaged with him in the same pernicious scheme, big with destruction to this country. The penalty for having manufacturing machines, implements, &c. in a person's custody, with the bare intent of exporting them to any place out of his majesty's dominions, is £200 and forfeiture of such manufacturing machines, implements, &c. and the penalty of persuading, or attempting to persuade, any artificer in manufactures to reside in any place out of the king's dominions, is £500 for the first offence, and twelve months' imprisonment, and £1000 and two years' imprisonment, for every future offence."

enced, that English watches no longer find their vent abroad.* The woollen, the silk, the linen, and the cotton manufactures have been obliged to the legislature for assistance against the endeavours of other European powers, to establish them in their several countries, where, as labour is cheaper than it is with us, they would have a good chance to flourish, and exclude us from foreign markets.

These mischiefs have followed from the restraint of a power, which, as it had oftener been exercised for the benefit of the trade and manufactures of this kingdom, than to the hurt of individuals, might well have been suffered to remain where it was, especially as the ministers thereof were, at all times, responsible for any abuse of it.

The probable consequence of this innovation will be, that in a few years, we shall see the French and neighbouring nations excel us as much in other manufactures, as they already do in those of cambrick and paper, in printing, and other of the manual arts.

The calamities which ensue from the stagnation of commerce, are many and grievous, and, when these begin to be felt, as they shortly may, those good people of this country, who have of late been so clamorous for liberty, may recover their wits, and be half persuaded, that a sinking trade, empty warehouses and unfurnished shops are greater evils than any loyal and peaceable subject need fear from the operation of a general warrant.

The publication of Johnson's political tracts, exhibited him to the world in a new character: he ceased now to be considered as one who, having been occupied in literary studies, and more conversant with books than with men, knew little of active life, the views of parties, or the artifices of designing men: on the contrary, they discovered that he had, by the force of his own genius, and the observations he had made on the history of our own and other countries, attained to such skill in the grand leading principles of political science, as are seldom acquired by those in the most active and important stations, even after long experience; and that, whatever opinions he might have formed on this subject, he had ability by strong reasoning to defend, and by a manly and convincing eloquence to enforce.

Mr. Thrale, a man of slow conceptions, but of a sound judgment, was not

* "Twelve thousand watches have already been brought back, in the ships arrived this summer from India, which has created no small stir and combustion among the dealers in that article. They were not returned for want of a good market, but for their bad materials, and worse finishings; the natives being now become almost as good judges of this branch of British manufacture as many of our European makers." "St. James's Chronicle," 19th July, 1785.

one of the last that discerned in his friend this talent, and believing, that the exercise of it might redound to the benefit of the public, entertained a design of bringing Johnson into parliament.[640] We must suppose that he had previously determined to furnish him with a legal qualification, and Johnson, it is certain, was willing to accept the trust. Mr. Thrale had two meetings with the minister, who, at first, seemed inclined to find him a seat; but, whether upon conversation he doubted his fitness for his purpose, or that he thought himself in no need of his assistance, the project failed.

Had it succeeded, and Johnson become a member of the house of commons, as he was one of the most correct speakers ever known,* he would undoubtedly have exhibited to that assembly a perfect model of senatorial eloquence; and might probably have prevented the introduction therein of a great number of words, phrases, and forms of speech, to which neither dictionaries, nor the example of any English writer of authority, have given a sanction.†

Johnson was a little soured at this disappointment: he spoke of lord North in terms of asperity,[641] as indeed he did of all those ministers whose councils indicated a want of spirit to carry into action the measures which were resolved on as expedient: in which particular, the above minister must surely be exculpated, whose designs, it is too well known, were blasted by those to whom the execution of them was committed. Of the abilities of Mr. Grenville, he also entertained but a mean opinion,[642] for his giving up the Manila ransom.—"Grenville," he would say, "if he could have got the Manila ransom, was able to have counted the money, but he knew not how to enforce the payment of it." Of Sir Robert Walpole, notwithstanding that he had written against him in the early part of his life, he had a high opinion:[643] he said of him, that he was a fine fellow, and that his very enemies deemed him so before his death: he honoured his memory for having kept this country in peace many years, as also for the goodness and placability of his temper; of which Pulteney, earl of Bath, thought so highly, that, in a conversation with

* This all who knew him can attest. His written compositions were also so correct, that he, in general, trusted them to the press without a revisal. "Rasselas" he never red till it was printed; and having written at Mr. Langton's room at Oxford, an "Idler," while the post was preparing to set out, that gentleman would have perused it; but Johnson would not suffer him, saying—"You shall not do more than I have done myself."[644]

† Such as these: a truism —— reciprocity —— living in habits of friendship —— a shade of difference —— that line of conduct —— sentiments in unison —— blinking the question —— I am bold to say —— I should then commit myself —— and others equally affected and singular. See the speeches in the public papers for the last seven years.

Johnson, he said, that Sir Robert was of a temper so calm and equal, and so hard to be provoked, that he was very sure he never felt the bitterest invectives against him for half an hour.* To the same purpose, Johnson related the following anecdote, which he said he had from Lord North: Sir Robert having got into his hands some treasonable letters of his inveterate enemy, Will. Shippen, one of the heads of the Jacobite faction, he sent for him, and burned them before his face. Some time afterwards, Shippen had occasion to take the oaths to the government in the house of commons, which, while he was doing, Sir Robert, who stood next him, and knew his principles to be the same as ever, smiled:—"Egad Robin," said Shippen, who had observed him, "that's hardly fair."

It is not a little wonderful, that Sir Robert Walpole could preserve such an equanimity under the greatest provocations, as he is known to have done, or that he could entertain a kindness for any one, seeing he is known to have asserted, that every man has his price; to which I will add, from unquestionable authority, that some time before his death, he uttered this sentiment—"that so great is the depravity of the human heart, that ministers, who only could know it, were, in charity to mankind, bound to keep it a secret."[645]—— Agreeable to this of Dr. Young,

> "Heav'n's Sovereign saves all Beings but himself,
> That hideous sight, a naked human heart."
>
> "Night Thoughts, Narcissa."[646]

In the year 1775, Johnson received from the university of Oxford the highest testimony of esteem, which that learned body could confer, in a diploma creating him a doctor in the faculty of law.[647] The instrument bears date the thirtieth day of March, in the above year, and recites the motives for this honourable distinction in the following eulogium:—"Sciatis, virum illustrem, Samuelem Johnson, in omni humaniorum literarum genere eruditum,

* To this motive for honouring him, he might have added others; namely, the pains he took to extend the commerce of this country. Dean Tucker[648] has enumerated the many statutes which he procured to be passed for this purpose, and has both ascertained their number, and demonstrated the benefits which, for a series of years, we have been deriving from them. By the good understanding which he kept up with cardinal Fleury, he drew the attention of that minister from the marine of France, and the consequence thereof was, that in our sea-engagements with the French, under Anson, Warren, Hawke, and other commanders, their fleets proved an easy conquest; for which reason, the memory of cardinal Fleury is execrated, even to this day, by the French, who say, he was cajoled by the English minister.

omniumque scientiarum comprehensione felicissimum, scriptis suis, ad popularium mores formandos summâ verborum elegantiâ ac sententiarum gravitate compositis, ita olim inclaruisse, ut dignus videretur cui ab academiâ suâ eximia quaedam laudis praemia deferrentur, quique in venerabilem magistrorum ordinem summâ cum dignitate co-optaretur. Cum vero eundum clarissimum virum tot postea tantique labores, in patriâ praesertim linguâ ornandâ et stabiliendâ feliciter impensi, ita insigniverint, ut in literarum republicâ princeps jam et primarius jure habeatur, Nos Cancellarius, &c."

In the summer of the same year, Johnson accepted of an invitation from his friend Mr. Thrale, to make one of a party with him and his wife, in a tour to Paris.[649] No memoirs of this journey, in his own hand-writing, are extant; nor is the want thereof to be regretted, unless it were certain, that he was enough master of the French language to be able to converse in it,* and that he had noted down the reflections he may be supposed to have made in a visit to a strange country, and a residence among a people whose national character differs from our own. His garb and mode of dressing, if it could be called dressing, had long been so inflexibly determined, as to resist all the innovations of fashion. His friends had therefore great difficulty in persuading him to such a compliance in this respect, as might serve to keep them in countenance, and secure him from the danger of ridicule: he yielded to their remonstrances so far as to dress in a suit of black and a Bourgeois wig, but resisted their importunity to wear ruffles.†

In the course of this narrative it has been shewn, that although, and that by his own declarations, the literary faculties of Johnson were, at most times, inert, and that he could seldom be stimulated to the exercise of his pen, but by the immediate prospect of gain; yet, he was ever ready to assist the publication of any work that had either novelty or any intrinsic worth, with a life of the author, a dedication, preface, or an introduction tending to recommend it, as in the case of "Ascham's Pieces," the last edition of Sir Thomas Browne's "Christian Morals," and Kennedy's "Scripture Chronology," and many more, all of which he ushered into the world, and, for aught that appears, without any recompence. With a like benevolent disposition, he was ready to assist with a prologue, or an epilogue, the representation of a play written by a

* I have some reason to think, that at his first coming to town, and while he had lodgings in the Strand, he frequented Slaughter's coffee-house, with a view to acquire a habit of speaking French, but he never could attain to it. Lockman used the same method, and succeeded, as Johnson himself once told me.

† By a note in his diary it appears, that he laid out near thirty pounds in cloaths for this journey.

friend; or with an occasional address of the same kind, under circumstances that put it in his power to promote the interest of the family of a deceased author: accordingly, he wrote, for his friend Goldsmith, a prologue to a comedy written by him, called, "The Good-natured Man," and acted in 1769;[650] and, for the grand-daughter of Milton, a "prologue to Comus," exhibited on the fifth day of April, 1750.

The same good office he performed for the wife and children of Mr. Hugh Kelly, the author of a comedy called, "A Word to the Wise," which, in the year 1770, was brought on the stage, but, by the malice of a party, was obstructed in the representation, and consigned to oblivion. This person, it is said, was originally a stay-maker, but, being a man of wit and parts, he quitted that unmanly occupation, and having, as we must suppose, some slender means to enable him thereto, he betook himself to reading and study, and, at a time when the discipline of the inns of court was scandalously lax, got himself called to the bar, and practised at the quarter-sessions under me, but with little success. In aid of this profession, he became the conductor of a paper called "The Public Ledger," and took up that precarious one of a writer for the stage, in which he met with some encouragement, till it was insinuated, that he was a pensioner of the minister, and, therefore, a fit object for patriotic vengeance. He died in the year 1769, and leaving a wife and five children unprovided for, the proprietors of Covent-garden theatre, in 1777, with their usual generosity, permitted to be acted at their house, for the benefit of his family, the comedy above-mentioned; and to soften the hearts of the audience, Johnson was easily prevailed on to write upon the occasion the following very fine lines:

"This night presents a play, which public rage,
Or right or wrong, once hooted from the stage:
From zeal, or malice, now no more we dread,
For English vengeance *wars not with the dead*.*
A generous foe regards with pitying eye

* To the assertion contained in this line, I here note an exception. Whoever has viewed the monument of Camden in the south transept of Westminster abbey, must, till very lately, have remarked, that his bust thereon was defaced, the nose having been stricken off. This was no recent accident, but a designed injury to his memory, done to it by an exasperated young man who lived at the time of its erection. The fact is related by Dr. Thomas Smith, in his life of Camden,[651] prefixed to his letters, 4to. 1691, and is to this effect. Camden, in his annals, sub anno 1595, had related, that a young lady, whose name he suppressed, but whom I conjecture to have been the daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and one of queen Elizabeth's maids of honour, had been seduced by

The man whom fate has laid where all must lie.
To wit, reviving from its author's dust,
Be kind, ye judges, or at least be just:
Let no renew'd hostilities invade,
Th' oblivious grave's inviolable shade.
Let one great payment every claim appease,
And him who cannot hurt, allow to please;
To please by scenes, unconscious of offence,
By harmless merriment, or useful sense.
Where aught of bright or fair the piece displays,
Approve it only—'tis too late to praise.
If want of skill or want of care appear,
Forbear to hiss—the poet cannot hear.
By all, like him, must praise and blame be found,
At last, a fleeting gleam, or empty sound.
Yet then shall calm reflection bless the night,
When liberal pity dignified delight;
When pleasure fired her touch at virtue's flame,
And mirth was bounty with an humbler name."[652]

In the year 1777, he was induced, by a case of a very extraordinary nature, to the exercise of that indiscriminate humanity, which, in him, was obedient to every call. A divine of the church of England, Dr. William Dodd,[653] already mentioned in the course of this account, and who had assisted in the education of the present earl of Chesterfield, having, by his extravagance, involved himself in difficulties, had recourse to the following, among many other expedients, to raise money. As a pretended agent for this nobleman, and in consideration of the sum of £600 he forged the hand of the earl to the grant of an annuity, chargeable on his estate, which forgery being detected, Dodd was convicted of felony, and sentenced to the usual punishment for such offences. The public were, at first, very little interested in the fate of a man, who, besides the arts he had practised to make himself conspicuous as a man of letters, had rendered himself scandalous, by an offer, to the first law-

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the arts of a young man of high rank, to whom she was afterwards married, and who became distinguished for his bravery and learning, Sir Walter Raleigh, as I suppose. This fact, though notorious in the court, gave such offence to the young man abovementioned, who was a relation of the lady, as induced him to revenge himself on the author's memory by mutilating his effigy. The injury done to it has, however, been lately repaired, and the feature restored, by the direction, and at the expence of a friend to the memory of Camden.

officer in the kingdom, of a large sum of money, for a presentation to a valuable rectory; but, by various artifices, and particularly, the insertion of his name in the public papers, with such palliatives as he and his friends could invent, never without the epithet of *unfortunate*, they were betrayed into such an enthusiastic commiseration of his case, as would have led a stranger to believe, that himself had been no accessary to his distresses, but that they were the inflictions of Providence.

Great endeavours were used with the earl, to prevail on him to desist from a prosecution, but without effect. His lordship preferred a bill of indictment for felony, and the same being found before me at Hicks's Hall, upon the evidence of himself, and other witnesses, Dodd was, at the Old Bailey, arraigned thereon, and convicted.

The speech he made to the court and jury, while at the bar, was penned by Johnson; but the evidence on the trial, was so very full and clear, that the jury hesitated not in the least to pronounce him guilty of the indictment; and, no circumstances of alleviation appearing, they did not, as juries seldom fail to do where that is the case, recommend him as an object of that clemency, which his majesty is ever ready to exert, in favour of those who have the least claim to it.

We live in an age in which humanity is the fashion.[654] If the reports of the gaol-committee in 1726 are, in all particulars, to be depended on, and do not exaggerate the facts therein stated, there was a time when, as well prisoners for debt, as for offences, were cruelly treated by those who had the custody of them; but, at this day, the temper of the times is under a contrary biass, for, not only in actual confinement, are prisoners treated with greater lenity than till of late years was ever known, but, in courts of justice, the regard shewn to offenders falls little short of respect. In prosecutions at the suit of the crown, the indulgence of prisoners is nearly as great as it ought to be, were that true which the law does but hardly presume, viz. that every offender who is brought to the legal trial, is innocent, till his guilt be proved. Those whose duty it is to conduct the evidence, fearing the censure that others have incurred by a contrary treatment of prisoners, are restrained from enforcing it; and, as it is an exercise of compassion that costs nothing, and is sure to gain the applause of vulgar hearers, every one interests himself on the side of the prisoner, and hopes, by his zeal in his behalf, to be distinguished as a man of more than ordinary humanity.

The tenderness of our courts of justice, in prosecutions that affect the life or liberty of the offender, is acknowledged and celebrated by all writers on the subjects of jurisprudence and internal policy; but, beside this, the chances of eluding conviction, or, if not that, of punishment, are so many, that they deter

many injured persons from the prosecution of great criminals; and, as it is a speculation that has often employed my thoughts, I will endeavour at an enumeration of them. The chances are these: 1 That the offender is not discovered, or, if discovered, not apprehended. 2 That the person injured is not both able and willing to prosecute him. 3 That the evidence is not sufficient for the finding of the bill, or if it be, 4 That the indictment is so framed as that the offender cannot be convicted on it; or, 5 That the witnesses to support it may die, or be prevailed upon to abscond, or to soften their testimony; or, 6 They may be entangled or made to contradict themselves, or each other, in a cross examination, by the prisoner's council; or, 7 A mild judge; or, 8 An ignorant or perverse jury: 9 A recommendation to mercy; or, 10 Appeals to the public by states of his case in pamphlets, or news-paper paragraphs, which the Newgate solicitors know very well how to get drawn. 11 Practices with a jury to obtain a declaration, that some of them were dissatisfied with the verdict. 12 A motion in arrest of judgment. 13 A writ of error grounded on some defect or mistake on the face of the record. 14 An escape; and lastly, Interest to procure a pardon.*

But Dodd's case was such as excluded him from the benefit of all the above chances, excepting the last; and of that he laboured with all his might to avail himself. A petition to the throne for a pardon, was an expedient that naturally suggested itself, but, as it required the utmost powers of eloquence to palliate his offence, he found means to interest Dr. Johnson in his behalf, and easily

* To this purpose, and as a caveat against seeking redress for injuries by going to law, I recollect a saying of a very sagacious and experienced citizen, Mr. Selwin,[655] who formerly was a candidate for the office of chamberlain, and missed it only by seven votes out of near seven thousand.—"A man," says he, "who deliberates about going to law, should have, first, a good cause; secondly, a good purse; thirdly, an honest and skilful attorney; fourthly, good evidence; fifthly, able council; sixthly, an upright judge; seventhly, an intelligent jury; and, with all these on his side, if he has not, eighthly, good luck, it is odds but he miscarries in his suit."

The same person told me the following story: He was once requested by a man under sentence of death in Newgate, to come and see him in his cell, and, in pure humanity, he made him a visit. The man briefly informed him, that he had been tried and convicted of felony, and was in daily expectation of the arrival of the warrant for his execution; "but," said he, "I have £200 and you are a man of character, and had the court-interest when you stood for chamberlain: I should therefore hope, it is in your power to get me off."—Mr. Selwin was struck with so strange a motion, and, to enable himself to account for it, asked, if there were any alleviating circumstances in his case: the man peevishly answered—No,—but that he had enquired into the history of the place where he was, and could not find, that any one who had two hundred pounds, was ever hanged.—

procured from him two of the most energetic compositions of the kind ever seen,[656] the one a petition from himself to the king, the other, a like address from his wife to the queen, severally conceived in the terms following:

"To the King's most excellent Majesty.

"SIR,

"It is most humbly represented to your majesty by William Dodd, the unhappy convict now lying under sentence of death:

"That William Dodd, acknowledging the justice of the sentence denounced against him, has no hope of refuge but in your majesty's clemency.

"That though to recollect or mention the usefulness of his life, or the efficacy of his ministry, must overwhelm him, in his present condition, with shame and sorrow; he yet humbly hopes, that his past labours will not wholly be forgotten; and that the zeal with which he has exhorted others to a good life, though it does not extenuate his crime, may mitigate his punishment.

"That debased as he is by ignominy, and distressed as he is by poverty, scorned by the world, and detested by himself, deprived of all external comforts, and afflicted by consciousness of guilt, he can derive no hopes of longer life, but that of repairing the injury he has done to mankind, by exhibiting an example of shame and submission, and of expiating his sins by prayer and penitence.

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Mr. Selwin told him, it was out of his power to help him, and bade him farewell,—"which," added he, "he did; for he found means to escape punishment."

The disposition of the law, and of magistrates, to be merciful to offenders against it, leads me to remark, that in the people of this country there is a general propensity to humanity; and that, notwithstanding the cry against merciless creditors, urged in favour of insolvent acts, such a character is hardly now to be found. I have, in my time, discharged great numbers of debtors under such acts, and cannot recollect five instances where their discharge has been opposed. And, with regard to bankrupts and other insolvents, I am warranted by long experience and much observation to say, that in cases where their inability to pay their debts has arisen from misfortune, the readiness of creditors to accept a small composition, and give them fresh credit, has been such as I could not contemplate without calling to remembrance the parable in the Gospel of the lord that was moved with compassion, and forgave his debtor.[657] And, with respect to injuries, such as personal assaults or indignities, an Englishman never seeks farther than to humble his adversary: when that is done, forgiveness and shaking hands follow of course. If, therefore, it be true, that humanity is the offspring of courage, we have not far to seek for the source of British bravery.

"That for this end, he humbly implores from the clemency of your majesty, the continuance of a life legally forfeited; and of the days which, by your gracious compassion, he may yet live, no one shall pass without a prayer, that your majesty, after a long life of happiness and honour, may stand, at the day of final judgment, among the merciful that obtain mercy.

"So fervently prays the most distressed and wretched of your majesty's subjects,

"William Dodd."

"To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

"Madam,

"It is most humbly represented by Mary Dodd, wife of Dr. William Dodd, now lying in prison under sentence of death:

"That she has been the wife of this unhappy man more than twenty-seven years, and has lived with him in the greatest happiness of conjugal union, and the highest state of conjugal confidence.

"That she has been a constant witness of his unwearied endeavours for public good, and his laborious attendance on charitable institutions. Many are the families whom his care has delivered from want; many are the hearts which he has freed from pain, and the faces which he has cleared from sorrow.

"That, therefore, she most humbly throws herself at the feet of the queen, earnestly intreating, that the petition of a distressed wife asking mercy for a husband, may be considered as naturally soliciting the compassion of her majesty; and that, when her wisdom has compared the offender's good actions with his crime, she will be pleased to represent his case to our most gracious sovereign, in such terms as may dispose him to mitigate the rigour of the law.

"So prays your majesty's most dutiful subject and supplicant,

"Mary Dodd."

To the first of these petitions, but not without difficulty, Mrs. Dodd first got the hands of the jury that found the bill against her husband, and after that, as it is supposed, of the jury that tried him. It was then circulated about, and all the while the cry for mercy was kept up in the news-papers, and the merits and sufferings of the unfortunate divine were so artfully represented by paragraphs therein inserted, that, in a short space of time, no fewer than

twenty-three thousand names were subscribed thereto. Moreover, letters and addresses, written also by Johnson, imploring their interposition, were sent to the minister and other great persons.

While the two petitions were in suspence, the following observations, penned by Dr. Johnson, appeared in the public papers:

"Yesterday was presented to the secretary of state, by earl Percy, a petition in favour of Dr. Dodd, signed by twenty-three thousand hands. On this occasion it is natural to consider,

"That, in all countries, penal laws have been relaxed, as particular reasons have emerged.

"That a life eminently beneficent, a single action eminently good, or even the power of being useful to the public, have been sufficient to protect the life of a delinquent.

"That no arbiter of life and death has ever been censured for granting the life of a criminal to honest and powerful solicitation.

"That the man for whom a nation petitions, must be presumed to have merit uncommon, in kind or in degree; for, however the mode of collecting subscriptions, or the right of judgment exercised by the subscribers, may be open to dispute, it is, at least, plain, that something is done for this man that was never done for any other; and government, which must proceed upon general views, may rationally conclude, that this man is something better than other offenders have been, or has done something more than others have done.

"That though the people cannot judge of the administration of justice so well as their governors, yet their voice has always been regarded.

"This that is a case in which the petitioners determined against their own interest; those for whose protection the law was made, intreat its relaxation, and our governors cannot be charged with the consequences which the people bring upon themselves.

"That as this is a case without example, it will probably be without consequences, and many ages will elapse before such a crime is again committed by such a man.

"That though life be spared, justice may be satisfied with ruin, imprisonment, exile, infamy, and penury.

"That if the people now commit an error, their error is on the part of mercy: and that perhaps history cannot shew a time, in which the life of a criminal, guilty of nothing above fraud, was refused to the cry of nations, to the joint supplication of three and twenty thousand petitioners."

While Dodd was waiting the event of the petitions, his wife and friends were not idle. Dr. Johnson told me, that they had offered Akerman, the keeper of Newgate, a thousand pounds to let him escape; and that failing, that a number of them, with banknotes in their pockets, to the amount of five hundred pounds, had watched for a whole evening, about the door of the prison, for an opportunity of corrupting the turnkey, but could not succeed in the attempt.

When all hopes of a favourable answer to either of the petitions were at an end, Johnson drew up for publication a small collection of what are called "Occasional papers by the late William Dodd, L.L.D."[658] and five hundred copies thereof were printed for the benefit of his wife; but she, conscious that they were not of her husband's writing, would not consent to their being published; and the whole number, except two or three copies, was suppressed. The last office he performed for this wretched man, was the composing a sermon, which he delivered in the chapel of Newgate, on Friday 6th June, 1777, and which was soon after published with the title of "The Convict's Address."[659]

Johnson had never seen the face of Dodd in his life.[660] His wife had found her way to him during his confinement, and had interested him so strongly in his behalf, that he lamented his fate, as he would have done that of an intimate friend under the like circumstances. He was deeply concerned at the failure of the petitions; and asked me at the time, if the request contained in them was not such an one as ought to have been granted to the prayer of twenty-three thousand subjects? to which I answered, that the subscription of popular petitions was a thing of course, and that, therefore, the difference between twenty and twenty thousand names was inconsiderable. He further censured the clergy very severely, for not interposing in his behalf, and said, that their inactivity arose from a paltry fear of being reproached with partiality towards one of their own order.

Here I cannot forbear remarking, an inconsistency in the opinion of Johnson respecting the case of Dodd. He assisted in the solicitations for his pardon, yet, in his private judgment, he thought him unworthy of it, having been known to say, that had he been the adviser of the king, he should have told him that, in pardoning Dodd, his justice, in remitting the Perreaus to their sentence, would have been called in question.[661]

Of his great humanity the above instances might serve as proofs: here follows another, which has lately come to my knowledge.

While he was at Paris, in a visit to a convent in that city, he met with an Englishman, the librarian thereof, an ecclesiastic of the Romish communion, named Compton,[662] who, with the accustomed civility shewn to stranger by

persons in his station, produced to him the books of greatest rarity in his custody, and in many other ways gratified his curiosity, and assisted him in his researches. This person, a short time after, came to England, and renounced the errors of popery; but finding no friends, and being in great distress, communicated his wants to the superior of the monks in London, who for some time supplied them; till, having received instructions from France no longer to patronize an apostate, he was obliged to leave him to his fortunes. In this extremity, Mr. Compton recollected his casual acquaintance at Paris with Johnson, and conceiving a hope of assistance from him, found him out and made him a visit. Johnson, at the first interview, heard his story, and, with the warmest expressions of tenderness and esteem, put into his hand a guinea, assuring him, that he might expect support from him till a provision for him could be found, and which he would make it his business to seek. In pursuance of this promise, Johnson furnished him with decent apparel, and afterwards applied to the present bishop of London, who recognized him as a presbyter of the church of England, and licensed him to preach throughout his diocese. Moreover, he allowed money for his support, till about the beginning of last year, when he got to be morning preacher in the church of Allhallows on the Wall, London, and soon after, upon an attestation to his character for three years back, by two clergymen of reputation, he was chosen lecturer of the united parishes of St. Alban's Wood street, and St. Olave's Silver street, London.

About this time, Dr. Johnson changed his dwelling in Johnson's court, for a somewhat larger in Bolt court, Fleet street, where he commenced an intimacy with the landlord of it, a very worthy and sensible man, some time since deceased, Mr. Edmund Allen the printer. Behind it was a garden, which he took delight in watering; a room on the ground-floor was assigned to Mrs. Williams, and the whole of the two pair of stairs floor was made a repository for his books; one of the rooms thereon being his study. Here, in the intervals of his residence at Streatham, he received the visits of his friends, and, to the most intimate of them, sometimes gave, not inelegant dinners.

Being at ease in his circumstances, and free from that solicitude which had embittered the former part of his life, he sunk into indolence, till his faculties seemed to be impaired: deafness grew upon him; long intervals of mental absence interrupted his conversation, and it was difficult to engage his attention to any subject. His friends, from these symptoms, concluded, that his lamp was emitting its last rays, but the lapse of a short period gave them ample proofs to the contrary.

In the year 1774, the long-agitated question of literary property received a final decision, on an appeal to the supreme judicature of this kingdom,

whereby it was, in effect, declared, that such property was merely ideal, and existed only in imagination.*[663] The immediate consequence of this determination was, a scramble of the lowest and least principled of the booksellers, for the jewel thus cast among them. Regardless of that obvious rule of natural justice, which gives the possessor a right to what he has purchased, they printed books, for the copy-right whereof very large sums had been paid by booksellers, who, for their liberality to authors, and the encouragement by them given to voluminous works, had been looked on and acknowledged as the patrons of literature. Among these numerous depredators was one, who projected an edition of the English poets,[664] which, by advertisements conceived in the most hyperbolical terms, and calculated to impose upon the credulity of the ignorant, was obtruded on the public.

The booksellers, against whose interest this intended publication was likely to operate, derived their right to the works of many of the poets, included in the above design, by mesne assignments, from those ever respectable men the Tonsons, who had purchased them of their authors. To check this attempt therefore, they determined themselves to publish an edition of the poets, and, in order to obtain for it a preference, engaged Johnson to write the lives of all, or the chief of them; and he undertook and executed the task with great alacrity, and in a manner that argued not the least decline of his faculties.

When Johnson had determined on this work, he was to seek for the best

* In the arguments in this case, on a special verdict, in the court of King's-bench, it was admitted, that precedents, directly to the point, were wanting: it was, therefore, determined by lord Mansfield and two other judges, Yates alone dissenting, upon the simple principle of natural justice and moral fitness, that the right contended for did exist; and that these are part of the law of England is asserted, and has ever been understood. Vide Dodderidge's "English Lawyer," page 154 to 161, and "Doctor and Student" passim. Nevertheless, in the argument of an appeal to the lords from a decree of the court of Chancery in 1774, it was contended, that, in new cases, the judges had no right to decide by the rules of moral fitness and equitable right, but were to be ruled by precedents alone. An objection the more remarkable, as coming from men who are known to despise the study of antiquity, to have ridiculed the perusal of records, and to have treated with the utmost scorn, what they are pleased to term, black-letter learning. If this be law, and every judicial determination needs a precedent, we are left at a loss to account for those early and original determinations for which no precedent could be found, but which are now become fundamental principles of law: such, for instance, as that a bare right of action is not assignable; that, of things fixed to the freehold, felony cannot be committed; that a release to one trespasser is a release to all; and numberless others. Lord Hardwicke has been known to direct a search for precedents, and, when none could be found, to say—"I will make one."

mode of executing it. On a hint from a literary lady of his acquaintance and mine, he adopted, for his outline, that form in which the countess D'Aunois had drawn up the memoirs of the French poets, in her "Recueils des plus belles pieces des Poëts François"; and the foundation of his work was, the lives of the dramatic poets by Langbaine, and the lives of the poets at large by Winstanley, and that more modern one than either, their lives by Giles Jacob, whose information, in many instances, was communicated by the persons themselves. Nevertheless, the materials which Johnson had to work on were very scanty. He was never a sedulous enquirer after facts or anecdotes, nor very accurate in fixing dates: Oldys was the man of all others the best qualified for such an employment; Johnson's talent was disquisition; a genius like his, disdained so servile a labour. Whenever, therefore, he found himself at a loss for such intelligence as his work required, he availed himself of the industry of a friend or two, who took pleasure in furnishing him with such particulars as are to be found in the lives of Addison, Prior, Pope, Swift, Gay, and a few others, whose persons, habits, and characters, some yet, or very lately living, were able, either from their own knowledge, or authenticated tradition, to describe.

The book came abroad in the year 1778, in ten small volumes, and no work of Johnson has been more celebrated. It has been said to contain the soundest principles of criticism, and the most judicious examen of the effusions of poetic genius, that any country, not excepting France, has to shew; and so much of this is true, that, in our perusal of it, we find our curiosity, as to facts and circumstances, absorbed in the contemplation of those penetrating reflections and nice discriminations, which are far the greater part of it.

It is, nevertheless, to be questioned, whether Johnson possessed all the qualities of a critic, one of which seems to be a truly poetic faculty. This may seem a strange doubt, of one who has transfused the spirit of one of Mr. Pope's finest poems into one written by himself in a dead language, and, in two instances, nearly equalled the greatest of the Roman satyrists. By the poetic faculty, I mean that power which is the result of a mind stored with beautiful images, and which exerts itself in creation and description: of this Johnson was totally devoid. His organs, imperfect as they were, could convey to his imagination but little of that intelligence which forms the poetic character, and produces that enthusiasm which distinguishes it. If we try his ability by Shakespeare's famous description:

"The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from Heaven to earth, from earth to Heaven;
And, as imagination bodies forth

> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation, and a name:"[665]

he will appear deficient. We know that he wanted this power; that he had no eye that could be said to roll or glance, and, therefore, that all his conceptions of the grandeur and magnificence of external objects, of beautiful scenes, and extensive prospects, were derived from the reports of others, and consequently were by the feeble impressions of their archetypes; so that it may be questioned whether, either waking or sleeping,

> "Such sights as youthful poets dream,"[666]

were ever presented to his view.

This defect in his imaginative faculty, may well account for the frigid commendation which Johnson bestows on Thomson, and other of the descriptive poets, on many fine passages in Dryden, and on the "Henry and Emma" of Prior. Moral sentiments, and versification, seem chiefly to have engaged his attention, and on these his criticisms are accurate, but severe, and not always impartial. His avowed fondness for rhyme is one of the blemishes in his judgment: he entertained it in opposition to Milton, and cherished it through the whole of his life; and it led him into many errors. Dryden had his doubts about the preference of rhyme to blank verse; and I have heard Johnson accuse him for want of principle in this respect, and of veering about in his opinion on the subject. No such imputation could fasten on himself.

That Johnson had no sense of the harmony of musical sounds, himself would frequently confess, but this defect left him not without the power of deriving pleasure from metrical harmony, from that commixture of long and short quantities, which the laws of prosody have reduced to rule, and from whence arises a delight in those whose ear is unaffected by consonance. The strokes of the pulsatile instruments,[667] the drum for instance, though they produce monotonous sounds, have, if made by rule, mathematical ratios of duple and triple, with numberless fractions, and admit of an infinite variety of combinations, which give pleasure to the auditory faculty; but of this Johnson seems also to have been insensible. That his own numbers are so harmonious as, in general, we find them, must have been the effect of his sedulous attention to the writings of Dryden and Pope, and the discovery of some secret in their versification, of which he was able to avail himself.

If Johnson be numbered among those poets in whom the power of understanding, more than those of the imagination, are seen to exist, we have a reason for that coldness and insensibility which he so often discovers in

the course of this work; and, when we recollect that he professed himself to be a fastidious critic, we are not to wonder, that he is sometimes backward in bestowing applause on passages that seem to merit it. In short, he was a scrupulous estimator of beauties and blemishes, and possessed a spirit of criticism, which, by long exercise, may be said to have become mechanical. So nicely has he balanced the one against the other, that, in some instances, he has made neither scale preponderate, and, in others, by considering the failings of his authors as positive demerit, he has left some celebrated names in a state of reputation below mediocrity. A spirit like this, had before actuated him in his preface to Shakespeare, in which, by a kind of arithmetical process, subtracting from his excellencies his failings, he has endeavoured to sink him in the opinion of his numerous admirers, and to persuade us, against reason and our own feelings, that the former are annihilated by the latter.

His censures of the writings of lord Lyttelton, and of Gray, gave great offence to the friends of each: the first cost him the friendship of a lady,[668] whose remarks on the genius of Shakespeare have raised her to a degree of eminence among the female writers of this time; and the supposed injury done by him to the memory of Gray, is resented by the whole university of Cambridge. The character of Swift he has stigmatized with the brand of pride and selfishness, so deeply impressed, that the marks thereof seem indelible. In the praises of his wit, he does him no more than justice; of his moral qualities, he has made the most; and of his learning, of which Swift possessed but a very small portion, he has said nothing. Few can be offended at Johnson's account of this man, whose arrogance and malevolence were a reproach to human nature; and in whose voluminous writings little is to be found, that one can conduce to the improvement or benefit of mankind, or, indeed, that it beseemed a clergyman to publish.

In his own judgment of the lives of the poets, Johnson gave the preference to that of Cowley, as containing a nicer investigation and discrimination of the characteristics of wit, than is elsewhere to be found. Others have assigned to Dryden's life the pre-eminence. Upon the whole, it is a finely written, and an entertaining book, and is likely to be coeval with the memory of the best of the writers whom it celebrates.

To the life of Pope, he thought proper to adjoin a criticism on the epitaphs of that poet, written some years before, and inserted in a monthly pamphlet, intitled "The Visitor," in which he detects a great number of faulty passages, and puerile sentiments.[669] An attempt of the like kind had formerly been made by Concanen, one of the "Dunciad" heroes, in a paper called "The Speculatist," first published in one of the periodical papers of the day, and

afterwards collected into an octavo volume; but it went no farther than to a censure of the inscription on Craggs's monument in Westminster abbey, which, by the way, was never intended for an epitaph, but is an eulogium on that statesman, taken from Pope's "Epistle to Mr. Addison, occasioned by his dialogues on medals." Johnson has noticed this, and apologizing for some faults in it, imputes them, in his strong manner of expression, to the violence with which the lines were torn from the original. The whole of Concanen's criticism turns upon the length of the inscription, which is six lines, and, by a strange blunder of Pope, is recommended as a motto for the supposed medals to be struck in commemoration of his services, and gives occasion to the critic to ask—"Is this a motto for a medal or a mill-stone?"

But Johnson, who never examined the writings of any author, but with an eye the most penetrating, has taken a nearer view of these compositions of Pope, as they appear in his works, and discovered, that scarce any one of them, notwithstanding the beauty of versification which they display, will bear the test of sound criticism. For his remarks on them, this is no fit place: the inquisitive reader is therefore referred for the perusal of them to the life of Pope, among the poets; and, for farther information on the subject of monumental inscriptions, to "An Essay on Epitaphs," among his philological tracts.

All that is necessary to remark on his examen of Pope's epitaphs is, that, in one instance, it was productive of a singular event, the total erasure of that epitaph on Sir Godfrey Kneller's monument in Westminster abbey, which had long been objected to, as being a very indifferent imitation of cardinal Bembo's famous distich on Raphael;*[670] and it seems that the author thought so, for, in the later editions of his works, he has omitted it.

"Ille hic est Raphaël, timuit quo sospite vinci
Rerum magna parens, & moriente mori."

After he had finished the lives of the poets, Johnson, contemplating the strength of his mental powers, was so little sensible of any decay in them, that he entertained a design of giving to the world a translation of that voluminous work of Thuanus,[671] the history of his own times, an undertaking surely too laborious for one who had nearly completed the age of man,[672] and whose mind was generally occupied by subjects of greater importance than any that relate to this world. But, in this estimate of his abilities, he soon found himself deceived. Sleepless nights, and the use of opium, which he took in large quantities, alternately depressed and raised his spirits, and rendered him an

* It is lately restored.

incompetent judge of his own powers, so that, had he pursued his resolution, he would, doubtless, have sunk under the burden of so great a labour.

It may farther be questioned whether, upon trial, he would not have found himself unequal to the task of transfusing into an English version the spirit of his author. Johnson's talent was original thinking, and though he was ever able to express his own sentiments in nervous language, he did not always succeed in his attempts to familiarise the sense of others: his translating of Pere Lobo's voyage has little to recommend it by the subject-matter. Among his papers was found, a translation from Sallust of the "Bellum Catilinarium,"[673] so flatly and insipidly rendered, that the suffering it to appear would have been an indelible disgrace to his memory.

We must now take our leave of Johnson as an author, and view him as a man worn out with literary labour and disease, contemplating his dissolution, and exerting all his powers to resist that constitutional malady which now, more than ever, oppressed him. To divert himself from a train of thinking which often involved him in a labyrinth of doubts and difficulties touching a future state of existence, he solicited the frequent visits of his friends and acquaintance, the most discerning of whom could not but see, that the fabric of his mind was tottering; and, to allay those scruples and terrors which haunted him in his vacant hours, he betook himself to the reading of books of practical divinity, and, among the rest, the writings of Baxter, and others of the old puritan and non-conforming divines. Of Baxter, he entertained a very high opinion, and often spoke of him to me as a man of great parts, profound learning, and exemplary piety: he said, of the office for the communion drawn up by him and produced at the Savoy-conference,[674] that it was one of the finest compositions of the ritual kind he had ever seen.* It was a circumstance to be wondered at, that a high-churchman, as Johnson ever professed himself to be, should be driven to seek for spiritual comfort in the writing of sectaries; men whom he affected, as well to condemn for their ignorance, as to hate for their principles; but, as his acquaintance with the world, and with the writings of such men as Watts, Foster, Lardner, and Lowman, increased, these prejudices were greatly softened. Of the early puritans, he thought their want of general learning was atoned for by their skill in the Scriptures, and the holiness of their lives;† and, to justify his opinion of them, and their writ-

* It is printed at the end of the first volume of Dr. Calamy's "abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times."

† Yet have there been among them a few, as eminent for their learning as their piety, and, in justice to their memory, I will mention two of this character: the one was Gataker, well known for his excellent edition of the "Meditations" of the emperor Marcus

ings, he once cited to me a saying of Howell in one of his letters,[675] that to make a man a complete Christian, he must have the works of a Papist, the words of a Puritan, and the faith of a Protestant.* At times when he was most distressed, I recommended to him the perusal of bishop Taylor's "Rules and Exercises of holy Living and Dying," and also, his "Doctor Dubitantium," a book abounding in erudition, and most aptly suiting his circumstances.[676] Of the former, though he placed the author at the head of all the divines that have succeeded the fathers, he said, that in the reading thereof, he had found little more than he brought himself; and, at the mention of the latter, he seemed to shrink. His Greek testament was generally within his reach, and he read much in it. He was competently skilled in the writings of the fathers, yet was he more conversant with those of the great English churchmen, namely, Hooker, Usher, Mede, Hammond, Sanderson, Hall, and others of that class. Dr. Henry More, of Cambridge, he did not much affect: he was a platonist, and, in Johnson's opinion, a visionary. He would frequently cite from him, and laugh at, a passage to this effect:—"At the consummation of all things, it shall come to pass, that eternity shall shake hands with opacity." He had never, till I mentioned him, heard of Dr. Thomas Jackson, of Corpus

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Antoninus, and his "Commentary" on the prophecy of Jeremiah; the other, a somewhat earlier writer, old Mr. Dod,[677] surnamed the Decalogist, an exquisite Hebrew scholar, a man of primitive sanctity, and a passive non-conforming divine. His memory is not quite extinct among the dissenters of the present age, for I remember, in my youth, to have seen, in the window of an old bookseller of that denomination, a printed broad sheet, with a wooden portrait at the top thereof, intitled, "Mr. Dod's sayings," being a string of religious aphorisms, intended to be stuck up in the houses of poor persons. In Fuller's "Worthies," page 181, and also in his "Church history," book xi. page 219, are some particulars that mark his character, and in the latter, page 220, the following note of his simplicity. "He was but coarsely used by the cavaliers, and when the soldiers, who came to plunder him, brought down the sheets out of his chamber, into the room where he sat by the fire-side, he, in their absence to search for more, took one pair, and clapped them under his cushion whereon he sat, much pleasing himself, after their departure, that he had, as he said, plundered the plunderers, and, by a lawful felony, had saved so much of his own to himself. He died the same year with archbishop Laud, 1646, and with him," this author adds, "the old puritan seemed to expire."

* Howell's "Letters," book ii. letter II. The author must here be understood to mean protestants of the established church, for the puritans are also protestants. This dictum carries the more weight with it, as it comes from a man whose sentiments, respecting sectaries, may be inferred from the following passage in another of his letters:—"If I hate any, it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of the church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to Hell on a Brownist's back." Book i. letter 32.

Christi college, Oxon. Upon my recommendation of his works, in three folio volumes, he made me a promise to buy and study them, which he lived not to perform. He was, for some time, pleased with Kempis's tract, "De Imitatione Christi," but at length laid it aside, saying, that the main design of it was to promote monastic piety, and inculcate ecclesiastical obedience. One sentiment therein, he, however, greatly applauded, and I find it adopted by bishop Taylor, who gives it in the following words:—"It is no great matter to live lovingly with good-natured, with humble and meek persons; but he that can do so with the froward, with the wilful, and the ignorant, with the peevish and perverse, he only hath true charity. Always remembering, that our true solid peace, the peace of God, consists rather in compliance with others, than in being complied with; in suffering and forbearing, rather than in contention and victory."*[678]

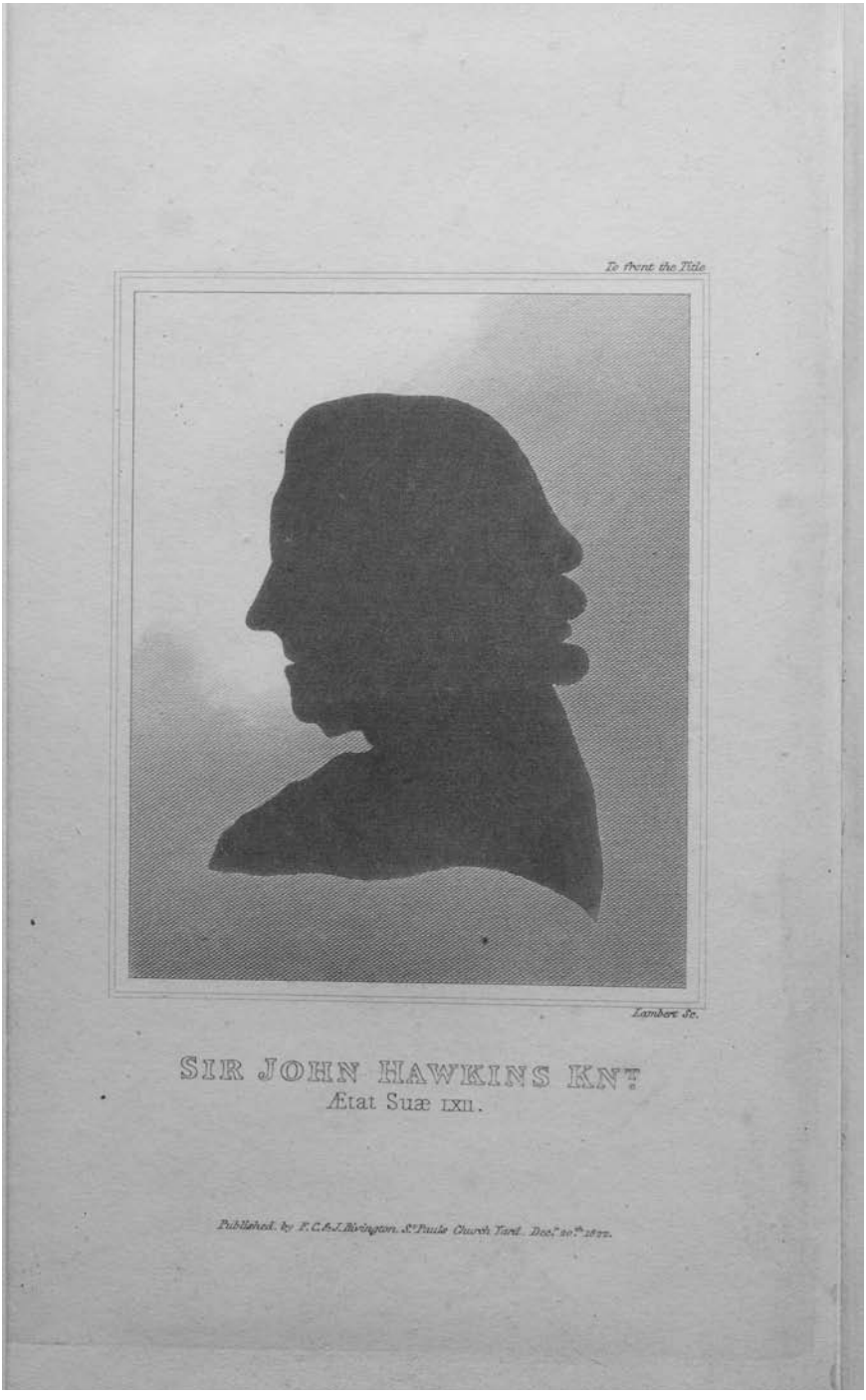
In the course of these studies, he exercised his powers of eloquence, in the composition of forms of devotion, adapted to his circumstances and the state of his mind at different times. Of these, a specimen has lately been given to the public.[679] He also translated into Latin many of the collects in our liturgy. This was a practice which he took up in his early years, and continued through his life, as he did also the noting down the particular occurrences of each day thereof, but in a loose and desultory way, in books of various forms, and in no regular or continued succession.

He seemed to acquiesce in that famous saying of John Valdesso,[680] which induced the emperor Charles the fifth to resign his crown, and betake himself to religious retirement; "Oportet inter vitae negotia, et diem mortis, spatium aliquod intercedere";† nevertheless, he was but an ill husband of his time. He was, through his life, making resolutions to rise at eight, no very early hour, and breaking them. The visits of idle, and some of them very worthless persons, were never unwelcome to him; and though they interrupted him in his studies and meditations, yet, as they gave him opportunities of discourse, and furnished him with intelligence, he strove rather to protract than shorten or discountenance them; and, when abroad, such was the laxity of his mind, that he consented to the doing of many things, otherwise indifferent, for the avowed reason that they would drive on time.

Of his visitors at this time myself was one, and having known the state of his mind at different periods, and his habitual dread of insanity, I was greatly desirous of calming his mind, and rendering him susceptible of the many

* "Polemical and moral discourses," folio, 1657, page 25.

† It is fit, that between the business of life, and the day of death, some space should intervene.


To front the Title
Lambert Sc.
SIR JOHN HAWKINS KNT.
Ætat Suæ LXII.
Published by F.C.&J.Rivington. St.Pauls Church Yard. Dec.r 30.th 1822.

Sir John Hawkins, in the frontispiece to Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins's *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs* (1822). (RB 12768, reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California)

enjoyments of which I thought him then in possession, namely, a permanent income, tolerable health, a high degree of reputation for his moral qualities and literary exertions, by which latter he had made a whole country sensible of its obligation to him, and, lastly, that he had as few enemies as a man of his eminence could expect. On one day in particular, when I was suggesting to him these and the like reflections, he gave thanks to Almighty God, but added, that notwithstanding all the above benefits, the prospect of death, which was now at no great distance from him, was become terrible, and that he could not think of it but with great pain and trouble of mind.

I was very much surprised and shocked at such a declaration from such a man, and told him, that from my long acquaintance with him, I conceived his life to have been an uniform course of virtue, that he had ever shewn a deep sense of, and zeal for, religion, and that, both by his example and his writings, he had recommended the practice of it: that he had not rested, as many do, in the exercise of common honesty, avoiding the grosser enormities, yet rejecting those advantages that result from the belief of divine revelation, but that he had, by prayer, and other exercises of devotion, cultivated in his mind the seeds of goodness, and was become habitually pious. These suggestions made little impression on him: he lamented the indolence in which he had spent his life, talked of secret transgressions, and seemed desirous of telling me more to that purpose than I was willing to hear.

From these perturbations of mind, he had, however, at times, relief. Upon a visit, that I made him some months after, I found him much altered in his sentiments. He said that, having reflected on the transactions of his life, and acknowledged his sins before God, he felt within himself a confidence in his mercy, and that, trusting to the merits of his Redeemer, his mind was now in a state of perfect tranquillity.

In these discourses, he would frequently mention, with great energy and encomiums, the penitence of the man who assumed the name, and by that I must call him, of George Psalmanaazar,[681] a Frenchman, but who pretended to be native of the island of Formosa, and a convert from paganism to Christianity, and, as such, received baptism. By the help of his great learning and endowments, he eluded all attempts to detect his impostures, but, in his more advanced age, became a sincere penitent, and, without any other motive than a sense of his sin, published a confession of them, and begged the pardon of mankind in terms the most humble and affecting. The remainder of his life was exemplary, and he died in 1763. The habitation of this person was in Ironmonger row, Old street, Middlesex, in the neighbourhood whereof he was so well known and esteemed, that, as Dr. Hawkesworth once told me, scarce

any person, even children, passed him without shewing him the usual signs of respect. He was one of the writers of the "Universal History," and, by his intercourse with the booksellers it was, as I conceive, that Johnson became acquainted with him.*

I mention the above particulars, as well to corroborate those testimonies of Johnson's piety already extant, as to refute the objections of many infidels, who, desirous of having him thought to be of their party, endeavoured to make it believed, that he was a mere moralist,[682] and that, when writing on religious subjects, he accommodated himself to the notions of the vulgar: and also, because a certain female sceptic,[683] of his acquaintance, was once heard to say, that she was sure Dr. Johnson was too great a philosopher to be a believer.

From this digression, which I mean as an introduction to certain particulars of his behaviour in his last illness, hereafter related, I proceed to the future events of his life. In the year 1781, death put an end to the friendship that, for some years, had subsisted between him and Mr. Thrale,[684] but gave birth to a relation that seemed to be but a continuation of it, viz. that of an executor, the duties of which office involved in it the management of an immense trade, the disposal of a large fortune, and the interests of children rising to maturity. For the trouble it might create him, Mr. Thrale bequeathed to him, as he did to each of his other executors, a legacy of two hundred pounds.

Dr. Johnson was not enough a man of the world to be capable alone of so important a trust. Indeed, it required, for the execution of it, somewhat like a board, a kind of standing council, adapted, by the several qualifications of the individuals that composed it, to all emergencies. Mr. Thrale wisely foresaw this, and associated with Johnson three other persons, men of great experience in business, and of approved worth and integrity. It was easy to see, as Johnson was unskilled in both money and commercial transactions, that Mr. Thrale's view, in constituting him one of his executors, could only be, that, by his philosophical prudence and sagacity, of which himself had, in some in-

* For a more particular account of this extraordinary man, see "the new and general Biographical Dictionary," in twelve volumes, 8vo. 1784, in articulo. Johnson was used to visit this person, and would frequently adjourn with him from his lodging to a neighbouring alehouse, and, in the common room, converse with him on subjects of importance. In one of these conversations, Johnson took occasion to remark on the human mind, that it had a necessary tendency to improvement, and that it would frequently anticipate instruction, and enable ingenious minds to acquire knowledge. "Sir," said a stranger that overheard him, "that I deny: I am a taylor, and have had many apprentices, but never one that could make a coat till I had taken great pains in teaching him."

stances, found the benefit,* he might give a general direction to the motions of so vast a machine as they had to conduct. Perhaps he might also think, that the celebrity of Johnson's character would give a lustre to that constellation, in which he had thought proper to place him. This may be called vanity, but it seems to be one of the same kind with that which induced Mr. Pope to appoint Mr. Murray, now earl of Mansfield, one of the executors of his will.[685]

No sooner had this trust devolved on him, than he applied to me for advice. He had never been an executor before, and was at a loss in the steps to be taken. I told him the first was proving the will, a term that he understood not. I explained to him, as also the oath that would be tendered to him, faithfully to execute it, to administer the testator's effects according to law, and to render a true account thereof when required. I told him that in this act he would be joined by the other executors, whom, as they were all men of business, he would do well to follow.

Johnson had all his life long been used to lead, to direct, and instruct, and did not much relish the thoughts of following men, who, in all the situations he could conceive, would have looked up to him: he therefore, as he afterwards confessed to me, began to form theories and visionary projects, adapted as well to the continuation and extension of the trade, which, be it remembered, was brewing, as the disposal of it; but in this, as he also acknowledged, he found himself at a loss. The other executors, after reflecting on the difficulty of conducting so large an undertaking, the disagreeableness of an office that would render them, in effect, tax-gatherers, as all of that trade are, and place them in a situation between the public and revenue, determined to make sale of the whole, and blew up Johnson's schemes for their commencing brewers, into the air. In the carrying this resolution into act, the executors had a great difficulty to encounter: Mr. Thrale's trade had been improving for two generations, and was become of such an enormous magnitude, as nothing but an aggregate of several fortunes was equal to; a circumstance, which could not but affect the intrinsic value of the object, and increase the difficulty of finding purchasers: of things indivisible exposed to

* A few years before Mr. Thrale's death, an emulation arose among the brewers to exceed each other in the magnitude of their vessels for keeping beer to a certain age, probably taking the hint from the great tun at Heidelburg. One of that trade, I think it was Mr. Whitbread, had made one that would hold some thousand barrels, the thought whereof troubled Mr. Thrale, and made him repeat, from Plutarch, a saying of Themistocles,[686] "The trophies of Miltiades hinder my sleeping"; Johnson, by sober reasoning, quieted him, and prevented his expending a large sum on what could be productive of no real benefit to him or his trade.

sale, an estimate may be formed, till their value rises to a certain amount; but, after that, a considerable abatement from their intrinsic worth must be made, to meet the circumstance of a paucity of purchasers. This was the case in the sale of Pitt's diamond,[687] which, in the ratio by which jewels are valued, was computed to be worth £225,000 but, because only a few persons were able to purchase it, was sold to the last king of France for little more than £67,000.

This difficulty, great as it was, Mr. Thrale's executors found the way to surmount: they commenced a negociation with some persons of worth and character, which, being conducted on both sides with fairness and candour, terminated in a conveyance of the trade, with all its appendages, for which the consideration was, an hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds. Of this arduous transaction, Johnson was little more than a spectator, and, when called upon to ratify it, he readily acquiesced. There only remained for him to do justice to the memory of him, whom he could not but consider as both his friend and benefactor, and this he did, by an exercise of his talent, in the following monumental inscription:

Hic conditur quod reliquum est
HENRICI THRALE,
Qui res seu civiles, seu domesticas, ita egit,
Ut vitam illi longiorem multi optarent;
Ita sacras,
Ut quam brevem esset habiturus prescire videretur;
Simplex, apertus, sibique semper similis,
Nihil ostentavit, aut arte fictum, aut cura
Elaboratum.
In senatu, regi, patriaeque,
Fideliter studuit;
Vulgi obstrepentis contemptor animosus:
Domi inter mille mercaturae negotia,
Literarum elegantiam minime neglexit,
Amicis, quocunque modo laborantibus,
Conciliis, auctoritate, muneribus adfuit.
Inter familiares, comites, convivas, hospites,
Tam facili fuit morum suavitate,
Ut omnium animos ad fe alliceret;
Tam felici sermonis, libertate,
Ut nulli adulatus, omnibus placeret.
Natus 1724. Ob. 1781.
Consortes tumuli habet Rodolphum patrem,

Strenuum fortemque virum, et Henricum,
Filium unicum, quem spei parentum
Mors inopina decennem
Praeripuit.
Ita
Domus felix et opulenta, quam erexit
Avus, auxitque pater, cum nepote decidit.
Abi viator,
Et vicibus rerum humanarum perspectis,
Eternitatem cogita.[688]

The death of Mr. Thrale dissolved the friendship between him and Johnson; but it abated not in the latter, that care for the interests of those whom his friend had left behind him, which he thought himself bound to cherish, as a living principle of gratitude. The favours he had received from Mr. Thrale, were to be repaid by the exercise of kind offices towards his relict and her children, and these, circumstanced as Johnson was, could only be prudent councils, friendly admonition to the one, and preceptive instruction to the others, both which he was ever ready to interpose. Nevertheless, it was observed by myself, and other of Johnson's friends, that, soon after the decease of Mr. Thrale, his visits to Streatham became less and less frequent, and that he studiously avoided the mention of the place or family.*

Having now no calls, and, as I believe, very little temptation, to become a sojourner, or even a guest, in the habitation of his departed friend, he had leisure to indulge himself in excursions to the city of his nativity, as also to Oxford; for both which places he ever entertained an enthusiastic affection. In the former he was kindly received, and respectfully treated, by Mrs. Lucy Porter, the daughter, by her former husband, of his deceased wife, and in the latter, by the reverend Dr. Adams, who had been his tutor at Pembroke college, and is now the head of that seminary. While he was thus resident in the university, he received daily proofs of the high estimation in which he was there held, by such members of that body as were of the greatest eminence for learning, or were any way distinguished for their natural or acquired abilities.

Besides the places above-mentioned, Johnson had other summer-retreats,

* It seems that between him and the widow there was a formal taking of leave, for I find in his diary the following note: "1783, April 5th, I took leave of Mrs. Thrale. I was much moved. I had some expostulations with her. She said that she was likewise affected. I commended the Thrales with great good will to God; may my petitions have been heard!"[689]

to which he was ever welcome, the seats of his friends in the country. At one of these, in the year 1782, he was alarmed by a tumour, by surgeons termed a sarcocele,[690] that, as it increased, gave him great pain, and, at length, hurried him to town, with a resolution to submit, if it should be thought necessary, to a dreadful chirurgical operation; but, on his arrival, one less severe restored him to a state of perfect ease in the part affected. But he had disorders of another kind to struggle with: he had frequent fits of pain which indicated the passage of a gall-stone, and he now felt the pressure of an asthma, a constitutional disease with him, from which he had formerly been relieved by copious bleedings, but his advanced age forbade the repetition of them.

In the beginning of the year 1782, death deprived him of his old friend and companion; he who had, for near forty years, had the care of his health, and had attended him almost constantly every morning, to enquire after the state of his body, and fill out his tea, the mute, the officious, and the humble Mr. Levett. Of this disastrous event, as soon as it happened, Johnson sent to his friend, Dr. Lawrence, the following account:

"Sir, Jan. 17, 1782.

"Our old friend Mr. Levett, who was last night eminently chearful, died this morning. The man who lay in the same room, hearing an uncommon noise, got up, and tried to make him speak, but without effect. He then called Mr. Holder the apothecary, who, though when he came he thought him dead, opened a vein, but could draw no blood. So has ended the long life of a very useful and very blameless man.

"I am, Sir,
"Your most humble servant,
"Sam. Johnson."[691]

I find in one of Johnson's diaries the following note: "January 20, Sunday. Robert Levett was buried in the church-yard of Bridewell, between one and two in the afternoon. He died on Thursday 17, about seven in the morning, by an instantaneous death. He was an old and faithful friend. I have known him from about 46. Commendari.——May God have had mercy on him. May he have mercy on me!"[692]

The grief which the loss of friends occasioned Johnson, seems to have been a frequent stimulative with him to composition. His sense of Levett's worth he expressed in the following lines, which may, perhaps, contribute, more than any one circumstance in his character, to keep the memory of his existence alive:

1

"Condemn'd to hope's delusive mine,
As on we toil from day to day,
By sudden blast, or slow decline,
Our social comforts drop away.

2

Well tried through many a varying year,
See Levett to the grave descend;
Officious, innocent, sincere,
Of every friendless name the friend.

3

Yet still he fills affection's eye,
Obscurely wise, and coarsely kind,
Nor, letter'd ignorance, deny
Thy praise to merit unrefin'd.

4

When fainting nature call'd for aid,
And hov'ring death prepar'd the blow,
The vig'rous remedy display'd,
The power of art, without the show.

5

In mis'ry's darkest caverns known,
His useful care was ever nigh;
Where hopeless anguish pour'd his groan,
And lonely want retir'd to die.

6

No summons mock'd by chill delay;
No petty gain disdain'd by pride;
The modest wants of ev'ry day,
The toil of ev'ry day supply'd.

7

His virtues walk'd their narrow round,
Nor made a pause, nor left a void;

And sure the eternal Master found
The single talent well employ'd.

8

The busy day, the peaceful night,
Unfelt, uncounted, glided by:
His frame was firm, his pow'rs were bright,
Though now his eightieth year was nigh.

9

Then with no throb of fiery pain,
No cold gradations of decay,
Death broke at once the vital chain,
And freed his soul the nearest way."[693]

About the middle of June 1783, his constitution sustained a severer shock than it had ever before felt: this was a stroke of the palsy, so very sudden and severe, that it awakened him out of a sound sleep, and rendered him, for a short time, speechless. As it had not affected his intellectual powers, he, in that cumbent posture to which he was confined, attempted to repeat, first in English, then in Latin, and afterwards in Greek, the Lord's Prayer, but succeeded only in the last effort, immediately after which, finding himself again bereft of the power of speech, he rang for his servant, and making signs for pen, ink, and paper, wrote and sent the following note to his friend and next-door neighbour, Mr. Allen the printer.

"Dear Sir,

"It hath pleased Almighty God this morning to deprive me of the powers of speech; and, as I do not know but that it may be his farther good pleasure to deprive me soon of my senses, I request you will, on the receipt of this note, come to me, and act for me, as the exigencies of my case may require.

"I am, sincerely,
"Yours,
"S. Johnson."[694]

Mr. Allen immediately rose to his assistance, and, in the morning, dispatched a message to Dr. Heberden and Dr. Brocklesby,[695] who immediately came, and, in a few days, so far relieved him, that his speech became, to a good degree, articulate, and, till his organs began to tire, he was able to hold conversation. By the skill and attention of these two worthy persons, he was,

at length, restored to such a degree of health that, on the 27th of the same month, he was able to water his garden, and had no remaining symptoms of disease, excepting that his legs were observed to be swoln, and he had some presages of an hydropic affection. These gave him some concern, and induced him to note, more particularly than he had formerly done,* the variations of the state of his health.

But bodily afflictions were not the only trials he had to undergo. He had been a mourner for many friends, and was now in danger of losing one, who had not only cheared him in his solitude, and helped him to pass with comfort those hours which, otherwise, would have been irksome to him, but had relieved him from domestic cares, regulated and watched over the expences of his house, and kept at a distance some of those necessitous visitants, towards whom his bounty, though it had seldom wrought any good, had often been exercised.

This person was Mrs. Williams, whose calamitous history is related among the events recorded in the foregoing pages. She had for some months been declining, and during the doctor's late illness was confined to her bed. The restoration of his health made it necessary for him to retire into the country; but, before his departure, he composed and made use of the following energetic prayer.

"Almighty God, who, in thy late visitation, hast shewn mercy to me, and now sendest to my companion disease and decay, grant me grace so to employ the life which thou hast prolonged, and the faculties which thou hast preserved, and so to receive the admonition, which the sickness of my friend, by thy appointment, gives me, that I may be constant in all holy duties, and be received at last to eternal happiness.

"Permit, O Lord, thy unworthy creature to offer up this prayer for Anna Williams, now languishing upon her bed, and about to recommend herself to thy infinite mercy. O God, who desirest not the death of a sinner, look down with mercy upon her: forgive her sins, and strengthen her faith. Be merciful, O Father of mercy, to her and to me: guide us by thy holy spirit through the remaining part of life; support us in the hour of death, and pardon us in the day of judgment, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."[696]

During his absence from London, viz. on the sixth day of September 1783,

* Of his being seized with the palsy, I find in his diary the following note:

"June 16. I went to bed, and, as I conceive, about 3 in the morning, I had a stroke of the palsy.

"17. I sent for Dr. Heberden and Dr. Brocklesby. God bless them.

"25. Dr. Heberden took leave."[697]

Mrs. Williams was released from all her cares and troubles by an easy death, for which she was well prepared. The last offices were performed for her by those of her friends who were about her in the time of her illness, and had administered to her all the assistance in their power.

At his return to London, Johnson found himself in a forlorn and helpless condition: his habitual melancholy had now a real subject to work on, and represented his house as a dreary mansion. Solitude was ever ungrateful to him, and the want of a companion, with whom he might pass his evening hours, often drove him to seek relief in the conversation of persons in all respects his inferiors. To talk much, and to be well attended to, was, throughout his life, his chief delight: his vein of discourse, which has often enough been described, was calculated to attract the applause, and even admiration, of small circles; to him, therefore, a confraternity of persons, assembled for the purpose of free communication, or, in other words, a club, could not but be a source of pleasure, and he now projected one, which will hereafter be described. In every association of this kind, he was sure, unless by concession, to preside, and, ex cathedra, to discuss the subjects of enquiry and debate.

The death of Mr. Thrale, and Johnson's estrangement from the dwelling and family of this his valued friend, have already been mentioned: it remains to say of this event, that it was not followed by a total oblivion, on the part of his relict, of the intimacy that had subsisted between him and her husband, it appearing, that an intercourse by letters was still kept up between them. It was, nevertheless, easy to discover by his conversation, that he no longer looked on himself as a welcome guest at Streatham, and that he did but ill brook the change in his course of life that he now experienced. He had, for near twenty years, participated in most of those enjoyments that make wealth and affluence desirable; had partaken, in common with their owners, of the delights of a villa, and the convenience of an equipage; and had been entertained with a variety of amusements and occupations. In short, during the whole of that period, his life had been as happy as it had been in the power of such persons to make it.

That this celebrated friendship subsisted so long as it did, was a subject of wonder to most of Johnson's intimates, for such were his habits of living, that he was by no means a desirable inmate. His unmanly thirst for tea made him very troublesome. At Streatham, he would suffer the mistress of the house to sit up and make it for him, til two or three hours after midnight. When retired to rest, he indulged himself in the dangerous practice of reading in bed. It was a very hard matter to get him decently dressed by dinner-time, even when select companies were invited; and no one could be sure, that in

his table-conversation with strangers, he would not, by contradiction, or the general asperity of his behaviour, offend them.

These irregularities were not only borne with by Mr. Thrale, but he seemed to think them amply atoned for by the honour he derived from such a guest as no table in the three kingdoms could produce; but, he dying, it was not likely that the same sentiments and opinions should descend to those of his family who were left behind. Such a friendly connection and correspondence as I have just mentioned, continued, however, between Johnson and the widow, till it was interrupted by an event that will shortly be related.

I have in his diary met with sundry notes, signifying that, while he was at Streatham, he endeavoured, by reading, to acquire a knowledge of the Dutch language, but that his progress in the study thereof was very slow.

It has been already related that, being seized with a paralysis about the month of June 1783, he was so far recovered therefrom, as to entertain a hope, that he had nearly worn out all his disorders. "What a man am I!" said he to me, in the month of November following, "who have got the better of three diseases, the palsy, the gout, and the asthma, and can now enjoy the conversation of my friends, without the interruptions of weakness or pain!"——To these flattering testimonies I must add, that in this seeming spring-tide of his health and spirits, he wrote me the following note:

"Dear Sir,

"As Mr. Ryland was talking with me of old friends and past times, we warmed ourselves into a wish, that all who remained of the club should meet and dine at the house which once was Horseman's, in Ivy lane. I have undertaken to solicit you, and therefore desire you to tell on what day next week you can conveniently meet your old friends.

"I am, Sir,
"Your most humble servant,
"Sam. Johnson.

"Bolt court, Nov. 22, 1783."[698]

Our intended meeting was prevented by a circumstance, which the following note will explain:

"Dear Sir,

"In perambulating Ivy lane, Mr. Ryland found neither our landlord Horseman, nor his successor. The old house is shut up, and he liked not the appearance of any near it: he, therefore, bespoke our dinner at the Queen's Arms, in

St. Paul's church yard, where, at half an hour after three, your company will be desired to-day, by those who remain of our former society.

"Your humble servant,

"Dec. 3 SAM. JOHNSON."[699]

With this invitation I chearfully complied, and met, at the time and place appointed, all who could be mustered of our society, namely, Johnson, Mr. Ryland, and Mr. Payne of the bank. When we were collected, the thought that we were so few, occasioned some melancholy reflections, and I could not but compare our meeting, at such an advanced period of life as it was to us all, to that of the four old men in the "Senile Colloquium" of Erasmus.[700] We dined, and in the evening regaled with coffee. At ten, we broke up, much to the regret of Johnson, who proposed staying; but finding us inclined to separate, he left us with a sigh that seemed to come from his heart, lamenting that he was retiring to solitude and chearless meditation.

Johnson had proposed a meeting, like this, once a month, and we had one more; but, the time approaching for a third, he began to feel a return of some of his complaints, and signified a wish, that we would dine with him at his own house; and, accordingly, we met there, and were very chearfully entertained by him.

A few days after, he sent for me, and informed me, that he had discovered in himself the symptoms of a dropsy,[701] and, indeed, his very much increased bulk, and the swoln appearance of his legs, seemed to indicate no less. He told me, that he was desirous of making a will, and requested me to be one of his executors: upon my consenting to take on me the office, he gave me to understand, that he meant to make a provision for his servant Frank, of about £70 a year for life, and concerted with me a plan for investing a sum sufficient for the purpose: at the same time he opened to me the state of his circumstances, and the amount of what he had to dispose of.

In a visit, which I made him in a few days, in consequence of a very pressing request to see me, I found him labouring under great dejection of mind. He bade me draw near him, and said, he wanted to enter into a serious conversation with me; and, upon my expressing a willingness to join in it, he, with a look that cut me to the heart, told me, that he had the prospect of death before him, and that he dreaded to meet his Saviour.* I could not but be astonished at such a declaration, and advised him, as I had done once before, to reflect on the course of his life, and the services he had rendered to the

* This, and other expressions of the like kind, which he uttered to me, should put to silence the idle reports, that he dreaded annihilation.[702]

cause of religion and virtue, as well by his example, as his writings; to which he answered, that he had written as a philosopher, but had not lived like one. In the estimation of his offences, he reasoned thus—"Every man knows his own sins, and also, what grace he has resisted. But, to those of others, and the circumstances under which they were committed, he is a stranger: he is, therefore to look on himself as the greatest sinner that he knows of."* At the conclusion of this argument, which he strongly enforced, he uttered this passionate exclamation,—"Shall I, who have been a teacher of others, myself be a castaway?"[703]

Much to the same purpose passed between us in this and other conversations that I had with him, in all which I could not but wonder, as much at the freedom with which he opened his mind, and the compunction he seemed to feel for the errors of his past life, as I did, at his making choice of me for his confessor, knowing full well how meanly qualified I was for such an office.

It was on a Thursday that I had this conversation with him; and here, let not the supercilious lip of scorn protrude itself, while I relate that, in the course thereof, he declared his intention to employ the whole of the next day in fasting, humiliation, and such other devotional exercises, as became a man in his situation. On the Saturday following, I made him a visit, and, upon entering his room, observed in his countenance such a serenity, as indicated that some remarkable crisis of his disorder had produced a change in his feelings. He told me, that, pursuant to the resolution he had mentioned to me, he had spent the preceding day in an abstraction from all worldly concerns; that, to prevent interruption, he had, in the morning, ordered Frank not to admit any one to him, and, the better to enforce the charge, had added these awful words, "for your master is preparing himself to die." He then mentioned to me, that, in the course of this exercise, he found himself relieved from that disorder which had been growing on him, and was become very oppressing, the dropsy, by a gradual evacuation of water to the amount of twenty pints, a like instance whereof he had never before experienced, and asked me what I thought of it.[704]

I was well aware of the lengths that superstition and enthusiasm will lead men, and how ready some are to attribute favourable events to supernatural causes, and said, that it might savour of presumption to say that, in this instance, God had wrought a miracle; yet, as divines recognize certain dispensations of his providence, recorded in the Scripture by the denomination of returns of prayer, and his omnipotence is now the same as ever, I thought it

* I find the above sentiment in Law's "Serious Call to a devout and holy life,"[705] a book which Johnson was very conversant with, and often commended.

would be little less than criminal, to ascribe his late relief to causes merely natural, and, that the safer opinion was, that he had not in vain humbled himself before his Maker. He seemed to acquiesce in all that I said on this important subject, and, several times, while I was discoursing with him, cried out, "It is wonderful, very wonderful!"

His zeal for religion, as manifested in his writings and conversation, and the accounts extant that attest his piety, have induced the enemies to his memory to tax him with superstition.[706] To that charge, I oppose his behaviour on this occasion, and leave it to the judgment of sober and rational persons, whether such an unexpected event, as that above-mentioned, would not have prompted a really superstitious man, to some more passionate exclamation, than that it was wonderful.*

He had no sooner experienced the ease and comfort which followed from the remarkable event above-mentioned, than he began to entertain a hope, that he had got the better of that disease which most oppressed him, and that length of days might yet be his portion; he, therefore, sought for a relief from that solitude, to which the loss of Mrs. Williams and others of his domestic companions, seemed to have doomed him; and, in the same spirit that induced him to attempt the revival of the Ivy lane club, set about the establishment of another. I was not made privy to this his intention, but, all circumstances considered, it was no matter of surprise to me when I heard, as I did from a friend of mine, that the great Dr. Johnson had, in the month of December 1783, formed a six-penny club, at an ale-house in Essex-street,[707] and that, though some of the members thereof were persons of note, strangers, under restrictions, for three pence each night, might, three nights in a week, hear him talk, and partake of his conversation. I soon afterwards learned from the doctor, the nature of, as also the motives to this institution, which, as to him, was novel, in this respect, that, as the presidency passed in rotation, he was oftener excluded from, than entitled to enjoy, that pre-eminence which, at all times, and in all convivial assemblies, was considered as his right.

* Doubtless there are men who look upon all religious exercises as superstition, and upon prayer and other acts of devotion, as evidences of a weak mind. These say, that reason is a sufficient rule of action, and that God needs not to be supplicated, nor requires our thanks. Of this class of infidels I take Annet[708] to have been one: he who wrote against the miracles, and was some years ago convicted of blasphemy, and sentenced to imprisonment. The wife of Jackson, the bookseller, in Clare court, Drury lane, a man well known by the collectors of old books and pamphlets, once told me, that this man would often call in at their shop, and if he happened to see a bible lying on the counter, would intreat her to take it away, for that he could not bear the sight of it.

The more intimate of Johnson's friends looked on this establishment, both as a sorry expedient to kill time, and a degradation of those powers which had administered delight to circles, composed of persons, of both sexes, distinguished as well by their rank, as by their talents for polite conversation. It was a mortification to them, to associate in idea the clink of the tankard, with moral disquisition and literary investigation; and many of them were led to question whether that pleasure could be very great, which he had rendered so cheap: they, however, concealed their sentiments, and, from motives of mere compassion, suffered him to enjoy a comfort, which was now become almost the only one of which he was capable; and this he did for the short space of about ten months, when the increase of his complaints obliged him to forego it.

I have now brought him to the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the last of his life, in which two remarkable events occurred, the one whereof gave him great uneasiness, and the other, though much talked of, little or none. The time I am speaking of, is the year 1784, by about the middle whereof, he was, to appearance, so well recovered, that both himself and his friends hoped, that he had some years to live. He had recovered from the paralytic stroke of the last year, to such a degree, that, saving a little difficulty in his articulation, he had no remains of it: he had also undergone a slight fit of the gout, and conquered an oppression on his lungs, so as to be able, as himself told me, to run up the whole stair-case of the Royal Academy, on the day of the annual dinner there.[709] In short, to such a degree of health was he restored, that he forgot all his complaints: he resumed sitting to Opie for his picture, which had been begun the year before, but, I believe, was never finished,[710] and accepted an invitation to the house of a friend, at Ashbourn in Derbyshire, proposing to stay there till towards the end of the summer, and, in his return, to visit Mrs. Porter, his daughter-in-law, and others of his friends, at Lichfield.

A few weeks before his setting out, he was made uneasy by a report, that the widow of his friend Mr. Thrale was about to dispose of herself in marriage to a foreigner, a singer by profession, and with him to quit the kingdom. Upon this occasion he took the alarm, and to prevent a degradation of herself, and, what as executor of her husband was more his concern, the desertion of her children, wrote to her, she then being at Bath, a letter,[711] a spurious copy whereof, beginning "If you are not already ignominiously married," is inserted in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for December 1784. That this letter is spurious, as to the language, I have Johnson's own authority for saying; but, in respect of the sentiments, he avowed it, in a declaration to me, that not a sentence of it was his, but yet, that it was an *adumbration* of one that he wrote upon the occasion. It may, therefore, be suspected, that some one who had

Samuel Johnson, in an engraving of the 1783 John Opie portrait by James Heath (1786). (Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Hyde 76 [5.7.iii])

heard him repeat the contents of the letter, had given it to the public in the form in which it appeared.

What answer was returned to his friendly monition, I know not, but it seems that it was succeeded by a letter of greater length, written, as it afterwards appeared, too late to do any good, in which he expressed an opinion, that the person to whom it was addressed had forfeited her fame. The answer to this I have seen:[712] it is written from Bath, and contains an indignant vindication as well of her conduct as her fame, an inhibition of Johnson from following her to Bath, and a farewell, concluding—"Till you have changed your opinion of —— let us converse no more."

In this transaction, Johnson seemed to have forgotten the story of the Ephesian Matron, related by Petronius,[713] but was, by this time, convinced that, in his endeavours to prevent an attachment, which he foresaw would be prejudicial to the interests of his friend's children, and fix an indelible disgrace on their mother, who was about to abandon them and her country, he had been labouring to hedge in the cuckow.[714] From the style of the last mentioned letter, a conclusion was to be drawn, that baffled all the powers of reasoning and persuasion:

"One argument she summ'd up all in,
The thing was done, and past recalling";*[715]

which being the case, he contented himself with reflecting on what he had done to prevent that which he thought one of the greatest evils that could befall the progeny of his friend, the alienation of the affection of their mother. He looked upon the desertion of children by their parents, and the withdrawing from them that protection, that mental nutriment which, in their youth they are capable of receiving, the exposing them to the snares and temptations of the world, and the solicitations and deceits of the artful and designing, as most unnatural; and, in a letter on the subject to me, written from Ashbourn, thus delivered his sentiments:

"Poor Thrale! I thought that either her virtue or her vice, [meaning, as I understood, by the former, the love of her children, and, by the latter, her pride,] would have restrained her from such a marriage. She is now become a subject for her enemies to exult over, and for her friends, if she has any left, to forget or pity."[716]

In the mention of the above particulars, it is far from my design to reprehend the conduct of the lady to whom they relate. Being her own mistress, she had a right to dispose of herself, and is unamenable to any known judica-

* Pope and Swift's "Miscellanies," "Phyllis or the Progress of love."

ture. Johnson, in his relation of executor to her husband, as also in gratitude to his memory, was under an obligation to promote the welfare of his family. It was also his duty, as far as he was able, to avert an evil which threatened their interests. What he endeavoured, for that purpose, is part of his history, and, as such only, I relate it.

While Dr. Johnson was in the country, his friends in town were labouring for his benefit. Mr. Thrale, a short time before his death, had meditated a journey to Italy, and formed a party, in which Johnson was included, but the design never took effect. It was now conceived, by Johnson's friends, that a foreign air would contribute to the restoration of his health; and his inclination concurring with their sentiments, a plan was formed for his visiting the continent, attended with a male-servant; which was become so well known, that, as a lady then resident at Rome[717] afterwards informed me, his arrival was anxiously expected throughout Italy. The only obstacle to the journey was, an apprehension, that the expence of it would be greater than his income would bear; and, to get over this difficulty, Sir Joshua Reynolds undertook to solicit an addition of £200 to his pension, and to that end, applied to lord Thurlow, who, as the public have been fully informed, exerted his endeavours for the purpose, but the application failing, he declared himself willing, upon the security of the pension of which Johnson was in possession, to advance him £500.* This generous offer Johnson thought proper to decline by a letter, of which the following is an authentic copy, being taken from his own draft now in my hands.

"My Lord,

"After a long and not inattentive observation of mankind, the generosity of your lordship's offer raises in me not less wonder than gratitude. Bounty, so liberally bestowed, I should gladly receive, if my condition made it necessary, for, to such a mind, who would not be proud to own his obligations? But it has pleased God to restore me to so great a measure of health, that if I should now appropriate so much of a fortune destined to do good, I could not escape from myself the charge of advancing a false claim. My journey to the continent, though I once thought it necessary, was never much encouraged by my physicians; and I was very desirous that your lordship should be told of it by Sir Joshua Reynolds, as an event very uncertain, for, if I grew much better, I

* The offer above-mentioned has, in the first view of it, the appearance rather of a commercial than a gratuitous transaction; but Sir Joshua clearly understood at the making it, that lord Thurlow designedly put it in that form: he was fearful that Johnson's high spirit would induce him to reject it as a donation, but thought that, in the way of a loan, it might be accepted.

should not be willing, if much worse, I should not be able, to migrate.—— Your lordship was first solicited without my knowledge; but, when I was told, that you were pleased to honour me with your patronage, I did not expect to hear of a refusal; yet, as I have had no long time to brood hope, and have not rioted in imaginary opulence, this cold reception has been scarce a disappointment; and, from your lordship's kindness, I have received a benefit, which only men like you are able to bestow. I shall now live mihi carior, with a higher opinion of my own merit.

"I am, my lord,
"Your lordship's most obliged,
"Most grateful,
"And most humble servant,
"Sept. 1784. SAM. JOHNSON."[718]

An incorrect copy of the above letter, though of a private nature, found its way into the public papers* in this manner. It was given to Sir Joshua Reynolds, unsealed, to be delivered to lord Thurlow. Sir Joshua, looking upon it as a handsome testimony of gratitude, and, as it related to a transaction in which he had concerned himself, took a copy of it, and shewed it to a few of his friends. Among these was a lady of quality, who, having heard it red, the next day desired to be gratified with the perusal of it at home: the use she made of this favour was, the copying and sending it to one of the newspapers, whence it was taken and inserted in others, as also in the "Gentleman's" and many other Magazines. Johnson, upon being told that it was in print, exclaimed in my hearing—"I am betrayed,"—but soon after forgot, as he was ever ready to do all real or supposed injuries, the error that made the publication possible.

Dr. Brocklesby was one of those physicians who would not encourage Johnson in a wish to visit the continent; nevertheless, to console him for his late disappointment, and that the supposed narrowness of his circumstances might be no hindrance to such a design, he made him a voluntary offer of £100 a year, payable quarterly, towards his support abroad, but could not prevail on him to accept it.†

* Among the corruptions in the printed copies, are the words, *you was pleased*, for *you were pleased*, and *rested* for *rioted*.

† Actuated by a like spirit of beneficence, the same person, by his interest with his friends, and in conjunction with that christian-like jew, Sampson Gideon, procured a contribution, amounting to upwards of £100 a year, for the support, during the remaining years of his life, of old Captain Coram, the original mover in the establishment of the Foundling-hospital. Upon Dr. Brocklesby's applying to the good old man, to know

His excursion to Ashbourn was less beneficial than he hoped it would be: his disorders began to return, and he wanted company and amusement. During his stay there, he composed sundry prayers, and adapted to the state of his body and mind; and translated from Horace, lib. IV. the ode, "Diffugêre nives, redeunt, jam gramina campis," in the words following:

"The snow, dissolv'd, no more is seen;
The fields and woods, behold, are green;
The changing year renews the plain;
The rivers know their banks again;
The sprightly nymph and naked grace
The mazy dance together trace:
The changing year's successive plan,
Proclaims mortality to Man.
Rough winter's blasts to spring give way;
Spring yields to summer's sovereign ray;
Then summer sinks in autumn's reign;
And winter chills the world again;
Her losses soon the moon supplies,
But wretched Man, when once he lies
Where Priam and his sons are laid,
Is nought but ashes and a shade.
Who knows if Jove, who counts our score,
Will rouse us in a morning more?
What with your friend you nobly share,
At least you rescue from your heir.

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whether his setting on foot a subscription for his benefit would not offend him, he received this noble answer:—"I have not wasted the little wealth, of which I was formerly possessed, in self-indulgence, or vain expences, and am not ashamed to confess, that in this my old age I am poor."—Upon the death of Coram, this pension was continued to Leveridge, a worn-out singer at the theatres, who, at the age of ninety, had scarce any other prospect than that of a parish subsistence.

Those writers on morality, such as Hobbes and Mandeville, who resolved all beneficence into self-love, would be hard put to it to reconcile such acts as these with their tenets. They would say, that the motive to them was a desire to get rid of those sensations which the distresses of others are apt to excite, and, by consequence, that the exertions of beneficence are selfish. Never considering that, before these sensations can arise, a man must be kindly affectioned to his fellow-creatures, and possess that benevolence which the objection supposes to be wanting.

Not you, Torquatus, boast of Rome.
When Minos once has fix'd your doom,
Or eloquence, or splendid birth,
Or virtue shall replace on earth:
Hippolytus unjustly slain,
Diana calls to life in vain;
Nor can the might of Theseus rend
The chains of hell that hold his friend."[719]

Nov. 1784.

In his return to London, he stopped at Lichfield, and from thence wrote to me several letters, that served but to prepare me for meeting him in worse state of health than I had ever seen him in. The concluding paragraph of the last of them is as follows: "I am relapsing into the dropsy very fast, and shall make such haste to town that it will be useless to write to me; but when I come, let me have the benefit of your advice, and the consolation of your company."[720] [dated Nov. 7, 1784.] After about a fortnight's stay there, he took his leave of that city, and of Mrs. Porter, whom he never afterwards saw, and arrived in town on the sixteenth day of November.

After the declaration he had made of his intention to provide for his servant Frank, and before his going into the country, I had frequently pressed him to make a will, and had gone so far as to make a draft of one, with blanks for the names of the executors and residuary legatee, and directing in what manner it was to be executed and attested; but he was exceedingly averse to this business; and, while he was in Derbyshire, I repeated my solicitations, to this purpose, by letters. When he arrived in town he had done nothing in it, and, to what I formerly said, I now added, that he had never mentioned to me the disposal of the residue of his estate, which, after the purchase of an annuity for Frank, I found would be something considerable, and that he would do well "to bequeath it to his relations." His answers was, "I care not what becomes of the residue."——A few days after, it appeared that he had executed the draft, the blanks remaining, with all the solemnities of a real will. I could get him no farther, and thus, for some time, the matter rested.

He had scarce arrived in town, before it was found to be too true, that he was relapsing into a dropsy; and farther, that he was at times grievously afflicted with an asthma. Under an apprehension that his end was approaching, he enquired of Dr. Brocklesby, with great earnestness indeed, how long he might probably live, but could obtain no other than unsatisfactory answers: and, at the same time, if I remember right, under a seeming great pressure of mind, he thus addressed him, in the words of Shakespeare:

"Canst thou not minister to a mind diseas'd;
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
And with some sweet oblivious antidote,
Cleanse the full bosom of that perilous stuff,
Which weighs upon the heart?"——

MACBETH.[721]

To which the doctor, who was nearly as well read in the above author as himself, readily replied,

"————————Therein the patient
Must minister unto himself."

Upon which Johnson exclaimed—"Well applied:—that's more than poetically true."

He had, from the month of July in this year, marked the progress of his diseases, in a journal which he intitled "Aegri Ephemeris,"[722] noting therein his many sleepless nights by the words, Nox insomnis. This he often contemplated, and, finding very little ground for hope that he had much longer to live, he set himself to prepare for his dissolution, and betook himself to private prayer and the reading of Erasmus on the New Testament, Dr. Clarke's sermons,[723] and such other books as had a tendency to calm and comfort him.

In this state of his body and mind, he seemed to be very anxious in the discharge of two offices that he had hitherto neglected to perform: one was, the communicating to the world the names of the persons concerned in the compilation of the "Universal History";[724] the other was, the rescuing from oblivion the memory of his father and mother, and also, of his brother: the former of these he discharged, by delivering to Mr. Nichols the printer, in my presence, a paper containing the information above-mentioned, and directions to deposit it in the British museum. The other, by composing a memorial of his deceased parents and his brother,[725] intended for their tombstone, which, whether it was ever inscribed thereon or not, is extant in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for January 1785. The note ascertaining the names of the compilers of the "Universal History," is inserted in the Magazine for the preceding month. The monumental inscription is as follows:

H.S.E.
MICHAEL JOHNSON,

Vir impavidus, constans, animosus, periculorum immemor, laborum patientissimus; fiduciâ christianâ, fortis, fervidusque, pater-familias apprimè

strenuus; bibliopola admodum peritus; mente et libris et negotiis exculta; animo ita firmo, ut, rebus adversis diu conflictatus, nec sibi nec suis defuerit: lingua sic temperata, ut ei nihil quod aures, vel pias, vel castas laesisset, aut dolor, vel voluptas unquam expresserit.

Natus Cubleiae, in agro Derbiensi, anno MDCLVI. obiit MDCCXXXI.

Apposita est SARA, conjux,
Antiqua FORDORUM gente oriunda; quam domi sedulam, foris paucis notam; nulli molestam, mentis acumine et judicii subtilitate praecellentem; aliis multum, sibi parum indulgentem: Aeternitati semper attentam, omne fere virtutis nomen commendavit.

Nata Nortoniae Regis, in agro Varvicensi, anno MDCLXIX; obiit MDCCLIX.

Cum NATHANAELE illorum filio, qui natus MDCCXII, cum vires, et animi, et corporis multa pollicerentur, anno MDCCXXXVII, vitam brevem piâ morte finivit.

He would also have written, in Latin verse, an epitaph for Mr. Garrick,[726] but found himself unequal to the task of original poetic composition in that language.

Nevertheless, he succeeded in an attempt to render into Latin metre, from the Greek Anthologia,[727] sundry of the epigrams therein contained, that had been omitted by other translators, alledging as a reason, which he had found in Fabricius, that Henry Stephens, Buchanan, Grotius, and others, had paid a like tribute to literature.* The performance of this task was the employment of his sleepless nights, and, as he informed me, it afforded him great relief.

His complaints still increasing, I continued pressing him to make a will, but he still procrastinated that business. On the twenty-seventh of November, in the morning, I went to his house, with a purpose still farther to urge him not to give occasion, by dying intestate, for litigation among his relations; but finding that he was gone to pass the day with Reverend Mr. Strahan,[728] at Islington, I followed him thither, and found there our old friend Mr. Ryland, and Mr. Hoole. Upon my sitting down, he said, that the prospect of the change he was about to undergo, and the thought of meeting his Saviour, troubled him, but that he had hope that he would not reject him. I then began to discourse with him about his will, and the provision for Frank, till he grew

* To these may be added, the examples of Sir Thomas More and Lily the grammarian, both of whose translations are published among Sir Thomas More's epigrams.

angry. He told me, that he had signed and sealed the paper I left him;—but that, said I, had blanks in it, which, as it seems, you have not filled up with the names of the executors.——"You should have filled them up yourself," answered he.——I replied, that such an act would have looked as if I meant to prevent his choice of a fitter person.——"Sir," said he, "these minor virtues are not to be exercised in matters of such importance as this."——At length, he said, that on his return home, he would send for a clerk, and dictate a will to him.——You will then, said I, be inops consilii;[729] rather do it now. With Mr. Strahan's permission, I will be his guest at dinner; and, if Mr. Hoole will please to hold the pen, I will, in a few words, make such a disposition of your estate as you shall direct.——To this he assented; but such a paroxysm of the asthma seized him, as prevented our going on. As the fire burned up, he found himself relieved, and grew chearful. "The fit," said he, "was very sharp; but I am now easy." After I had dictated a few lines, I told him, that he being a man of eminence for learning and parts, it would afford an illustrious example, and well become him, to make such an explicit declaration of his belief, as might obviate all suspicions that he was any other than a Christian.*[730] He thanked me for the hint, and, calling for paper, wrote on a slip, that I had in my hand and gave him, the following words: "I humbly commit to the infinite and eternal goodness of Almighty God, my soul polluted with many sins; but, as I hope, purified by repentance, and redeemed, as I trust, by the death of Jesus Christ";[731] and, returning it to me, said, "This I commit to your custody."

Upon my calling on him for directions to proceed, he told me, that his father, in the course of his trade of a bookseller, had become bankrupt, and that Mr. William Innys had assisted him with money or credit to continue his business—"This," said he, "I consider as an obligation on me to be grateful to his descendants, and I therefore mean to give £200 to his representative."—He then meditated a devise of his house at Lichfield[732] to the corporation of that city for a charitable use; but, it being freehold, he said—"I cannot live a

* After the Roman empire became Christian, not only the testaments of dying men, but the imperial edicts, began with an invocation of the name of God, or of the holy and undivided Trinity. "The institutes of Justinian" begin "In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi"; and, till lately, the address of grants and charters has been "To all Christian people." Vide Sir Henry Spelman of antient Deeds and Charters, among his English works. A few years ago it was the uniform practice to begin wills with the words, "In the name of God, Amen"; and frequently to insert therein a declaration of the testator's hope of pardon in the merits of his Saviour; but, in these more refined times, such forms are deemed superfluous.

twelve-month, and the last statute of mortmain* stands in the way: I must, therefore, think of some other disposition of it."——His next consideration was, a provision for Frank, concerning the amount whereof I found he had been consulting Dr. Brocklesby, to whom he had put this question—"What would be a proper annuity to bequeath to a favourite servant?"—The doctor answered, that the circumstances of the master were the truest measure, and that, in the case of a nobleman, £50 a year was deemed an adequate reward for many years' faithful service.——"Then shall I," said Johnson, "be nobilissimus; for, I mean to leave Frank £70 a year, and I desire you to tell him so."—And now, at the making of the will, a devise, equivalent to such a provision, was therein inserted. The residue of his estate and effects, which took in, though he intended it not, the house at Lichfield, he bequeathed to his executors, in trust for a religious association, which it is needless to describe.

Having executed the will with the necessary formalities, he would have come home, but being pressed by Mr. and Mrs. Strahan to stay, he consented, and we all dined together. Towards the evening, he grew chearful, and I having promised to take him in my coach, Mr. Strahan and Mr. Ryland would accompany him to Bolt-court. In the way thither he appeared much at ease, and told stories. At eight I sat him down, and Mr. Strahan and Mr. Ryland betook themselves to their respective homes.

Sunday 28th. I saw him about noon; he was dozing; but waking, he found himself in a circle of his friends. Upon opening his eyes, he said, that the prospect of his dissolution was very terrible to him,[733] and addressed himself to us all, in nearly these words: "You see the state in which I am; conflicting with bodily pain and mental distraction: while you are in health and strength, labour to do good,[734] and avoid evil, if ever you hope to escape the distress that now oppresses me."——A little while after,—"I had, very early in my life, the seeds of goodness in me: I had a love of virtue, and a reverence for religion; and these, I trust, have brought forth in me fruits meet for repentance;[735] and, if I have repented as I ought, I am forgiven. I have, at times, entertained a loathing of sin and of myself, particularly at the beginning of this year, when I had the prospect of death before me; and this had not abated when my fears of death have been less; and, at these times, I have had such rays of hope shot into my soul, as have almost persuaded me, that I am in a state of reconciliation with God."

* Viz. 9 Geo. 2. cap. 36, which enacts, that no lands, tenements, &c. shall be given to any bodies politic, unless by deed indented, made twelve months, at least, before the death of the donor.

29th. Mr. Langton, who had spent the evening with him, reported, that his hopes were increased, and that he was much cheared upon being reminded of the general tendency of his writings, and of his example.

30th. I saw him in the evening, and found him chearful. Was informed, that he had, for his dinner, eaten heartily of a French duck pie and a pheasant.

Dec. 1. He was busied in destroying papers.[736]—Gave to Mr. Langton and another person, to fair copy, some translations of the Greek epigrams, which he had made in the preceding nights, and transcribed the next morning, and they began to work on them.

3d. Finding his legs continue to swell, he signified to his physicians a strong desire to have them scarified, but they, unwilling to put him to pain, and fearing a mortification, declined advising it. He afterwards consulted his surgeon, and he performed the operation on one leg.

4th. I visited him: the scarification, made yesterday in his leg, appeared to have had little effect.—He said to me, that he was easier in his mind, and as fit to die at that instant, as he could be a year hence.—He requested me to receive the sacrament with him on Sunday, the next day. Complained of great weakness, and of phantoms that haunted his imagination.

5th. Being Sunday, I communicated with him and Mr. Langton, and other of his friends, as many as nearly filled the room. Mr. Strahan, who was constant in his attendance on him throughout his illness, performed the office. Previous to reading the exhortation, Johnson knelt, and with a degree of fervour that I had never been witness to before, uttered the following most eloquent and energetic prayer:

"Almighty and most merciful Father, I am now, as to human eyes it seems, about to commemorate, for the last time, the death of thy son Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Redeemer. Grant, O Lord, that my whole hope and confidence may be in his merits and in thy mercy: forgive and accept my late conversion; enforce and accept my imperfect repentance; make this commemoration of him available to the confirmation of my faith, the establishment of my hope and the enlargement of my charity; and make the death of thy son Jesus effectual to my redemption. Have mercy upon me, and pardon the multitude of my offences. Bless my friends, have mercy upon all men. Support me by the grace of thy holy spirit in the days of weakness, and at the hour of death, and receive me, at my death, to everlasting happiness, for the sake of Jesus Christ.—Amen."[737]

Upon rising from his knees, after the office was concluded, he said, that he dreaded to meet God in a state of idiocy, or with opium in his head; and, that having now communicated with the effects of a dose upon him, he doubted if his exertions were the genuine operations of his mind, and repeated from

bishop Taylor this sentiment, "That little, that has been omitted in health, can be done to any purpose in sickness."*[738]

While he was dressing and preparing for this solemnity, an accident happened which went very near to disarrange his mind. He had mislaid, and was very anxious to find a paper that contained private instructions to his executors; and myself, Mr. Strahan, Mr. Langton, Mr. Hoole, Frank, and I believe some others that were about him, went into his bed-chamber to seek it. In our search, I laid my hands on a parchment-covered book, into which I imagined it might have been slipped. Upon opening the book, I found it to be meditations and reflections, in Johnson's own hand-writing; and having been told a day or two before by Frank, that a person formerly intimately connected with his master, a joint proprietor of a news-paper, well known among the booksellers, and of whom Mrs. Williams once told me she had often cautioned him to beware; I say, having been told that this person had lately been very importunate to get access to him, indeed to such a degree as that, when he was told that the doctor was not to be seen, he would push his way up stairs; and having stronger reasons than I need here mention, to suspect that this man might find and make an ill use of the book, I put it, and a less of the same kind, into my pocket;[739] at the same time telling those around me, and particularly Mr. Langton and Mr. Strahan, that I had got both, with my reasons for thus securing them. After the ceremony was over, Johnson took me aside, and told me that I had a book of his in my pocket; I answered that I had two, and that to prevent their falling into the hands of a person who had attempted to force his way into the house, I had done as I conceived a friendly act, but not without telling his friends of it, and also my reasons. He then asked me what grounds I had for my suspicion of the man I mentioned: I told him his great importunity to get admittance; and farther, that immediately after a visit which he made me, in the year 1775, I missed a paper of a public nature, and of great importance; and that a day or two after, and before it could be put to its intended use, I saw it in the news-papers.†

* He very much admired, and often in the course of his illness recited, from the conclusion of old Isaac Walton's life of bishop Sanderson, the following pathetic request:

"Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life:—'tis now too late to wish, that mine may be like his; for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age, and God knows it hath not; but, I most humbly beseech Almighty God, that my death may; and I do as earnestly beg, that, if any reader shall receive any satisfaction from this very plain, and, as true relation, he will be so charitable as to say, Amen."

† As I take no pleasure in the disgrace of others, I regret the necessity I am under of mentioning these particulars: my reason for it is, that the transaction which so disturbed him may possibly be better known than the motives that actuated me at the time.

At the mention of this circumstance Johnson paused; but recovering himself, said, "You should not have laid hands on the book; for had I missed it, and not known you had it, I should have roared for my book, as Othello did for his handkerchief, and probably have run mad."[740]

I gave him time, till the next day, to compose himself, and then wrote him a letter, apologizing, and assigning at large the reasons for my conduct; and received a verbal answer by Mr. Langton, which, were I to repeat it, would render me suspected of inexcusable vanity; it concluded with these words, "If I was not satisfied with this, I must be a savage."

7th. I again visited him. Before my departure, Dr. Brocklesby came in, and, taking him by the wrist, Johnson gave him a look of great contempt, and ridiculed the judging of his disorder by the pulse. He complained, that the sarcocele had again made its appearance, and asked, if a puncture would not relieve him, as it had done the year before: the doctor answered, that it might, but that his surgeon was the best judge of the effect of such an operation. Johnson, upon this, said, "How many men in a year die through the timidity of those whom they consult for health! I want length of life, and you fear giving me pain, which I care not for."

8th. I visited him with Mr. Langton, and found him dictating to Mr. Strahan another will, the former being, as he had said at the time of making it, a temporary one. On our entering the room, he said, "God bless you both." I arrived just time enough to direct the execution, and also the attestation of it. After he had published[741] it, he desired Mr. Strahan to say the Lord's prayer, which he did, all of us joining. Johnson, after it, uttered, extempore, a few pious ejaculations.

9th. I saw him in the evening, and found him dictating, to Mr. Strahan, a codicil to the will he had made the evening before. I assisted them in it, and received from the testator a direction, to insert a devise to his executors of the house at Lichfield, to be sold for the benefit of certain of his relations, a bequest of sundry pecuniary and specific legacies, a provision for the annuity of £70 for Francis, and, after all, a devise of all the rest, residue, and remainder of his estate and effects, to his executors, in trust for the said Francis Barber, his executors and administrators; and, having dictated accordingly, Johnson executed and published it as codicil to his will.*

* How much soever I approve of the practice of rewarding the fidelity of servants, I cannot but think that, in testamentary dispositions in their favour, some discretion ought to be exercised; and that, in scarce any instance they are to be preferred to those who are allied to the testator either in blood or by affinity. Of the merits of this servant, a judgment may be formed from what I shall hereafter have occasion to say of him. It was

He was now so weak as to be unable to kneel, and lamented, that he must pray sitting, but, with an effort, he placed himself on his knees, while Mr. Strahan repeated the Lord's Prayer. During the whole of the evening, he was much composed and resigned. Being become very weak and helpless, it was thought necessary that a man should watch with him all night; and one was found in the neighbourhood, who, for a half a crown a night, undertook to sit up with, and assist him. When the man had left the room, he, in the presence and hearing of Mr. Strahan and Mr. Langton, asked me, where I meant to bury him. I answered, doubtless, in Westminster abbey: "If," said he, "my executors think it proper to mark the spot of my interment by a stone, let it be so placed as to protect my body from injury." I assured him it should be done. Before my departure, he desired Mr. Langton to put into my hands, money to the amount of upwards of £100 with a direction to keep it till called for.

10th. This day at noon I saw him again. He said to me, that the male nurse to whose care I had committed him, was unfit for the office. "He is," said he, "an idiot, as aukward as a turnspit just put into the wheel, and as sleepy as a dormouse." Mr. Cruikshank came into the room, and, looking on his scarified leg, saw no sign of a mortification.

11th. At noon, I found him dozing, and would not disturb him.

12th. Saw him again; found him very weak, and, as he said, unable to pray.

13th. At noon, I called at the house, but went not into his room, being told, that he was dozing. I was further informed by the servants, that his appetite was totally gone, and that he could take no sustenance. At eight in the evening, of the same day, word was brought me by Mr. Sastres, to whom, in his last moments, he uttered these words "Jam moriturus,"[742] that, at a quarter past seven, he had, without a groan, or the least sign of pain or uneasiness, yielded his last breath.

At eleven, the same evening, Mr. Langton came to me, and, in an agony of mind, gave me to understand, that our friend had wounded himself in several

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hinted to me many years ago, by his master, that he was a loose fellow; and I learned from others, that, after an absence from his service of some years, he married. In his search of a wife, he picked up one of those creatures with whom, in the disposal of themselves, no contrariety of colour is an obstacle. It is said, that soon after his marriage, he became jealous, and, it may be supposed, that he continued so, till, by presenting him with a daughter of her own colour, his wife put an end to all his doubts on that score. Notwithstanding which, Johnson, in the excess of indiscriminating benevolence, about a year before his death, took the wife and her two children, into his house, and made them a part of his family; and, by the codicil to his will, made a disposition in his favour, to the amount in value of near fifteen hundred pounds.

parts of the body. I was shocked at the news; but, upon being told that he had not touched any vital part, was easily able to account for an action, which would else have given us the deepest concern. The fact was, that conceiving himself to be full of water, he had done that, which he had often solicited his medical assistants to do, made two or three incisions in his lower limbs, vainly hoping for some relief from the flux that might follow.

Early the next morning, Frank came to me; and, being desirous of knowing all the particulars of this transaction, I interrogated him very strictly concerning it, and received from him answers to the following effect:

That, at eight in the morning of the preceding day, upon going into the bedchamber, his master, being in bed, ordered him to open a cabinet, and give him a drawer in it; that he did so, and that out of it his master took a case of lancets, and choosing one of them, would have conveyed it into the bed, which Frank, and a young man that sat up with him,[743] seeing, they seized his hand, and intreated him not to do a rash action: he said he would not; but drawing his hand under the bed-clothes, they saw his arm move. Upon this they turned down the clothes, and saw a great effusion of blood, which soon stopped—That soon after, he got at a pair of scissars that lay in a drawer by him, and plunged them deep in the calf of each leg—That immediately they sent for Mr. Cruikshank, and the apothecary, and they, or one of them, dressed the wounds—That he then fell into that dozing which carried him off.—That it was conjectured he lost eight or ten ounces of blood; and that this effusion brought on the dozing, though his pulse continued firm till three o'clock.

That this act was not done to hasten his end, but to discharge the water that he conceived to be in him, I have not the least doubt. A dropsy was his disease; he looked upon himself as a bloated carcase; and, to attain the power of easy respiration, would have undergone any degree of temporary pain. He dreaded neither punctures nor incisions, and, indeed, defied the trochar and the lancet: he had often reproached his physicians and surgeon with cowardice; and, when Mr. Cruikshank scarified his leg, he cried out—"Deeper, deeper;—I will abide the consequence: you are afraid of your reputation, but that is nothing to me."——To those about him, he said,—"You all pretend to love me, but you do not love me so well as I myself do."

I have been thus minute in recording the particulars of his last moments, because I wished to attract attention to the conduct of this great man, under the most trying circumstances human nature is subject to. Many persons have appeared possessed of more serenity of mind in this awful scene; some have remained unmoved at the dissolution of the vital union; and, it may

be deemed a discouragement from the severe practice of religion, that Dr. Johnson, whose whole life was a preparation for his death, and a conflict with natural infirmity, was disturbed with terror at the prospect of the grave. Let not this relax the circumspection of any one. It is true, that natural firmness of spirit, or the confidence of hope, may buoy up the mind to the last; but, however heroic an undaunted death may appear, it is not what we should pray for. As Johnson lived the life of the righteous,[744] his end was that of a Christian: he strictly fulfilled the injunction of the apostle, to work out his salvation with fear and trembling;[745] and, though his doubts and scruples were certainly very distressing to himself, they give his friends a pious hope, that he, who added to almost all the virtues of Christianity, that religious humility which its great Teacher inculcated, will, in the fullness of time, receive the reward promised to a patient continuance in well-doing.[746]

A few days after his departure, Dr. Brocklesby and Mr. Cruikshank, who, with great assiduity and humanity, (and, I must add, generosity, for neither they, nor Dr. Heberden, Dr. Warren, nor Dr. Butter, would accept any fees) had attended him, signified a wish, that his body might be opened.[747] This was done, and the report made was to this effect:

Two of the valves of the aorta ossified.

The air-cells of the lungs unusually distended.

One of the kidneys destroyed by the pressure of the water.

The liver schirrous.

A stone in the gall-bladder, of the size of a common gooseberry.

On Monday the 20th of December, his funeral was celebrated and honoured by a numerous attendance of his friends, and among them, by particular invitation, of as many of the literary club as were then in town, and not prevented by engagements. The dean of Westminster,[748] upon my application, would gladly have performed the ceremony of his interment, but, at the time, was much indisposed in his health; the office, therefore, devolved upon the senior prebendary, Dr. Taylor, who performed it with becoming gravity and seriousness. All the prebendaries, except such as were absent in the country, attended in their surplices and hoods: they met the corpse at the west door of their church, and performed, in the most respectful manner, all the honours due to the memory of so great a man.

His body, enclosed in a leaden coffin, is deposited in the fourth transept of the abbey, near the foot of Shakespeare's monument, and close to the coffin of his friend Garrick. Agreeable to his request, a stone of black marble covers his grave, thus inscribed:

SAMUEL JOHNSON, L.L.D.
Obiit XIII die Decembris,
Anno Domini
MDCCLXXXIV,
AEtatis suae LXXV.

Copy of Dr. JOHNSON's WILL,[749] and of the CODICIL thereto subjoined.

**In the name of God. Amen.** I SAMUEL JOHNSON, being in full possession of my faculties, but fearing this night may put an end to my life, do ordain this my last will and testament. I bequeath to God a soul polluted with many sins, but I hope purified by repentance, and I trust redeemed by Jesus Christ.* I leave seven hundred and fifty pounds in the hands of Bennet Langton, Esq; three hundred pounds in the hands of Mr. Barclay and Mr. Perkins, brewers; one hundred and fifty pounds in the hands of Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore; one thousand pounds, three per cent. annuities in the public funds, and one hundred pounds now lying by me in ready money; all these beforementioned sums and property I leave, I say, to Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir John Hawkins, and Dr. William Scott, of Doctors Commons, in trust for the following uses; That is to say, to pay to the representatives of the late William Innys, bookseller, in St. Paul's Church Yard, the sum of two hundred pounds; to Mrs. White, my female servant, one hundred pounds stock in the three per cent. annuities aforesaid. The rest of the aforesaid sums of money and property, together with my books, plate, and houshold-furniture, I leave to the before-mentioned Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir John Hawkins, and Dr. William Scott, also in trust, to be applied, after paying my debts, to the use of Francis Barber, my man-servant, a negro, in such manner as they shall judge most fit and available to his benefit. And I appoint the aforesaid Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir John Hawkins, and Dr. William Scott, sole executors of this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all former wills and testaments whatsoever. In witness whereof I hereunto subscribe my name, and affix my seal, this eighth day of December, 1784.

SAM. JOHNSON, (L.S.)

* This declaration is, in substance, the same with that in the former will, but varies in the expression.

Signed, sealed, published, declared, and delivered by the said testator, as his last will and testament, in the presence of us, the word *two* being first inserted in the opposite page.

George Strahan.
John Des Moulins.

By way of codicil to my last will and testament, I Samuel Johnson, give, devise, and bequeath, my messuage[750] or tenement, situate at Lichfield, in the county of Stafford, with the appurtenances, in the tenure or occupation of Mrs. Bond, of Lichfield aforesaid, or of Mr. Hincksman, her under-tenant, to my executors in trust, to sell and dispose of the same; and the money arising from such sale I give and bequeath as follows, viz. to Thomas and Benjamin the sons of Fisher Johnson, late of Leicester, and [space] Whiting, daughter of Thomas Johnson, late of Coventry, and the grand-daughter of the said Thomas Johnson, one full and equal fourth part each; but in case there shall be more grand-daughters than one of the said Thomas Johnson, living at the time of my decease, I give and bequeath the part or share of that one to, and equally between such grand-daughters. I give and bequeath to the Rev. Mr. Rogers, of Berkley, near Froome, in the county of Somerset, the sum of one hundred pounds, requesting him to apply the same towards the maintenance of Elizabeth Herne, a lunatic. I also give and bequeath to my godchildren, the son and daughter of Maritius Low, painter, each of them, one hundred pounds of my stock in the three per cent. consolidated annuities, to be applied and disposed of by and at the discretion of my Executors, in the education or settlement in the world of them my said legatees. Also, I give and bequeath to Sir John Hawkins, one of my Executors, the Annales Ecclesiastici of Baronius and Holingshed's and Stowe's Chronicles, and also an octavo Common Prayer Book. To Bennet Langton, Esq; I give and bequeath my Polyglot Bible. To Sir Joshua Reynolds, my great French Dictionary, by Martiniere, and my own copy of my folio English Dictionary, of the last revision. To Dr. William Scott, one of my Executors, the Dictionnaire de Commerce, and Lectius's edition of the Greek Poets. To Mr. Windham, Poetae Graeci Heroici per Henricum Stephanum. To the Rev. Mr. Strahan, vicar of Islington, in Middlesex, Mills's Greek Testament, Beza's Greek Testament by Stephens, all my Latin Bibles, and my Greek Bible by Wechelius. To Dr. Heberden, Dr. Brocklesby, Dr. Butter, and Mr. Cruikshank the surgeon who attended me, Mr. Holder my apothecary, Gerard Hamilton, Esq; Mrs. Gardiner, of Snow-hill, Mrs. Frances Reynolds, Mr. Hoole, and the Rev. Mr. Hoole, his son, each a book at their election, to keep as a token of remem-

brance.[751] I also give and bequeath to Mr. John Des Moulins two hundred pounds consolidated three per cent. annuities; and to Mr. Sastres, the Italian master, the sum of five pounds, to be laid out in books of piety for his own use. And whereas the said Bennet Langton hath agreed, in consideration of the sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds, mentioned in my will to be in his hands, to grant and secure an annuity of seventy pounds, payable during the life of me and my servant Francis Barber, and the life of the survivor of us, to Mr. George Stubbs in trust for us; my mind and will is, that in case of my decease before the said agreement shall be perfected, the said sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds, and the bond for securing the said sum, shall go to the said Francis Barber; and I hereby give and bequeath to him the same, in lieu of the bequest in his favour, contained in my said will. And I hereby empower my Executors to deduct and retain all expences that shall or may be incurred in the execution of my said will, or of this codicil thereto, out of such estate and effects as I shall die possessed of. All the rest, residue, and remainder of my estate and effects, I give and bequeath to my said Executors, in trust for the said Francis Barber, his Executors and Administrators. Witness my hand and seal this ninth day of December, 1784.

SAM. JOHNSON, (L.S.)

Signed, sealed, published, declared, and delivered by the said Samuel Johnson, as, and for a Codicil to his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who, in his presence, and at his request, and also in the presence of each other, have hereto subscribed our names as witnesses.

John Copley.
William Gibson.
Henry Cole.

## POSTSCRIPT.

The foregoing instrument carries into effect the resolution of Dr. Johnson, to be, with respect to his negro-servant, *nobilissimus*; but the many lavish encomiums that have been bestowed on this act of bounty, make it necessary to mention some particulars, subsequent to his death, that will serve to shew the short-sightedness of human wisdom, and the effects of ill-directed benevolence.

The amount of the bequest to this man, may be estimated at a sum little short of £1500 and that to the testator's relations named in the will at £235 (the sum which the house of Lichfield produced at a sale by auction) who, being five in number, divided the same, after deducting the expences of the sale, in

the following proportions; that is to say, three of the relations took £58. 15s. od. each, and each of two others, the representatives of a fourth, £29. 7s. 6d.

A few days after the doctor's decease, Francis came to me, and informed me, that a relation of his master's, named Humphrey Heely, who, with his wife, had lately, upon the request of the doctor to the bishop of Rochester, been placed in an alms-house at Westminster, was in great necessity, as wanting money to buy bedding and cloaths. I told him, that seeing he was so great a gainer by his master's will, as to be possessed of almost the whole of his fortune, it behoved him to have compassion on this his relation, and to supply his wants. His reply was—"*I cannot afford it.*"

From the time of the doctor's decease, myself, and my colleagues the other executors, answered all the calls of Francis for money. On the 6th day of September 1785, we had advanced him £106. By the 13th of December following, he had received of Mr. Langton for his annuity, and of Mess. Barclay and Perkins for interest, as much as made that sum £183 and on the 15th of the same month, a year and two days after his master's death, he came to me, saying, that he wanted more money, for that a new halfpence was all that he had left. Upon my settling with him in August 1786, it appeared that, exclusive of his annuity, he had received £337 and, after delivering to him the bond for £150 mentioned in the will,* I paid him a balance of £196. 15s. 4d. ¾.

I had no sooner closed my account, than I sent for Heely, who appeared to be an old man and lame, having one leg much shorter than the other, but of an excellent understanding. The style of his discourse was so correct and grammatical, that it called to my remembrance that of Johnson. The account he gave me of himself and his fortunes was to the following effect:

That he was born in the year 1714, and that his relation to Johnson was by marriage, his first wife being a Ford, and the daughter of Johnson's mother's brother.——That himself had been a wholesale ironmonger, and the owner of an estate in Warwickshire, which he farmed himself, but that losses, and some indiscretions on his part, had driven him to Scotland; and that, in his return on foot, with his wife, from Newcastle, she died on the road in his arms;—that, some years after, he was, by Sir Thomas Robinson, made keeper of the Tap at Ranelagh house, and that he married again; but that not being able to endure the capricious insolence with which he was treated, Mr. Garrick took him under his protection, and would have found a place for him in his theatre, but lived not to be able to do it; and that these, and other misfortunes and disappointments, had brought him to the condition, as he described it, of a poor, reduced old man.——He added, that Dr. Johnson had

* He had before received £45 for interest thereon.

been very liberal to him; and, as one instance of his kindness, mentioned, that, about three weeks before his decease, he had applied to him for assistance; and, upon stating his reasons for troubling him, was bid, rather harshly, to be silent;—"For," said the doctor, "it is enough to say that you are in want; I enquire not into the causes of it: here is money for your relief":*—but that, immediately recollecting himself, he changed his tone, and mildly said,—"If I have spoken roughly to you, impute it to the distraction of my mind, and the petulance of a sick man."——Describing his present condition, he said, that he and his wife were in want of every necessary, and that neither of them had a change of any one article of raiment.

To be better informed of his circumstances I visited this person in the alms-house, and was there a witness to such a scene of distress as I had never till then beheld. A sorry bed, with scarce any covering on it, two or three old trunks and boxes, a few broken chairs, and an old table, were all the furniture of the room. I found him smoking, and, while I was talking with him, a ragged boy, about ten years of age, came in from the garden, and upon my enquiring who he was, the old man said—"This is a child whom a worthless father has left on our hands: I took him to keep at four shillings a week, and for four years maintenance have not been able to get more than five pounds four shillings: the poor child is an idiot, he cannot repeat the Lord's Prayer, and is unable to count five: we know not how to dispose of him, and, if we

*We have here an instance of that asperity of temper with which Johnson has been frequently charged, but without any allowance for natural infirmity, or any consideration of his endeavours to correct it, or his readiness to atone for the pain it might sometimes give, by a kind and gentle treatment of the person offended. The truth of the matter is, that his whole life was a conflict with his passions and humours, and that few persons bore reprehension with more patience than himself. After his decease, I found among his papers an anonymous letter,[752] that seemed to have been written by a person who had long had his eye on him, and remarked the offensive particulars in his behaviour, his propensity to contradiction, his want of deference to the opinions of others, his contention for victory over those with whom he disputed, his local prejudices and aversions, and other his evil habits in conversation, which made his acquaintance shunned by many, who, as a man of genius and worth, highly esteemed him. It was written with great temper, in a spirit of charity, and with a due acknowledgment of those great talents with which he was endowed, but contained in it several home truths. In short, it was such a letter as many a one, on the receipt of it would have destroyed. On the contrary, Johnson preserved it, and placed it in his bureau, in a situation so obvious, that, whenever he opened that repository of his papers, it might look him in the face; and I have not the least doubt, that he frequently perused and reflected on its contents, and endeavoured to correct his behaviour by an address which he could not but consider as a friendly admonition.

did, we could hardly prevail on ourselves to part with him; for it is a harmless, loving creature: we divide our morsel with him, and are just able to keep him from starving."

Upon enquiring into the means of this poor man's subsistence, he informed me, that the endowment of the alms-houses, in one of which he lived, yielded him an allowance of half a crown a week, and half a chaldron of coals at Christmas.[753] That his wife bought milk and sold it again, and thereby was able to get about a shilling a day. The scantiness of his income, he said, had obliged him and his wife to study the art of cheap living, and he felicitated himself that they were become such proficients therein, as to be able to abstain from drinking, except at their supper-meal, when, as he said, they each indulged in a pint of beer, which sufficed them for four-and-twenty hours. He told me all this in a tremulous tone of voice that indicated a mind that had long struggled with affliction, but without the least murmur at his hard fortune, or complaint of the doctor's neglect of him: in short, he appeared to me such an exemplar of meekness and patience in adversity, as the best of men, in similar circumstance, might wish to imitate.

Johnson had also a first cousin, Elizabeth Herne, a lunatic, whom, upon her discharge from Bethlem hospital as incurable, he had placed in a mad-house at Bethnal green. A lady of the name of Prowse, had bequeathed to her an annuity of £10 and Johnson constantly paid the bills for her keeping, which, amounting to £25 a year, made him a benefactor to her of the difference between those two sums.

The doctor, by his will, bequeathed to the reverend Mr. Rogers, who had married the daughter of Mrs. Prowse, £100 towards the maintenance of the lunatic; but he, probably considering that the interest of that sum would fall far short of what Johnson had been used to contribute, and that the burthen of supporting her would lie on himself, renounced the legacy. Had the doctor left her, for her life, the dividends of £500 part of his stock, she had sustained no loss at his death: as the matter now stands, I must apply the £100 for her maintenance, and, if she lives to exhaust it, must seek out the place of her last legal settlement, and remit her to the care of a parish.*

* Of the craft and selfishness of the doctor's negro-servant, the following is a notable instance. At the time of his master's death, Mrs. Herne's maintenance was about £30 in arrear. I was applied to for the money, and shewed the bill to him, upon which he immediately went to the mad-house, and insisted with the keeper thereof, that it should be charged on the legacy; but he refused to do it, saying, that the lunatic was placed there by Dr. Johnson, and that it was a debt incurred in his life-time, and, by consequence, payable out of his effects. When this would not do, this artful fellow came to me, and pretended that he could bring a woman to swear that there was nothing due; and, upon

That the name of the poor man Heely occurs not in the will, and that no better provision is therein made for the lunatic Herne, than a legacy which may fail to support her through life, can no otherwise be accounted for, than by the doctor's postponing that last solemn act of his life, and his making a disposition of what he had to leave, under circumstances that disabled him from recollecting either their relation to him, or the distresses they severally laboured under. Any other supposition would be injurious to the memory of a man, who, by his private memoranda in my possession,[754] appears to have applied near a fourth part of his income in acts of beneficence.

The above facts are so connected with the transactions of Dr. Johnson, in the latter days of his life, that they are part of his history; and the mention of them may serve as a caveat against ostentatious bounty,[755] *favour to negroes*, and testamentary dispositions *in extremis*.*

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my telling him, that I should, notwithstanding, pay the bill, he said, he saw *there was no good intended for him*, and in anger left me.

* It will afford some satisfaction to the compassionate reader to know, that the means of benefiting Heeley, and some others of Dr. Johnson's relations, whom he had either totally neglected, or slightly noticed, have been found out, and rendered practicable by Mr. Langton. That gentleman, to whom the doctor had given his manuscript Latin poems,[756] having got for them of the booksellers £20 with that benignity which is but one of his excellent qualities, had determined to divide the same among the doctor's relations. And whereas the doctor died indebted to the estate of the late Mr. Beauclerk, in the sum of £30 lady Diana Beauclerk, his relict and executrix, upon the receipt thereof, and being informed of Mr. Langton's intention, in a spirit of true benevolence requested, that she might be permitted to add that sum to the former, and, accordingly, deposited it in his hands. Part of this money has been applied in relieving the wants of Heely and his wife, and the rest will be disposed of among those relations that shall appear to stand most in need of help; and, as a farther relief to Heely, and for the benefit of the idiot-boy, measures have been taken to settle him with the parish, upon which he has a legal claim for maintenance, which having succeeded, the poor man is eased of a heavy burden, and the boy is become sure of a provision for life.

# NOTES TO THE TEXT

1. " 'praise famous men . . . verses in writing' ": Ecclesiasticus 44: "1 Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us. 2 The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning. 3 Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies; 4 Leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions: 5 Such as found out musical tunes, and recited verses in writing: . . . 7 All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times. 8 There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported." Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus, written by Yeshua Ben Siva, a scribe and teacher in Jerusalem in the early decades of the second century BCE, is part of the Apocrypha.

2. "scientific": Producing demonstrative knowledge; producing certainty (*Dictionary*); Science: Knowledge (sense 1); Certainty grounded in demonstration (sense 2).

3. "scholar": A man of letters (sense 2 in *Dictionary*); Scholarship: Learning literature, knowledge (sense 1); Literary education (sense 2).

4. "philosopher": A man deep in knowledge, either moral or natural (*Dictionary*).

5. "egotisms": Egotism: The fault committed in writing by the frequent repetition of the word *ego,* or *I*; too frequent mention of a man's self, in writing or conversation (*Dictionary*).

6. "Michael Johnson . . . Sarah his wife": Michael, born in 1656, and Sarah, born in 1669, married on 19 June 1706. For an overview of the lives of Michael and Sarah Johnson see *Gleanings*, 3:1–52.

7. "noted in his diary": "Annals" (*YW*, 1:24). JH gives the date of SJ's birth according to the older Julian calendar. The act 24 Geo. II c. 23, by adopting the Gregorian calendar, eliminated eleven days in September 1752, creating a difficulty for those like SJ whose birthdays fell between 2 and 14 September. Thus, SJ's birthday changed in 1752 from 7 September "Old Style" to 18 September "New Style." SJ used 18 September, the date now generally in use.

8. "Nathanael": Nathanael was baptized in St. Mary's, Lichfield, on 14 October 1712 (*Gleanings*, 3:71).

9. "parts": Qualities; powers; faculties, or accomplishments (sense 16 in *Dictionary*).

10. "Hogarth's modern midnight conversation . . . morning": SJ's cousin Cornelius Ford is the generally accepted identification for the parson ladling punch in "A Midnight Modern Conversation." See William Hogarth, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, ed. Ronald Paulson, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970), vol. 2, pl. 134 (cat. no. 128), and Paulson's commentary (1:151–52).

11. "Jacobite": The name, from Jacobus, the Latin form of James, given to supporters of the senior branch of the Stuart family, which went into exile when James II fled England in December 1688.

12. "amiable": Lovely; pleasing (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); Pretending love; shewing love (sense 2). Implies the possession of that friendly disposition which causes one to be liked; habitually characterized by that friendliness which awakens friendliness in return; having pleasing qualities of the heart (*OED*).

13. "Elizabeth Blaney": The story of Elizabeth Blaney is now thought to be apocryphal. JH's source is *GM* 55, pt. 1 (February 1785): 100, where it is related by John Nichols on the authority of Anna Seward. Michael served his apprenticeship in London, not in Leek; at the time of Elizabeth's death Michael had been in Lichfield eleven and a half years, and she had been in Lichfield at least five years (*Gleanings*, 3:14–17).

14. "struma . . . king's-evil": Struma: A glandular swelling; the king's evil; King's evil: A scrofulous distemper, in which the glands are ulcerated, commonly believed to be cured by the touch of the king (*Dictionary*). Scrofula or tuberculous adenitis is an inflammation of the lymph nodes due to the bacillus of tuberculosis (*OED*). The lymph nodes frequently attacked were in the neck, and in the death mask of SJ made into a bust, the scars from the incisions to drain the sores are clearly visible on his neck. The disease was common (4,422 people received the royal touch from James II between March and December 1685), and there is no evidence that he contracted the disease from his wet nurse, Joan Marklew. On the superstitious belief in the healing power of the royal touch and on the recommendation of Sir John Floyer, then a Lichfield physician, SJ traveled with his mother to London to be touched by Queen Anne in March 1712. The *London Gazette* for 26–28 February 1712 announced: "The Royal Intention to Touch . . . on Wednesday the 19th of March, and so continue Weekly during Lent." A broadside of 1689, reproduced in Margaret Lane's *Samuel Johnson and His World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 19, gives the order of the service. For the remainder of his life SJ wore the "touch-piece," the "angel of gold" he had received from Queen Anne, suspended on a ribbon around his neck (*Gleanings*, 3:56–58, 61–65; "Annals," in *YW*, 1:4–5, 8–9). The medal is now in the British Museum, Department of Medals. A copy of the bust by James Hoskins made from the death mask by William Cumberland Cruikshank is in the National Portrait Gallery, a gift of the Royal Literary Fund. The bust appears as the frontispiece to Robert E. Kelley and O M Brack, Jr., *Samuel Johnson's Early Biographers* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1971). See Ronald MacKeith, "The Death Mask of Samuel Johnson," *New Rambler* (June 1968): 41–47; Tyers, in *Early Biographies*, 85. See also Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 11–12, 21–27, 219–23.

The Latin quotation that appears in JH's footnote is from Ailred (Aelred, Aethelred) of Rievaulx, *Vita et Miracula S. Edwardi Regis et Confessoris* (1162–63). See the life in *Historiae anglicanae scriptores . . .* ed. Sir Roger Twysden (1652), col. 390. JH could have read the English account in John Stow, *Annales, or a General Chronicle of England* (1631): "A young woman married, but without children, had a disease about her jawes, and under her cheeke, like unto kernels, which they termed acornes and this disease so corrupted her face with stench, that she could scarce without great shame speake to any man: this woman was admonished in her sleepe to goe to King Edward, and get him to wash her face with water, and she should be whole. To the Court she came, and the king hearing of this matter, disdained not to do it, having a bason of water brought unto him, he dipped his hand therein, and washed the womans face, and touched the diseased place, and this he did oftentimes, sometimes also signing it with the signe of the Crosse,

which after he had thus washed it, the hard crust of skin was softned and dissolved, and drawing his hand by divers of the holes, out of the kernels came little wormes, whereof they were full with corrupt matter and bloud, the king still pressed it with his hands to bring forth the corruption, and disdained not to suffer the stench of the disease, untill he had brought forth all the corruption with pressing: this done, hee commanded her a sufficient allowance every day for all things necessary, untill she had received perfect health, which was within a weeke after, and whereas shee was ever before barren, within one yeere, she had a child by her husband" (98).

The sources JH cites in the remainder of his footnote are to Daines Barrington, *Observations on the More Ancient Statutes*, 4th ed. (1775), 107–8, and the article "Evil," in Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia, or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1728). Thomas Carte's *History of England*, vol. 1 (1747) contains the story of Christopher Lovell and the merits of the royal touch on 291–92n4. Josiah Tucker reported later in the *GM* that Lovell had a relapse, and ultimately this cost Carte financial support for his project. See *GM* 8 (May 1738): 227–32, 14 (July 1744): 393, 18 (April 1748): 185. See also *Life*, 1:42. Anthony Sparrow in his *A Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Causes of the Church of England* (1661) gives the order of service "At the Healing" (223–24).

15. "Here lies good Master Duck . . . odd one": JH's source for the "Epitaph on a Duckling" seems to be *GM* 55, pt. 1 (February 1785): 100, where it is related by John Nichols on the authority of Anna Seward, although his version differs slightly. The anecdote circulated widely, and a number of versions have survived. JB claimed that SJ told him that his father had written all of it (*Life*, 1:40), but other friends of SJ insisted that they had been told by him that he had written all or part of it. The best evidence suggests that SJ wrote the first two lines. See O M Brack, Jr., "Samuel Johnson and the Epitaph on a Duck," *Books at Iowa*, no. 45 (November 1986): 62–79.

16. "Mr. Hunter": The Reverend John Hunter was headmaster of the Free Grammar School in Lichfield from 1704 until his death in 1741 (*Gleanings*, 3:109–14). Anna Seward, a source of numerous and sometimes dubious anecdotes about SJ and Lichfield, was Hunter's granddaughter. See, for example, Waingrow, 47 and nn.

17. "gentleman of the name of Butt": William Butt is to be credited with recognizing SJ's future greatness. One of his children was Carey, baptized at St. Mary's, Lichfield, six months before SJ and perhaps one of the children who called SJ "the great boy." Carey became a surgeon and apothecary in Lichfield, and it was his son, the Reverend George Butt, who was "a King's Chaplain" (*Gleanings*, 3:132). A "Rev. Mr. Butt" attended SJ's funeral (*Letters of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, 2 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892], 2:434).

18. "a person yet living": This was Edmund Hector, who attended Lichfield Grammar School and became a Birmingham surgeon and a lifelong friend of SJ. He was the nephew of George Hector, man-midwife, who delivered SJ. HLP says it was Hector "to whom he perpetually turned . . . not to his Flatterers & Admirers. Ever sighing for the Tea & Bread & Butter of Life, when satiated with the Turtle & Burgundy of it" (Piozzi, "Marginalia," 3:343, 349). Hector also supplied information about SJ's early life to JB. In the final paragraph of his narrative Hector alludes to a severe attack of depression that SJ experienced on leaving Oxford in December 1729 (*Gleanings*, 3:115–18, 124–27; Waingrow, 43).

19. "Cornelius Ford": SJ visited his cousin the Reverend Cornelius Ford at Pedmore,

near Stourbridge in Worcestershire, for nine months beginning in "the autumn of the year 1725." Whitsuntide is the week following Whitsunday (Pentecost), the seventh Sunday after Easter (*Gleanings*, 3:149–53). See n. 10 above.

20. "person who was his school-fellow there": This was Edmund Hector. See n. 18 above.

21. "Stourbridge": SJ may have been at Stourbridge a little over a year, but this may include the time spent with his cousin the Reverend Cornelius Ford. See n. 19 above. No evidence supports the claim that the Reverend John Wentworth, headmaster of Stourbridge Grammar School from 1704 until 1732, changed his name from Winkworth. He was the son of Thomas Wentworth of Salisbury (*Gleanings*, 3:155–63). The family name of the Earls of Strafford at this time was Wentworth.

22. "two years": For a detailed examination of the evidence on how SJ may have spent these years, in addition to his learning something of the book trade, see *Gleanings*, 3:164–81.

23. "Andrew Corbet": He was a schoolfellow of SJ and the son of Roger Corbet, who died in 1715. Andrew matriculated at Pembroke College, Oxford University, on 3 May 1727 and left on 1 November 1728, the week SJ arrived. SJ was entered as a commoner at Pembroke College on 31 October 1728 and left, never to return, on 12 December 1729 (*Gleanings*, 5:1–63, 120–22).

24. "gentleman-commoner": Gentleman-commoners were distinguished from ordinary commoners by special academic dress, by dining at a separate table, by various immunities with respect to lectures and so on, and by higher fees (*OED*).

25. "commoner": A student of the second rank at the university of Oxford; one that eats at the common table (sense 5 in *Dictionary*). Commons: Food; fare; diet: so called from colleges, where it is taken in common (sense 3 in *Dictionary*).

26. "Jordan": SJ's first tutor was the Reverend William Jorden, who became tutor and chaplain of Pembroke College in 1720 (*Gleanings*, 5:123–29).

27. "sconced": To sconce [A word used in the universities, and derived plausibly by *Skinner*, whose etymologies are generally rational, from *sconce*, as it signified the head; to *sconce* being to fix a fine on any one's head.] to mulct; to fine. A low word which ought not to be retained (*Dictionary*). According to the *OED*, the word in this sense is obsolete.

28. "Corbet . . . went home": See n. 23 above.

29. "exhibition": A fixed sum given for a term of years from the funds of a school, college, or university, generally upon the result of a competitive examination (*OED*); Allowance; salary; pension: it is much used for pensions allowed to scholars at the university (sense 2 in *Dictionary*). Pension: Payment for board and lodging, or for the board and education of a pupil at school (*OED*). For SJ's sole definition of "pension" see n. 527 below.

30. "circulating library": Books had been hired from booksellers since the Middle Ages, but the first formal circulating library in Britain seems to have been that of the poet and bookseller Allan Ramsay in Edinburgh in 1725. See Charlotte A. Stewart-Murphy, *A History of the British Circulating Library* (Newtown, Pa.: Bird & Bull Press, 1992), 13–15. See n. 122 below.

31. "gentleman of his college": The donor of the shoes seems to have been William Vyse, later archbishop of Salop and rector of St. Philip's, Birmingham. The "eminent

clergyman now living" was his son, also William Vyse, rector of Lambeth and canon of Lichfield (*Gleanings*, 5:21–22).

32. "servitor": One of the lowest order in the university (sense 4 in *Dictionary*). In certain colleges, one of a class of undergraduate members . . . who received their lodging and most of their board free, and were excused lecture fees. Originally the servitors acted as servants to the fellows, and although the requirement of menial services from them gradually fell into disuse, they continued to be regarded as socially the inferiors of the commoners (*OED*).

33. " 'the proud man's contumely' ": *Hamlet*, 3.1.79.

34. " 'Slow rises worth . . . deprest' ": Both editions of the *Life* have "deprest" for "depress'd." SJ's *London*, line 177 (*YW*, 6:56; *Poems*, 76). The *Works* (1787) has "depress'd" (11:326).

35. "His tutor, Jordan": According to the *Monthly Chronicle* for November 1729, Jorden "was presented by Mr. *Vyse*, a young Gentleman, his Pupil, to the Rectory of *Standon* in *Staffordshire*." He was inducted on 12 December 1729, the day SJ left Oxford (*Gleanings*, 5:125). See n. 26 above.

36. "Mr. Adams": The Reverend William Adams, master of Pembroke College from 1775 until his death in 1789, was at this time a junior fellow and a nominal tutor to SJ after the departure of Jorden. To Samuel Richardson, on Thursday, 28 March 1754, SJ wrote: "I must beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Adams under whom I had the honour to perform exercises at Oxford" (*Letters*, 1:80). See *Gleanings*, 5:33–36.

37. "emulation": Rivalry; desire of superiority (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); Envy; desire of depressing another; contest; contention; discord (sense 2).

38. "Meekes": The Reverend John Meeke, who became a fellow of Pembroke College in 1731 (*Gleanings*, 5:16, 139–42).

39. "Fathers": The ecclesiastical writers of the first centuries (sense 6 in *Dictionary*).

40. " 'Adversaria' ": SJ's notebooks on reading are unlocated. See nn. 413 and 416 below. For the list of the books in SJ's personal library while he was at Oxford see *Gleanings*, 5:27–30, 213–29.

41. "science": See n. 2 above.

42. "meditation": Deep thought; close attention; contrivance; contemplation (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); Thought employed upon sacred objects (sense 2). SJ spent his entire life trying to achieve discipline in his studies, without success. See, for example, his annual Easter reviews in his diaries (*YW*, 1:passim). See 268–70 below.

43. " 'Messiah' of Mr. Pope": William Adams, who had known SJ at Oxford and later became master of Pembroke College, informed JB that Jorden asked SJ to translate Alexander Pope's *Messiah* into Latin as a Christmas exercise, not as a punishment (Waingrow, 45n28, 49). SJ's Latin translation of the poem was shown to Pope by Charles Arbuthnot, son of Dr. John Arbuthnot, physician, author, and friend of Pope and Jonathan Swift. George was the brother of Charles, who was "of the Exchequer-office" (*Gleanings*, 5:11–12). The publication of John Husband's *Miscellany* is discussed in Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:1–2.

44. "physics": Natural science in general (*OED*).

45. "friend . . . at Christ-church": This was John Taylor, schoolfellow and lifelong friend of SJ who practiced law at Ashbourne, Derbyshire, before entering the church in 1740. See *Gleanings*, 5:81; *Letters*, 1:4; Clifford, *Young Sam*, 59–60, 116–17, 127–28, 139, 223.

46. "civil or the common law": By "civil" law JH means the law applied in the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts. The advocates in these courts were doctors of civil law of Oxford or Cambridge. By "common" law JH means the law applied in the common law courts, that is, the Court of King's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Court of Exchequer. A university education was not required to practice in these courts. See J. H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 4th ed. (London: Butterworths, 2002), 162–69.

47. "Earl of Berkshire": Henry Bowes Howard, fourth Earl of Berkshire and eleventh Earl of Suffolk, was probably living at Elford, his estate near Lichfield, at the time SJ was in school (*Gleanings*, 3:118).

48. "letter in Mr. Pope's hand-writing": The 1743 letter, owned by John Newbery, bookseller and publisher of works by SJ, concerning Christopher Smart's Latin translation of Pope's "Ode for Musick on St. Cecilia's Day," is unlocated. In a transcript of an original letter of 18 November 1743 that has survived Pope writes, "I ought to take this Opportunity of acknowledging the Latin Translation of my Ode which you sent me, & in which I could see little or Nothing to alter, it is so exact" (*The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherburn, vol. 4, *1736–1744* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956], 484).

49. "nervous and manly elocution": Nervous: Well strung; strong; vigorous (*Dictionary*). Manly: Manlike; becoming a man; firm; brave; stout; undaunted; undismayed (sense 1 in *Dictionary*).

50. "'1729 Dec. S. J. Oxonio rediit'": In December 1729 SJ left Oxford (*YW*, 1:27). He never returned as a student. Not only JH but all of SJ's early biographers believed that he completed his residence in Oxford. See n. 23 above.

51. "Mr. Spence's life of Antonio Magliabechi": Joseph Spence, *A Parallel; in the Manner of Plutarch; Between a Most Celebrated Man of Florence; and One Scarce Ever Heard of, in England* (Twickenham, 1758), 10–11.

52. "In the two professions. . . . volume above cited": The quotation describing Sir Edmund Saunders appears in Roger North's *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis North, Baron of Guilford* (1742), 223–24. Saunders succeeded Sir Francis Pemberton as lord chief justice of the King's Bench in 1682 and died the following year, five years before the Glorious Revolution of 1688–89.

53. "Passerat": Joannis Passerat's *Nihil* is quoted at the conclusion of the "Life of Rochester" (*Lives*, 2:14–16; *Works* [1787], 2:202–3).

54. "'He was remarkable . . . conjectures'": Although it is unclear, the "character of the former" refers to Edmund Smith. The quotation is from the "Life of Smith" (*Lives*, 2:178; *Works* [1787], 2:471).

55. "highest academical honours . . . bestow": Oxford conferred the M.A. degree in 1755 and the LL.D. degree in 1775. Trinity College, Dublin, conferred the LL.D. degree in 1765.

56. "servitors . . . sizers": Poor scholars were servitors at Oxford and sizars at Cambridge. Sizar: In the University of Cambridge, and at Trinity College, Dublin, an undergraduate admitted under this designation and receiving an allowance from the college to enable him to study (*OED*). See n. 32 above.

57. "gentleman-usher": JH could have found this information under "Sir Charles Cavendish" in *BB*, 2:1201, which cites George Cavendish's *The Life and Death of Cardinal*

*Wolsey*. See *The Negotiations of Thomas Woolsey, The Great Cardinall of England, Containing his Life and Death, Composed by one of his owne Servants, being his Gentleman-Usher* (1641), A2v–A3r. Gentleman: The servant that waits about the person of a man of rank (sense 4 in *Dictionary*). Gentleman-usher: A gentleman acting as usher to a person of superior rank. Usher: An officer of the court, in a dignitary's household, etc., whose duty it is on occasion to walk or go before a person of high rank (*OED*). See n. 63 below.

58. "maiden sisters": They were Ann and Phoebe, sisters of SJ's cousin the Reverend Cornelius Ford. In the first edition JH had incorrectly stated that Cornelius was SJ's uncle. In the second edition he corrected "uncle" to "cousin" but neglected to delete "mother and" (*Gleanings*, 5:40–41).

59. "profligacy": Profligate: adj. Abandoned; lost to virtue and decency; shameless; n.s. An abandoned shameless wretch (*Dictionary*).

60. "'Adornatâ . . . sumere'": "When my Parents sit down to Dinner I say Grace, and then wait at Table till I am bid to take my own Dinner" ("Child's Piety," in *All the Familiar Colloquies of Desiderius Earasmus of Rotterdam, Concerning Men, Manners, and Things*, trans. N. Bailey [1725], 46).

61. "lay-fees": A fee or estate in land held in consideration of secular services, as distinguished from an ecclesiastical fee (*OED*).

62. "death of his father": Michael Johnson died in his seventy-fifth year and was buried at St. Michael's, Lichfield, on 7 December 1731 (*Gleanings*, 5:68–69).

63. "Market-Bosworth": The Reverend Anthony Blackwall was author of *The Sacred Classics Defended and Illustrated, or, An Essay Humbly Offered Towards Proving the Purity, Propriety, and True Eloquence of the Writers of the New Testament* (1725). He died on 8 April 1730 and was succeeded by the Reverend John Kilby on 28 September. On Kilby's death in August 1734 the mastership was offered to the Reverend John Compton, who became master on 14 January 1735. Since SJ was at Market-Bosworth from March to July 1732, he served as usher under Kilby (*Gleanings*, 5:73–87, 230–37).

64. "patron": One who countenances, supports or protects. Commonly a wretch who supports with insolence, and is paid with flattery (sense 1 in *Dictionary*). Undoubtedly, SJ's experience with the Earl of Chesterfield and his *Dictionary* is behind this definition, as it is behind his revision of line 160 of *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (1749), published on 15 April 1755, where "Garret" was replaced with "Patron": "Toil, Envy, Want, the Patron, and the Jail" (*Poems*, 122; *Works* [1787], 11:36). See Clifford, *Dictionary Johnson*, 134–37, and n. 316 below.

65. "June . . . 1733": SJ seems to have gone to Birmingham at the invitation of his old schoolfellow Edmund Hector in late 1732. Hector lodged with Thomas Warren, printer and bookseller, and SJ was his guest until June 1733, at which time he took lodgings at the house of F. Jervis. SJ returned to Lichfield in February 1734 (*YW*, 1:31–32; *Gleanings*, 5:93–98).

66. "'voyage to Abyssinia'": SJ's first book, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, was a translation from the French of Joachim Le Grand's *Relation historique d'Abyssinie* (1728), in turn a translation from the Portuguese of Father Jerónimo Lobo's *Itinerário*, an account of his travels as a Jesuit missionary in Abyssinia, now Ethiopia, to which Le Grand added dissertations on various subjects concerned with Abyssinia. Although his name does not appear in the imprint, Thomas Warren seems to have paid SJ five guineas for the work

and printed it. See Joel J. Gold's introduction in *YW*, 15:xxiii–lviii; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:5–9. Only the preface is included in *Works* (1787), 9:431–35.

67. "disquisitive": Disquisition: Examination; disputative enquiry (*Dictionary*).

68. "'1732, Junii 15. . . . cavendum'": The correct date is 15 July 1732. SJ inherited nineteen pounds from his father (*YW*, 1:29–30; *Gleanings*, 5:73–75).

69. "John Bunyan's": John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* was a favorite book of SJ. See n. 322 below.

70. "desarts": A wilderness; solitude; waste country; uninhabited place (*Dictionary*).

71. "Cape of Good Hope": The Cape of Good Hope is at the southern tip of Africa, apparently as far from the civilized life of London as JH can imagine. He refers to it again in a similar way at 197 below.

72. "'We erected. . . . once a day'": *YW*, 15:59.

73. "bigot": A man devoted to a certain party; prejudiced in favor of certain opinions; a blind zealot (*Dictionary*).

74. "'a message . . . security'": *YW*, 15:107.

75. "bookseller of Birmingham": For Thomas Warren see nn. 65 and 66 above.

76. "motive for writing, other than necessity": SJ, a professional writer who earned his living by his pen, expresses this view on a number of occasions. His most often quoted remark is that "no man but a blockhead ever wrote except for money" (*Life*, 3:19), but see also, for example, 52–53, 185, 219, and 236 below.

77. "'Gentleman's Magazine'": Magazine: A storehouse, commonly an arsenal or armoury, or repository of provisions (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); Of late this word has signified a miscellaneous pamphlet, from a periodical miscellany called *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and published under the name of *Sylvanus Urban*, by *Edward Cave* (sense 2). See 27–31 below.

78. "The proposal notifies": JH evidently saw a copy of the proposals for an edition of the poems of Angelo Poliziano, fifteenth-century Italian poet and humanist; it is unlocated. JH found the copy of Politian that SJ had borrowed from Pembroke College library to use in his edition among SJ's books after his death (267 below). Had SJ completed his edition, DeMaria observes in his *Life*, he "would have moved into the circle of European scholar-poets that he most admired" (32). See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:5; *Gleanings*, 5:100–101. For SJ's brother, Nathanael, see *Gleanings*, 5:100, 6:58–61.

79. "'As you appear no less sensible. . . . Your humble servant'": For this letter of Monday, 25 November 1734, to Edward Cave see *Letters*, 1:57. This letter and other letters from SJ to Cave given below were published by John Nichols in the *GM* 55, pt. 1 (January 1785): 3–7. Both editions of the *Life* have "defect" for "defects" in the first sentence. Floyer's "A Letter from the Late Sir John Floyer to Mr King of Bungay, Suffolk in Recommendation of the Cold Bath," dated "Lichfield, April the 21st, 1728," was published in *GM* 4 (April 1734): 197–98. For the "late offer," a prize of £50, see *GM* 4 (July 1734): 382; an answer to the objections to the method of awarding the prizes appeared in August 1734 on page 442. SJ's comments on these prizes appear in his "Life of Cave," in *Early Biographical Writings*, 409. See also Kaminski, 31–32, 49–50; Barker, 41–60, app. E. Cave's reply of 2 December 1734 is unlocated.

80. "contributor to his Magazine": SJ's first known contribution to the *GM* is a 1736 advertisement for Edial School in June (6:360) and July (6:428). For the advertisement see JH's note, 23 below. He begins to contribute poetry and prose to the *GM* in 1738. See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:13, 34.

81. "This letter . . . acquaintance of Cave by Savage": Reed/Steevens, Cooke, and the anonymous life prefacing a 1786 edition of the *Dictionary* say erroneously that SJ was introduced to Cave by Savage (*Early Biographies*, 45, 94, 230). For Savage and the *GM* see Barker, 266–72.

82. "Abel Boyer": He came from France to England in 1689 and published a yearly register of political and other events from 1703 to 1713, a monthly periodical entitled the *Political State of Great Britain* from 1711 to 1729, histories, educational works, and translations.

83. " 'Historical Register' . . . Sun-fire-Office": The *Historical Register* was issued quarterly from 1716 to 1738 but ceased being issued from the Sun Fire office in 1721. On 27 March 1680 Robert Murray and William Dockwra inaugurated the Penny Post service; Chares Povey began his own delivery service on 4 October 1749. See Natasha Glaisyer, "Robert Murray," Joan Day, "William Dockwra," and Mark G. Spencer, "Charles Povey," in *ODNB*. See also P. G. M. Dickson, *The Sun Insurance Office, 1710–1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 17–31, 37–38.

84. " 'All persons . . . at their house' ": John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1598), enlarged by John Strype, 2 vols. (1720), 2:408b.

85. "Septennial Bill": The Septennial Act (1716) extended the maximum length of Parliament and the time between general elections from three years to seven years.

86. " 'Grub-street Journal' ": It appeared weekly from Thursday, 8 January 1730, until Thursday, 29 December 1737, and was edited by John Martyn and Richard Russel. Grubstreet: Originally the name of a street near Moorfields in London, much inhabited by writers of small histories, dictionaries, and temporary poems; whence any mean production is called grubstreet (*Dictionary*).

87. "Rev. Mr. Budworth": JH found this story in a letter dated 4 January 1785 from John Nichols in *GM* 55, pt. 1 (January 1785): 3. The application may have been made near the end of 1736, when it was becoming clear that the Edial experiment was about to fail (*Gleanings*, 6:46–49).

88. "year 1734": SJ took lodgings at the house of F. Jervis from June 1733. Both editions of the *Life* mistakenly give the date as 1734. See n. 65 above.

89. "the usurpation": A reference to the Interregnum, the period between the abolition of the monarchy in February 1649 and the Restoration of Charles II in May 1660.

90. "Fox the Martyrologist": JH could have found the story of John Foxe writing the English version of *Actes and Monuments* (1563) in Grub Street in Stow, *A Survey*, 2:60. It is uncertain when Foxe went to Grub Street and how long he stayed, but he probably did not write the English translation there. See, for example, Wood, 1:231; Thomas S. Freeman, "John Foxe," in *ODNB*.

91. "Henry Welby": The printed narrative is *The Phoenix of These Late Times, or, The Life of Mr. Henry Welby, Esq.* (1637). See David Souden, "Henry Welby," in *ODNB*.

92. " 'Memoirs of the Society of Grub-street' ": These selections are from the *Grub-Street Journal*, published in 1737 for J. Wilford, an early proprietor in the *London Magazine*, rival of the *GM*. See n. 217 below. The dedication is signed "Bavius," that is, John Martyn, one of the editors of the *Journal*.

93. "Mr. Porter": Harry Porter, Elizabeth Johnson's first husband, was baptized on 12 July 1691 and died in September 1734. Harry married Elizabeth Jervis, who was born on 4 February 1689, thus two and a half years older than himself, on 4 February 1715. Harry and Elizabeth had three children: Lucy, the eldest, born in 1715; Jervis Henry, the eldest

son, born in 1718, who became a naval officer; and Joseph, born about 1724, who became a merchant (*Gleanings*, 6:5–13, 18–20, 23–24).

94. "her tomb at Bromley": For the epitaph written by SJ for his wife see 188–89 below.

95. "never saw 'the human face divine' ": The quotation is from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 3.44. JH repeats this remark again below (188). Tyers reports that SJ "once declared, that he 'never saw the human face divine' " (*Early Biographies*, 66).

96. "Jarvis above-mentioned": No evidence exists to suggest that the Jervis with whom SJ lodged was related to SJ's wife, Elizabeth's, family.

97. "person he married": SJ married Elizabeth in Derby on 9 July 1735 (*Gleanings*, 6:22–24, 32–34; *Life*, 1:529; *Early Biographies*, 144). For a transcription of SJ's marriage license, now in the Birthplace Museum, Lichfield, see *Gleanings*, 6:129–30.

98. "Of Gilbert Walmsley . . . pleasure": See "Life of Edmund Smith," in *Lives*, 2:178–79; *Works* (1787), 2:472–73.

99. "a teacher of literature": The duration of SJ's school at Edial is uncertain, but the best evidence suggests that it began in the late autumn or early winter of 1735 and ended in late 1736 (*Gleanings*, 6:43–49).

100. "young Garrick": David Garrick, the future actor and playwright, had traveled to Lisbon sometime in 1729 to learn the wine trade from his uncle and namesake, who was a wine merchant there (Peter Thomson, "David Garrick," in *ODNB*).

101. "Mr. Offley": Crewe Offley of Wichnor Park, Staffordshire, northeast of Lichfield, sent his youngest son, Lawrence, to SJ's school (*Gleanings*, 6:44–45).

102. "method or plan of institution": Institution: Education (sense 4 in *Dictionary*). This "Scheme" first appeared in *GM* 57, pt. 1 (April 1785): 266–67, and was reprinted by JB in *Life* (1:99). A second, slightly different, version appears here. Neither manuscript has been located. About this same period SJ wrote a letter to his cousin Samuel Ford directing his studies (*Letters*, 1:11–12). See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:12. HLP comments, "And this was the Method he took in teaching Lady Keith then Miss Thrale; & he offer'd, nay wished to teach Fanny Burney, now Madame D'Arblaye, at the same Time: but her Father did not approve" (Piozzi, "Marginalia," 1:56).

103. "The following . . . for 1736, Page 418": See n. 80 above and 27 below.

104. " 'Corderius' ": *Corderii Colloquiorum Centuria Selecta, or a Select Century of Cordery's Colloquies, with an English Translation* (York, 1718). John Clarke, master of Hull Grammar School and later of Gloucester, published Latin grammars, translations, and philosophical tracts. Mentioned below is his *Erasmi Colloquia Selecta: or The Select Colloquies of Erasmus. With an English Translation, as Literal as possible, designed for the Use of Beginners in the Latin Tongue* (Nottingham, 1720). Both works went through numerous editions. Corderius (Mathurin Cordier), a French humanist famous for his Latin style, was the tutor of John Calvin.

105. " 'Eutropius and Cornelius Nepos, or Justin' ": Eutropius, a Roman historian of the fourth century, was author of *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, a compendium of Roman history from the foundation of Rome to the accession of the emperor Valens in 364. Cornelius Nepos, a Roman historian of the first century BCE, was author of *De viris illustribus*, containing parallel lives of distinguished Romans and foreigners. Marcus Junianus Justinus, a Roman historian of probably the third century, epitomized *Historiae Philippicae et totius mundi orgines et terrae situs*, written by Graeus Pompeius Trogus during the age of Augustus.

106. " 'Leeds's Greek Grammar' ": Edward Leedes, master of Bury St. Edmund's Grammar School, was the author of a number of schoolbooks and also original publications, *Methodus Graecam linguam docendi* (1690) and *Rudimenta Graecae linguae* (1693).

107. " 'Cebes' ": Cebes of Thebes, who may have lived in the fourth century BCE, was supposed to have written a dialogue called the "Picture" or "Table," but it was probably composed in the first century. The work is included in Robert Dodsley's *The Preceptor* (1748) along with SJ's *The Vision of Theodore*, which was influenced by it. See Gwin J. Kolb's introduction to *The Vision*, in *YW*, 16:180–90.

108. " 'Aelian' ": Claudius Aelianus, Roman rhetorician who flourished about 200 AD, was author of *De natura anamalium* and *Varia historia*, written in Greek.

109. " 'Lucian by Leeds' ": Lucian of Samosata, of the second century, famous for his satiric dialogues and fantastic tales. The edition by Edward Leedes, *Nonnulli e Luciana dialogis selecti* (1678), has the Greek text followed by a Latin translation.

110. " 'Attic and Doric' ": Attic (Athenian) is a style marked by simplicity, purity, and refinement; Doric is an ancient dialect often described as broad, not refined, rustic; Ionic (Ionia) is an ancient dialect developed along the western coast of Asia Minor and adjacent islands, the region where early Greek literature and philosophy developed.

111. "two letters, first inserted in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' ": The first letter of 5 February 1737 by Gilbert Walmesley to John Colson concerns David Garrick; the second letter of 2 March 1737, printed below, concerns Garrick and SJ. The letters were first made public in the *Cambridge Chronicle* for Saturday, 19 October 1765, and appeared in the *GM* for October 1765 (35:450–51). See *Gleanings*, 6:56, 150–53. The letter of 2 March appeared in Thomas Davies' *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick* (1780), 1:11–12, and in various of the early biographies of SJ (*Early Biographies*, 24, 34, 45, 93, 145, 229). JH's source is one of these published versions. The final sentence of the letter of 2 March should read: "If it should any way lie in your way I doubt not but you would be ready to recommend and assist your countryman" (Davis, *Life*, 281n41).

112. "Burton on Melancholy": Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* was first published in 1621; each new edition was revised and extended through the sixth (1651), posthumous edition (J. B. Bamborough, "Robert Burton," in *ODNB*). SJ had a London, 1676, eighth edition of the work that he marked for the *Dictionary*; it is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (*Sale Catalogue*, lot 472). JH in a note to SJ's "Life of Milton" says, "I add of my own knowledge, that it was a book that Dr. Johnson frequently resorted to, as many others have done, for amusement after the fatigue of study" (*Works* [1787], 2:151n). The Reverend Dr. William Maxwell in his *Collectanea* given to JB reports that SJ said that the *Anatomy* "was the only book that ever took him out of bed two hours sooner than he wished to rise" (*Life*, 2:121).

113. "Knolles's . . . history of the Turks": Richard Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) is praised in *Rambler* 122, Saturday, 18 May 1751, as displaying "all the excellencies that narration can admit" (*YW*, 4:290; *Works* [1787], 6:331).

114. "endured than enjoyed": This echoes *Rasselas*: "Human life is every where a state in which much is to be endured, and little to be enjoyed" (*YW*, 16:50; *Works* [1787], 11:36).

115. "completed that poem": It is uncertain just how much of *Irene* was completed before he left Lichfield, but he continued to write or at least revise it after his arrival in London. It was not published until 1749 (*YW*, 6:109; *Poems*, 272; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:177).

116. "historian himself": The story on which SJ based his tragedy, *Irene*, is taken from Knolles's *Historie of the Turkes*, 353.

117. "'And having so said . . . affections or not'": Ibid.

118. "natural temper . . . her husband": Elizabeth Johnson did not travel to London in March 1737 but did accompany her husband when he returned to London near the end of 1737 (*Gleanings*, 6:72–73).

119. "Thomas Davies": In his *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick* (1780) Davies acknowledges that SJ had assisted him "with the early part of Mr. Garrick's life" (1:vii), and the opening paragraph is certainly by SJ (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1524). In the Lichfield Birthplace Museum is a copy inscribed by Davies: "To his honour'd Friend and Patron Dr Samuel Johnson from the Authour."

120. "a person now living": JH may have heard this story from Edmund Hector or John Nichols.

121. "prodigal son": The parable is found in Luke 15:11–32, and the quotation is from verses 13 and 14.

122. "Mr. Wilcox": Probably John Wilcox, a bookseller in Little Britain who earlier assisted another young man who had just arrived in London in December 1724. In 1725 Benjamin Franklin lived next door to Wilcox: "He had an immense Collection of second-hand Books. Circulating Libraries were not then in Use; but we agreed that on certain reasonable Terms which I have now forgotten, I might take, read & return any of the Books. This I esteem'd a great Advantage, & I made as much Use of it as I could." See *The Autobiography*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay and P. M. Zall (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 43. Only one publication linking SJ with Wilcox has been discovered: *The History of Tahmas Kuli Khan, Shah, or Sophi of Persia*. This translation from the French, which SJ revised, was printed by Edward Cave "for J. Wilcox in the *Strand*" in 1740. This was edited, with an introduction, by O M Brack, Jr., for the Samuel Johnson Society of Southern California, 1993. See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:50–51; *Life*, 1:102n2; *Gleanings*, 6:63–64; *YW*, vol. 19, forthcoming.

123. "engaged his pen in the service of Cave": SJ did not write for Cave until 1738. See n. 80 above.

124. "Two tragedies": SJ's tragedy was actually the fourth extant play on *Irene* in English: Gilbert Swinhoe's *The Tragedy of the Unhappy Fair Irene* (1658); Roger L'Estrange's *Irena, A Tragedy* (1664), and Charles Goring's *Irene or The Fair Greek* (1708). See *Poems*, 270.

125. "'Having observed in your papers. . . . Sam. Johnson'": For this letter to Edward Cave of Tuesday, 12 July 1737 see *Letters*, 1:12–13, and for the *History of the Council of Trent* see n. 165 below.

126. "Fielding's farce of the 'Mock-Doctor'": Gregory is the main character in Henry Fielding's *The Mock Doctor: Or, the Dumb-Lady Cur'd* (1732).

127. "Sylvanus Urban": The *GM* was "by Sylvanus Urban," indicating its appeal to both country and city readers. This editorial pseudonym usually but not always meant Cave himself. Urbanity: Civility; elegance; politeness; merriment; facetiousness (*Dictionary*). See SJ's "Life of Cave," in *Early Biographical Writings*, 409.

128. "'Mr. ——'": Cave's comment may have been directed to JH, who wrote a preface to *Six Cantatas, for a Voice and Instruments* (1742), to which SJ contributed the opening and closing paragraphs. See *Samuel Johnson Assists a Friend with a Preface: John*

*Hawkins' Preface to Six Cantatas, for a Voice and Instruments & Two Poems*, ed. O M Brack, Jr. (Los Angeles: Samuel Johnson Society of Southern California, 2000). See also Kaminski, 25.

129. "good hands": JH's earliest identified contribution to the *GM* is dated 6 March 1739 and appeared in the number for March 1739 (9:117–18). He contributed sporadically to the magazine until the end of the 1740s, giving him an opportunity to meet or hear about these early contributors. By November 1738, if not earlier, SJ and JH had met, probably introduced by Cave, initiating a friendship that ceased only with SJ's death (Davis, *Proof*, 11, 19, 33, 38–39; see n. 167 below). See C. Lennart Carlson, *The First Magazine: A History of the "Gentleman's Magazine,"* Brown University Studies, vol. 4 (Providence, R.I., 1938); Albert Pailler, *Edward Cave et le "Gentleman's Magazine," 1731–1754* (Lille: Université de Lille III; Paris: H. Champion, 1975). The best account of the *GM* under Cave's editorship, however, is Barker. See also Kaminski.

130. "Mr. Moses Browne": JH praises Browne for his "exuberant fancy and happy invention" in spite of Browne's earlier rude attack on him in a controversy over their rival editions of Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler* (Davis, *Proof*, 70–82). Browne published *Piscatory Eclogues* in 1729 and *Poems on Various Subjects* in 1739. See the account in *Biographia Dramatica* (1782) for his early writings for the stage. He took holy orders and was given the living of Olney, Buckinghamshire, in 1753. See David Hill Radcliffe, "Moses Browne," in *ODNB*. As Kaminski observes, JH has erred in his account of the plates for Du Halde. It was not the form of address but the failure to include a final *e* on Browne that caused offense; it had to be inserted with a caret (Kaminski, 210n4). The plate appears in the first volume, facing page 330 of Jean Baptiste Du Halde's *Description of the Empire of China and Chinese Tartary* (1738).

131. " 'To fair Fidele's grassy tomb' ": The "ELEGIAC SONG" with the first line, "To fair *Pastora*'s grassy tomb," appears in *GM* 19 (October 1749): 466–67.

132. "enigmas": A short composition in prose or verse, in which something is described by intentionally obscure metaphors, in order to afford an exercise for the ingenuity of the reader or hearer in guessing what is meant; a riddle (*OED*).

133. " 'Too modest bard. . . . into fame' ": The author of these lines signed "[Y]" may be Foster Webb's friend JH (*GM* 10 [October 1740]: 519). JH mentions the following odes of Horace translated by Webb: Quis multa: Odes 1.5 "What graceful boy amidst roses"; Solvitur acris: Odes 1.4 "Harsh winter is broken with the welcome change of spring"; Parcus deorum: Odes 1.34 "A sparing and infrequent worshiper of the gods"; Diffugere nives: Odes 4.7 "The snows have fled, the grass returns to the fields."

134. "died of a decline": Decline: The state or tendency to the less or the worse; diminution; decay (*Dictionary*); Any disease in which the bodily strength gradually fails (*OED*).

135. "life of Cave . . . Savage": Both the "Life of Savage" and the "Life of Cave" were included in *Works* (1787), 4:521–30, 3:244–369.

136. "Mr. William Rider": Rider, who knew SJ, wrote the first biographical sketch of him in his *An Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of Living Authors of Great Britain* (1762), 7–10, reprinted by the Augustan Reprint Society, no. 164 (1974). See the introduction by O M Brack, Jr., i–v; *Early Biographies*, 1–3, 293.

137. "Dr. Birch": For Thomas Birch and the *GM* see Barker, 262–66. See also 127–29 below.

138. "Mrs. Carter": Elizabeth Carter began publishing poetry in the *GM* in November 1734. She probably met SJ after his arrival at St. John's Gate, and he remained her friend until his death. She translated Jean-Pierre Crousaz's *Examen de l'Essai de M. Pope sur l'Homme* (1737), published in 1738, with a few annotations by SJ, and contributed *Rambler* 44 and 100 (*YW*, 3:237–42, 4:169–73). Her most famous work was the translation from the original Greek of *All the Works of Epictetus* (1758). For Carter and the *GM* see Barker, 272–79. See also xxxi and 164 below.

139. "Dr. Akenside": For Mark Akenside and the *GM* see Barker, 279–80. See also 147–50 below.

140. "complacency": Complaisance: Civility; desire of pleasing; act of adulation (*Dictionary*).

141. "adventurer": He that seeks occasion of hazard; he that puts himself in the hands of chance (*Dictionary*).

142. "insinuation": The power of pleasing or stealing upon the affections (*Dictionary*).

143. "life of him written by Johnson": SJ's association in his early years with a person of such dubious reputation as Richard Savage and SJ's defense of some of his actions in his biography troubled JH and, later, JB (*Life*, 1:161–62). See Clarence Tracy, *The Artificial Bastard: A Biography of Richard Savage* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), and his edition of the *Life of Savage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); *Lives*, 3:120–88; *Works* (1787), 3:244–369. See also Richard Holmes, *Dr. Johnson & Mr. Savage* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993). See 94–97 below.

144. "accomplished": Elegant; finished in respect of embellishments; used commonly of acquired qualifications without including moral excellence (sense 2 in *Dictionary*).

145. "rash encounter": In 1727 Savage killed James Sinclair in a tavern brawl. See *Lives*, 3:133–34; *Works* (1787), 3:266–68.

146. "collection of poems": *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations by Several Hands* (1726, 1728), which contained Savage's account of his early life (*Lives*, 3:123–24, 131–32, 385, 391, 394–95, 397, 401, 410, 423).

147. "night cellar": A cellar open during the night as a (usually disreputable) tavern or meeting place (*OED*). The first illustrative quotation is from Richard Savage's *Author to be Lett* (1729).

148. "patriotism": Love of one's country; zeal for one's country (*Dictionary*). SJ's famous definition: "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," was from a conversation on 7 April 1775 (*Life*, 2:348). Patriots was the name appropriated by the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, first lord of the Treasury, led by William Pitt, later first Earl of Chatham, William Pulteney, later Earl of Bath, and Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. JH gives below a catalog of the principal charges brought against Walpole by the Patriots. In the parliamentary session of 1733 Walpole introduced the Tobacco Excise Bill, similar to the legislation he had introduced for tea, coffee, and chocolate in 1723. It provoked widespread opposition and created the worst crisis in Walpole's administration before his fall in 1742. Although in his early years in London SJ aligned himself with the opposition to Walpole and like many others became disillusioned when on Walpole's fall political chicanery continued as usual, his definition of "excise" in the *Dictionary* as a "hateful tax levied on commodities, and adjudged not by common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid" reflects his earlier

political stance. See Greene, chap. 4. Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins reports on her father's "own change of political opinion as he gained experience; and having lived to see the necessity of that temperament which tolerates some evil for the sake of much good, he would advert, with merriment at his own zeal, to a period when with all his heart he could have set fire to a train that should have blown up Sir Robert Walpole" (*Memoirs*, 1:161–62). JH has more to say on excise below (82–83).

149. "'Give me pen . . . ministry whatever'": This quotation is anecdotal, although a paragraph in "A Letter to the Lord Chancellor Middleton" comes close to it in tone and intent. See *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis, vol. 10, *The Drapier's Letters and Other Works, 1724–1725* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), 111. JH repeats it below (199). A patent was given to William Wood for minting copper halfpence for Ireland. Swift, in seven letters from M. B. Drapier, used the patent as an occasion to denounce the treatment of Ireland by England and to suggest what a true relationship between the countries should be. At the same time Swift's attacks on his old enemy Sir Robert Walpole, first lord of the Treasury, eventually forced him to withdraw the patent.

150. "profit by his conversation": JH says in "Apothegms" that SJ "had a great opinion of the knowledge procured by conversation with intelligent and ingenious persons. His first question concerning such as had that character, was ever, What is his conversation?" When SJ visited Lord Marchmont to make inquiries for writing his "Life of Pope," his "first question was,—What kind of man was Pope in his conversation?" Of SJ's own conversation JH reports, "In general you may tell what the man to whom you are speaking will say next: this you can never do of Johnson: his images, his allusions, his great powers of ridicule throw the appearance of novelty upon the most common conversation" (2:14–15, 4, 19).

151. "Thales": Whether Thales in SJ's *London* refers to Savage or not has been much disputed. For an overview of the issues see *Poems*, 27 and n. 2; Thomas Kaminski, "Was Savage 'Thales'?: Johnson's *London* and Biographical Speculation," *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 85 (1982): 322–35; and Holmes, *Dr. Johnson & Mr. Savage*, 177–83.

152. "'resolv'd, from vice . . . one true Briton more'": *London*, lines 5–8 (*YW*, 6:48; *Poems*, 68). Both editions of the *Life* have "fix'd in" for "fix'd on" in line 7. *Works* (1787) has "fix'd on" (11:319).

153. "charity 'which . . . endureth all things'": 1 Corinthians 13: "4 Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself; is not puffed up, 5 Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; 6 Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; 7 Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

154. "his own corrected copy, in 1738": A corrected copy of a 1738 edition of *London* is unlocated, but a copy of the "fifth" edition (1750) survived as late as 1793, when the corrections were copied by James Boswell, Jr., into SJ's *Poems* (1789), now in the National Library of Australia (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:16–18, 23).

155. "Norris": SJ must have stayed with Richard Norris on his first trip to London in 1737. After SJ returned to London with his wife, probably near the end of 1737, they lived first in Woodstock Street, near Hanover Square, and then at No. 6 Castle Street, near Cavendish Square (*Gleanings*, 6:65, 72–73).

156. "Du Halde's History of China": Cave eventually published all of his abridgment of Jean Baptiste Du Halde's *Description of the Empire of China and Chinese Tartary* in two volumes (1738, 1742). For Cave's difficulty in completing this work see Kaminski, 66–67; Barker, 74–104. See also n. 130 above.

157. "'When I took the liberty of writing. . . . Sam. Johnson'": For this letter of ca. April 1738 to Edward Cave see *Letters*, 1:14–15.

158. "'I am to return you thanks. . . . Sam. Johnson'": For this letter of ca. April 1738 to Edward Cave see *Letters*, 1:15–16.

159. "fifty pounds": JH received incorrect information; SJ received ten guineas from Robert Dodsley for *London* (*Early Biographies*, 94, 148; *Life*, 1:124). The imprint of the 1738 first edition reads "Printed for *R. Doddsley*, at *Tully*'s Head in *Pall-Mall*." See *YW*, 6:45–47; *Poems*, 60–66; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 17–18. Cave had the poem printed by Thomas Gardner for Dodsley. See A. D. Barker, "The Printing and Publishing of Johnson's *Marmor Norfolciense* (1739) and *London* (1738 and 1739)," *Library*, 6th ser., 3 (1981): 287–304.

160. "'canst not long be concealed'": George Lyttelton was not created Baron Lyttelton of Frankley until 1756. That Lyttelton carried the poem to Pope is confirmed in a communication of 6 May 1785 by John Taylor to JB (Waingrow, 83). In a conversation on Monday, 16 October 1769 JB reports that SJ "told us, with great satisfaction, the anecdote of Pope's inquiring who was the author of 'London,' and saying, he will soon be *déterré*" (*Life*, 2:84–85, 1:128–29). The anecdote about Milton may be apocryphal; a printed source remains elusive. Arthur Murphy, in his *Essay on Johnson's Life and Genius*, suggests that Pope was alluding to the passage in Terrence's *Eunuchus* (2.295) where Chaerea says, "Ubi, ubi est, diu celari non potest," translated as "wherever she is she can't be hidden for long." G. B. Hill, in a footnote to Murphy, suggests that it may be an allusion to Molière's *Le misanthrope* (3.5.25) where Arsinoé says, "Un mérite éclatant se déterre lui-même," translated as "Sterling merit disinters itself" (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 1:373). See *The Plays of Molière in French with an English Translation and Notes by A. R. Waller*, 8 vols. (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1907), 5:72–73.

161. "'The Country Journal or the Craftsman'": The *Craftsman* (5 December 1726–ca. 1747), violent in its opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, was edited by Nicholas Amhurst under the pseudonym of "Caleb D'Anvers of Gray's Inn, Esq.," and backed by Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, and William Pulteney. See nn. 174 and 196 below.

162. "Appleby school": The position of Latin master at Appleby School became vacant in June 1739, and SJ applied for it in a final attempt to escape the life of a professional writer, forced to make a living by his pen. Sir Thomas Gresley, who advised SJ to apply for the position, was a governor of the school. SJ traveled to Appleby in August 1739 in support of his application, but it was not successful. Instead of returning to London, SJ rambled about the Midlands until the spring of 1740. His first contribution to the *GM* in 1740 did not appear until June (*Gleanings*, 6:96–128; Kaminski, 62–82, 106).

163. "Lord Gower": The letter from John Leveson-Gower, who became first Earl Gower in 1746, seems to have been first printed in Herbert Croft's *Love and Madness* (1780), 71–72, and is reprinted in a number of the early biographies of SJ (*Early Biographies*, 25, 296, 297). The date of the letter should be 1739. JH's text of this letter, perhaps adapted from one of the printed versions, is not identical to any known copy (Davis, *Life*, 284n13).

164. "efflux": To efflux: To run out; to flow away. This is not often in use (*Dictionary*); To flow forth; (of time) to elapse. *Obs* (*OED*).

165. "'History of the Council of Trent'": Father Paolo Sarpi, a Venetian patriot, scholar, and church reformer, published his chief literary work, a famous criticism of the Counter-Reformation entitled *Istoria del concilio Tridentino*, in England in 1619 and in Venice later in the same year. Sir Nathaniel Brent published his English translation in 1620, and Amelot de La Houssaye published his French translation in 1683. A second French translation, by Pierre-François Le Courayer, with a biography of Sarpi and extensive notes, had been published in London in 1736 with the patronage of Archbishop William Wake and of Queen Caroline, to whom it was dedicated. In a letter of 12 July 1737 to Cave SJ proposed a new English translation of the history from the Italian with a translation of Le Courayer's notes from the French (28 above; *Letters*, 1:13). Progress on the project went slowly, and Cave did not make the first of a series of advance payments until 2 August 1738. Despite Johnson's usual difficulties in keeping up with his commitments, Cave began advertising the proposals for the translation in the *Daily Advertiser* as early as 11 October 1738, with similar advertisements appearing in the issues of 12, 19, 20, and 25 October, and in the *Weekly Miscellany* for 21 October. Then in the *Daily Advertiser* for 20 October appeared a letter from John Johnson, keeper of Archbishop Tenison's library near St. Martin's in the Fields, insisting that he had "for a good while past, been engaged, and made considerable progress in a new translation." He also intimated that he had Le Courayer's approbation and promise of assistance along with the support of a number of prominent clergymen, including Zachary Pearce (see n. 166 below). In the following issue (21 October) of the *Daily Advertiser* appeared a letter signed "Ed. Cave" but written by SJ, defending their project. In the November issue of the *GM* SJ's "Life of Sarpi" appeared with further mention of the proposals, but the rest is silence (see n. 167 below). Probably in the summer of 1739 the project was abandoned, even though SJ had already received £49 7s. and printing had begun—twelve sheets, according to JH, six sheets, according to John Nichols ("Rise and Progress of the *Gentleman's Magazine*," in *Index to the Gentleman's Magazine, 1787–1818*, xv n.). Of the supposed six thousand copies of the *Proposals* printed, a unique copy has survived in the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester. The details behind the conflicting translation are given by Edward Ruhe in "The Two Samuel Johnsons," *Notes and Queries*, October 1954, 432–35. For a description of the *Proposals* and a detailed analysis of the entire Sarpi project see J. A. V. Chapple, "Samuel Johnson's Proposals for Printing *The History of the Council of Trent*, [1738]," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 45 (1963): 340–69. See also Kaminski, 8–9, 67–76.

166. "Zachary Pearce": SJ informed JB that "the only aid which he received [on the *Dictionary*] was a paper containing twenty etymologies, sent to him by a person then unknown, who he was afterwards informed was Dr. Pearce, Bishop Rochester" (*Life*, 1:292). Pearce, vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, became bishop of Bangor in 1748 and bishop of Rochester in 1756. SJ furnished a "Dedication" and wrote a "Life of Pearce" from materials left by the bishop for *A Commentary, with Notes, on the four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles* (1777). See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1284–86.

167. "life of the author": SJ does not mention Le Courayer's "Vie Abregée de Fra-Paolo," but it is clear he intended to include it in his translation, since his own "Life of Father Paul Sarpi," which appeared in the November 1738 number of the *GM* (8:581–83),

is to a large extent an epitome of it. See John L. Abbott, "Dr. Johnson and the Making of the 'Life of Father Paul Sarpi,'" *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 48 (1966): 255–67. Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, the amanuensis and companion of Sarpi's later years, wrote *La Vita del Padre Paolo* (1646). It was translated into English in 1651 and into French in 1661 and was often reprinted. It is the source for many of the details of Sarpi's life, and Le Courayer's "Vie" is a translation, abridged with some corrections and revisions, of this biography. The "duodecimo" volume that JH saw was probably a copy of a small octavo of the English version of Fra Fulgenzio's life. The reference to this small volume suggests that JH actually saw SJ at work on the "Life of Sarpi." Since the life was published in the November number, published early in December 1738, JH must have met SJ no later than November 1738. The "Life of Sarpi" was reprinted in *Works* (1787), 4:321–28. See 212 below.

168. "literary subjects": See 52–54 below.

169. "Mr. Crousaz": SJ translated the *Commentaire* and Elizabeth Carter translated the *Examen*; SJ added annotations to both works. The confusion surrounding the publication of these two translations of Crousaz has been cleared by O M Brack, Jr., "Samuel Johnson and the Translations of Jean Pierre de Crousaz's *Examen* and *Commentaire*," *Studies in Bibliography* 48 (1995): 60–84, and in his introduction to *YW*, 17:xvii–lii.

170. "metaphysical": Excessively subtle or abstract (*OED*).

171. "'Life of Pope'": See "Life of Pope," in *Lives*, 4:40; *Works* (1787), 4:66.

172. "'I am pretty much of your opinion. . . . Sam. Johnson'": JH refers to this letter of November 1738 to Edward Cave again later, suggesting that "his wants, which at one time were so pressing as to induce him in a letter to Cave, . . . to intimate to him he wanted a dinner" (57). *Impransus* can mean "without dinner" but can also mean that he has not yet dined. SJ was being paid at the time for translating Sarpi and should have had money. Undoubtedly, JH was recalling SJ's early financial struggles, to which he was a witness. See *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 1:10 and n. 3; *Letters*, 1:20–21 and n. 6.

173. "dictamen": Dictate, pronouncement; *OED* cites this passage.

174. "Lord Bolingbroke": In a conversation on Sunday, 10 October 1779, JB reports SJ's views on Pope's dependence on Bolingbroke: "Pope may have had from Bolingbroke the philosophick *stamina* of his Essay. . . . we are sure the poetical imagery, which makes a great part of the poem, was Pope's own" (*Life*, 3:403). In the "Life of Pope" SJ wrote: "That those communications [from Bolingbroke] had been consolidated into a scheme regularly drawn, and delivered to Pope, from whom it returned only transformed from prose to verse, has been reported, but can hardly be true. The Essay plainly appears the fabrick of a poet: what Bolingbroke supplied can only be the first principles; the order, illustration and embellishments must all be Pope" (*Lives*, 4:40; *Works* [1787], 4:65).

175. "Anthony Collins . . . Dr. Clarke and Leibnitz": JH could have found an overview of the controversy over free will involving Anthony Collins, Henry Dodwell, Samuel Clarke, and Baron Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz in Thomas Birch's article "Anthony Collins," in *GD*, 4:395–405, and in the account of Collins in *BB*, 2:1413–17.

176. "Concannen, Theobald . . . enemies of Pope": William Warburton wrote the letter to Matthew Concanen on 2 January 1727. JH found the quotation and the fact that when Lewis Theobald published his edition of Shakespeare "the best notes were supplied by Warburton" in SJ's "Life of Pope." See *Lives*, 4:41, and Lonsdale's commentary, 4:285; *Works* (1787), 4:67–68.

177. "Warburton . . . Jacob Robinson": Jacob Robinson published the "monthly pamphlet," *History of the Works of the Learned*. The letters referred to in the note remain unlocated. In a note to the "Life of Pope" JH says, "The commencement of the acquaintance between Pope and Warburton was accidental: it began at the bookseller's shop at the corner of the Inner Temple-lane, which they happened to enter at the same instant" (*Works* [1787], 4:68n). Joseph Warton claimed that "the very first interview was in Lord Radnor's garden, just by Pope's at Twickenham" (*Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Joseph Warton et al., 9 vols. [1797], 9:342n; *Lives*, 4:285).

178. "Crousaz ever replied . . . vindication": Warburton's defense of Pope began in December 1738 in a letter that appeared in the *History of the Works of the Learned*, and four more letters appeared in January, February, March, and April 1739. These five letters, with the addition of a sixth, were published as *A Vindication of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man, from the Misrepresentations of Mr. Crousaz* on 15 November 1739. A seventh letter was published separately on 13 June 1740, with a final revision incorporating all of the letters, entitled *A Critical and Philosophical Commentary on Mr. Pope's Essay on Man*, published on 10 August 1742. There is no indication that Crousaz responded (*YW*, 17:379–80; *Lives*, 4:40–42; Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, ed. Maynard Mack [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London: Methuen, 1950], xx–xxii).

179. "uninteresting question": The letter on Crousaz, consisting largely of four quotations from SJ's translation of the *Commentaire*, was published in *GM* for March and November 1743 (13:152, 587–88) and is reprinted in *YW*, 17:379–86 and *Works* (1787), 9:364–68.

180. "'Marmor Norfolciense . . . Probus Britannicus'": JH decided to exclude this early satire from the *Works* (1787). See the discussion about its exclusion by Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins in *Memoirs*, 1:161–62. See also *YW*, 10:19–51; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:38–39.

181. "Nixon, the Cheshire seer": Robert Nixon, called the Cheshire Prophet, supposedly flourished in some period between the late fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Stephen Wright says that a "real Robert Nixon was in existence in 1737, the leader of a Jacobite group which had planted a bomb in Westminster Hall, and produced a paper proclaiming the legitimacy of James Francis Stuart. There is no known connection between the myth and the man." For a brief account of this complex affair see Wright, "Robert Nixon," in *ODNB*. Donald Greene discovered an adaptation of *Marmor Norfolciense* printed in the *London Evening Post*, 29 June–1 July 1762, claimed by its contributor to be a "prophesy found on a stone in Ridley-Poole, Cheshire, foretold by NIXON, who wrote the Cheshire prophesy . . . given to me in the year 1747 by a Friend" (*YW*, 10:19).

182. "'When Hempe . . . done'": Sir Francis Bacon's essay "Of Prophecies," in *Essays, or Counsels, Civil and Moral* (1755), 114.

183. "law proceedings should be in English": In 1731 the statute of 4 Geo. II c. 26 stated that all proceedings in the courts must be in the English language.

184. "Princess Sophia": Sophia, electress of Hanover, was a granddaughter of James I. As the next non-Catholic heir, she was recognized in the Act of Settlement (1701), but she died before Queen Anne. Her son George Lewis succeeded as George I.

185. "scent after him was grown cold": JB claims that JH's assertion is without foundation because Mr. Steele "'could find no trace whatever of any warrant having been issued to apprehend the authour of this pamphlet'" (*Life*, 1:141–42). Not every record from the period has survived, of course, but it is curious that the printer of the pamphlet

was not arrested, the usual procedure in such cases. JH knew SJ at the time and may have remembered some anxiety of his own or some expressed by SJ about the publication. Another possibility, as Clifford suggests, may be that SJ only thought he was in difficulty with the government and took evasive action (*Young Sam*, 215–16).

186. "throwster's shop": Throwster: One who twists silk fibers into raw silk or raw silk into thread, a silk-throwster. . . . Also extended to a worsted spinner (*OED*). The term is now obsolete.

187. "Goodman's-fields": Thomas Odell opened the theater in Goodman's Fields in 1729, and it was taken over by Henry Giffard in 1732. Giffard built a second larger theater near the first, designed by Edward Shepherd, that opened 2 October 1732. See William R. Jones, "Thomas Odell," Charles Brayne, "Henry Giffard," and Victor Belcher, "Edward Shepherd," in *ODNB*.

188. "solecism": Unfitness of one word to another; impropriety in language. A barbarism may be one word, a solecism must be of more (*Dictionary*).

189. " 'King Charles the First' ": *King Charles the First, written in imitation of Shakespeare* by William Havard was performed on 1 March 1737 and published the same year. It "played to large audiences at Lincoln's Inn Fields over three months in 1737, and . . . ran to ten editions between 1737 and 1810" (Robert Shaughnessy, "William Havard," in *ODNB*).

190. "Henry Fielding . . . 'Pasquin' ": Fielding's *Pasquin: A Dramatick Satire of the Times* opened on 5 March 1736 and had an exceptionally long run of fifty-nine performances during the spring 1736 season, with others to follow. See Martin C. Battestin with Ruthe R. Battestin, *Henry Fielding: A Life* (London: Routledge, 1989), 193.

191. "a bill into the house of commons": This was the Licensing Act of 1737 (10 Geo. II c. 28), the major provisions of which are given succinctly by JH below.

192. "Is it of fate . . . shall wait Gustavus": For the quoted passages see *Gustavus Vasa* (1739), 1.1, 1.3, 1.3, 4.2, 4.11, 5.5, 5.6.

193. " 'studied the ancient laws . . . hearts of his people' ": This is a paraphrase of passages from "A Prefatory Dedication to the Subscribers" (iv, vii) in *Gustavus Vasa*.

194. "Corbet": For Charles Corbet or Corbett, the elder, and the publication of *A Compleat Vindication* see *YW*, 10:52–55; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:42–43. JH decided to exclude this early satire from the 1787 *Works*. Near the end of his life SJ wrote in his "Life of Thomson": "About this time the Act was passed for licensing plays, of which the first operation was the prohibition of *Gustavus Vasa*; . . . the next was the refusal of *Edward and Eleonora*, offered by Thomson. It is hard to discover why either play should have been obstructed" (*Lives*, 4:100; *Works* [1787], 4:172).

195. " 'Is the man. . . . tribunal' ": The text of *A Compleat Vindication* should read: "Is a man without title, pension, or place" (*YW*, 10:60–61).

196. " 'The advocates . . . original contract' ": Bolingbroke reprinted a series of essays originally published in the *Craftsman* as *A Dissertation on Parties, in Several Letters to Caleb D'Anvers* (1735). This passage is a loose paraphrase of an idea mentioned several times by Bolingbroke. JH could have found a good overview of his writings in *BB*, 5:3559–81. See n. 161 above.

197. "Such was the conduct of opposition": SJ later reflected on this period of his life in his "Life of Thomson": "At this time a long course of opposition to Sir Robert Walpole had filled the nation with clamours for liberty, of which no man felt the want, and with care for liberty, which was not in danger" (*Lives*, 4:99; *Works* [1787], 4:168).

198. "illustrious divines, Wake . . . nonjurors . . . scarcely now remembered": William Wake, archbishop of Canterbury (1716–37); Edmund Gibson, bishop of Lincoln, later bishop of London, author, and scholar; Thomas Sherlock, bishop of London and author of controversial works; Joseph Butler, bishop of Durham, moral philosopher, and theologian; Thomas Herring, archbishop of Canterbury (1747–57); Zachary Pearce, dean of Westminster, bishop successively of Bangor and Rochester, author, and scholar; Benjamin Hoadley, bishop successively of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester, author of controversial works. For Pearce see n. 166 above; for Hoadley see nn. 407 and 627 below. Nonjuror: One who conceiving James II. unjustly deposed, refuses to swear allegiance to those who have succeeded him. Nonjuring: Belonging to those who will not swear allegiance to the Hanoverian family (*Dictionary*). George Hickes, nonjuring bishop of the Church of England and antiquary; Thomas Brett, nonjuring bishop of the Church of England and author; Charles Leslie, nonjuring Church of Ireland clergyman and author of controversial works. HLP says, "He was a great Reader of Leslie" (Piozzi, "Marginalia," 1:287). For Brett see n. 568 below.

199. "a catalogue of publications": In a small notebook with the title "Designs" SJ wrote ideas for literary projects, none of which he ever completed. The notebook was given by SJ to Bennet Langton; he presented it to George III, who signed and dated it 16 April 1785. It is now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (Fleeman, *Documents*, no. 243). JH was the first to publish this notebook and had it in his possession temporarily or consulted it in the King's Library. For a description of the notebook, a careful transcription, and a thorough analysis of its content see Paul Tankard, "'That Great Literary Projector': Samuel Johnson's *Designs*, or Projected Works," *Age of Johnson* 13 (2002): 103–80. A facsimile of "Designs" with commentary by Tankard was published as a keepsake for the Johnsonians in September 2008.

200. "'I will write a sermon . . . pay me for it'": Probably John Taylor, for whom SJ wrote a number of sermons. See 236 below and *YW*, 14:xxii and n. 4.

201. "Arian or Socinian": Arian: Designating the heretical doctrine of Arius, who denied that Christ was consubstantial with God. Socinian: A member of a sect founded by Laelius and Faustus Socinus, two sixteenth-century Italian theologians who denied the divinity of Christ (*OED*).

202. "'Faction Detected'": *Faction Detected by the Evidence of Facts* (1743) was by John Perceval, later second Earl of Egmont, and went through six editions by the end of the year. It was a defense of William Pulteney, Earl of Bath. For many years Pulteney had been one of the leaders of the Opposition, but many felt he was a deserter when, on Sir Robert Walpole's resignation, he refused to form a government and instead accepted a peerage. When the pamphlet was attacked in the 15 October 1743 number of *Common Sense*, the article was reprinted in *GM* along with two letters, the first an anonymous letter defending "a certain honourable person" against the charge of being author of the pamphlet and the second from Zachary Pearce denying authorship (see n. 166 above). SJ published a brief commentary on the article and letters in *GM* 13 (October 1743): 536–37. See Kaminski, 148, 239n13; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:94.

203. "'Ye take too much upon ye'": Numbers 16:3: "And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, *Ye take* too much upon you."

204. "departure of Thales": Savage left London for Swansea in Wales in July 1739 (*Lives*, 3:175; *Works* [1787], 3:343). For Savage as Thales see n. 151 above.

205. "indolence": Indolence: Laziness; inattention; listlessness (sense 2 in *Dictionary*). SJ quotes John Dryden's "A Discourse Concerning the Origin and Progress of Satire": "Let Epicurus give *indolence* as an attribute to his gods, and place in it the happiness of the blest: the Divinity which we worship has given us not only precept against it, but his own example to the contrary."

206. "reflex": Derived from, consisting in, the conversion of the mind or thought upon itself (*OED*).

207. "'he looked . . . aright'": Proverbs 23:31: "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup, *when* it moveth itself aright."

208. "temporary separation of Johnson from his wife": JH suggests that this separation took place as a result of SJ's midnight rambles with Savage. Since Savage left London in July 1739, the separation must have taken place before August 1739, when SJ traveled to Leicestershire in support of his application for Latin master at Appleby School. The separation JH refers to may be that from August 1739 until early 1740, when SJ rambled about the Midlands. See SJ's letter of 31 January 1740 to his wife (*Letters*, 1:22–24). See n. 162 above.

209. "memorandums concerning her in books": For surviving books associated with Elizabeth Johnson see Fleeman, *Copies*, nos. 35, 43, 54, 59, 108, 217.

210. "Cowley's comedy, 'Cutter of Coleman-street'": SJ comments in the "Life of Cowley" that "it certainly has, in a very great degree, the power of fixing attention and exciting merriment" (*Lives*, 1:197; *Works* [1787], 2:17–18).

211. "butt of mountain": Butt: A barrel containing one hundred twenty six gallons of wine; a butt contains one hundred eight gallons of beer (*Dictionary*). Gill: A measure of liquid containing the fourth part of a pint (sense 4 in *Dictionary*). Mountain: A variety of Malaga wine, made from grapes grown on the mountains (*OED*).

212. "solicited employment of Cave:" See n. 80 above.

213. "Life of Father Paul": See n. 167 above.

214. "lives of Boerhaave, Blake, Barretier": The lives appeared in the *GM* between 1739 and 1742 and were collected in *Works* (1787), 4:329–78, 461–71. See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:48, 51–53, 55.

215. "he wanted a dinner": See 43 and n. 172 above.

216. "Ad Urbanum": The poem had an introductory note: "All Men of Sense, as far as we can find, having condemn'd the rude Treatment given Mr Urban by certain Booksellers, whose Names are not worth the mention already made of them; we hope it will not be thought Ostentatious, to let the Reader see a few Pieces sent in his favour by Correspondents of all Degrees." The poem appeared in *GM* 8 (March 1738): 156, and the translation printed below appeared in *GM* 8 (May 1738): 268. It was parodied in the *London Magazine* 7 (April 1738): 196. Since JH quotes the poem in his *Life*, which is the first volume of the *Works* (1787), he omits it from among the poems in volume 11. See *YW*, 6:40–43; *Poems*, 55–56; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:34.

217. "seventy thousand copies . . . proprietors": Of all the competing periodicals the most powerful and dangerous was the *London Magazine*. Mutual charges of piracy and incompetence were exchanged in the columns of the rival journals for years, but in late 1738 SJ joined the fray. Here JH is alluding to SJ's preface to the *GM* volume for 1738. SJ, in his "Life of Cave," recalled that after Cave's enterprise was successful, "a multitude of magazines arose, and perished; only the London Magazine, supported by a power-

ful association of booksellers, and circulated with all the art, and all the cunning of trade, exempted itself from the general fate of Cave's invaders, and obtained, though not an equal, yet a considerable sale" (*GM* 24 [February 1754]: 57; *Early Biographical Writings*, 409; *Works* [1787], 4:526). The 1747 volume of the *GM* has an "emblematical frontispiece," reproduced here, that is explained by "The Vision. A Poem," written by John Hawkesworth, printed at the back of the preface. "In the centre stands a column . . . emblematical of our work, and bearing the date of its foundation in MDCCXXXI. . . . The 'grinning crowd' are represented by four men with asses' ears, the personifications of Envy, Dulness, Fraud, and Revenge, and they are attacking the column with club, hammer, pickaxe, and crowbar. They were the portraits of the four booksellers who were partners in our old rival the *London Magazine*. . . . On the other side of the column is [a figure] . . . intended to represent our *new* rival, the *Universal Magazine*, which was started in Jan. 1747. Above, suspended on the column, is a 'fair vision,' exhibiting Fame, attended by the Muses, giving audience to SYLVANUS URBAN and his coadjutors. The print is more worthy of attention from its presenting an excellent whole-length portrait of Cave, attended by Hawkesworth, Johnson, and other of his friends" (John Gough Nichols, "The Autobiography of Silvanus Urban," *GM* 202 [March 1857]: 283–84; see also Abbott, 106). SJ is the second figure in line, looking to his left. The woman behind Hawkesworth is, presumably, Elizabeth Carter; the final figure is unidentified.

218. "Historical Chronicle": See *GM* 8 (February 1738): 107. Peter the Wild Boy was found in 1724 near Hanover and brought to England in 1726 by the command of George I. He was much discussed by those seeking to understand his origins and nurture. Initially, the boy, who was thought to be about age fourteen, was placed in the care of John Arbuthnot and later boarded at a farm where he lived until his death in 1785. See Thomas Seccombe, rev. David Turner, "Peter the Wild Boy," in *ODNB*. The "lodgings in Moorfields" is Bedlam, the Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem, the lunatic asylum.

219. "debates in either house of parliament": The historical background to parliamentary reporting in the eighteenth century is outlined in chapter 1 of Benjamin Beard Hoover's *Samuel Johnson's Parliamentary Reporting, Debates in the Senate of Lilliput* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953). The responsibility for producing the debates in the *GM* initially fell to William Guthrie. But on 13 April 1738 the House of Commons unanimously passed a resolution: "That it is an high Indignity to, and a notorious Breach of the Privilege of, this House" for any magazine or newspaper to give any account of the "Debates, or other Proceedings of this House, or any Committee thereof, as well during the Recess as the Sitting of Parliament; and that this House will proceed with the utmost Severity against such Offenders" (*Journals of the House of Commons*, 23:148). In June 1738, to avoid prosecution, the *GM* began publishing "Debates in the Senate of Magna Lilliputia," with an introduction written at least in part by SJ (8:283–87). Two other items related to the "Debates" were written by SJ. The first, an advertisement printed on the verso of page 699 of the 1738 supplement to the *GM*, begins "In a few days will be published Proposals for printing by Subscription *Anagrammata Rediviva*," and the second, the *Proposals* themselves, were bound in a few 1738 collected volumes after the index. As JH explains below, "anagrammatizing proper names" to resemble Lilliputian names was part of the fiction to avoid a charge of breach of privilege. (To anagrammatize: To make anagrams. Anagram: A conceit arising from the letters of a name transposed; as this, of *W,i,l,l,i,a,m,N,o,y*, attorney-general to Charles I. a very

laborious man, *I moyl in law* [*Dictionary*].) For a period SJ revised the debates written by Guthrie and then from 1741 to 1743 wrote them himself. Although conclusive external evidence is lacking for John Hawkesworth taking over the writing of the debates after SJ, internal evidence suggests that JH may be right. See Kaminski, 123–43, 201–3; *The Debates in Parliament*, vols. 11–13 of *YW*, forthcoming; "Anagrammata Rediviva," in *Proposals for Printing by Subscription Anagrammata Rediviva* (1738), ed. O M Brack, Jr., and Donald Greene (Los Angeles: Samuel Johnson Society of Southern California, 2003); Abbott, 104, 129, 213–14n4; Karina Williamson, "John Hawkesworth," in *ODNB*. JH did not include the debates in the 1787 *Works*, but they were added by others in 1788 as volumes 12 and 13.

220. "mechanic": A manufacturer; a low workman (*Dictionary*). The "ingenious mechanic" is Richard Newsham, maker of fire engines who may have been assisted by Dr. John Theophilus Desaguliers, the natural philosopher and engineer. The letter may have been written by an engine maker named Fowke of Wapping. See Anita McConnell, "Richard Newsham," in *ODNB*.

221. "the motion in both houses . . . to remove him": Debates on the removal of Sir Robert Walpole in the House of Lords (3 February 1741) and the House of Commons (13 February 1741) were both written by SJ.

222. "enthusiasm": Heat of imagination; violence of passion; confidence of opinion (sense 2 in *Dictionary*); Elevation of fancy; exaltation of ideas (sense 3).

223. "rancour": Rancour: Inveterate malignity; malice; steadfast implacability; standing hate (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); Virulence; corruption (sense 2).

224. "two speeches": The first speech, by Philip Yorke, Baron Hardwicke, later first Earl of Hardwicke, is from the debate on the removal of Sir Robert Walpole in the House of Lords on 13 February 1741 (*GM* 11 [August 1741]: 402–7). The opposition motion was defeated: Not Content 108; Content 59. Opposition to Walpole continued, however, and he left the House of Commons forever on 2 February 1742 and resigned the seals of office on 11 February. The second speech, by Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield, is from the debate on spirituous liquors in the House of Lords on 22–25 February 1743 (*GM* 13 [December 1743]: 625–28). In spite of the opposition expressed here the bill became law (16 Geo. II c. 8) and for a while reduced the consumption of spirits.

225. " 'sole minister' ": A term like "prime minister," used as a term of opprobrium in the eighteenth century. As a minister Sir Robert Walpole was not the leader of a party in the modern sense but a servant of the monarch charged with carrying out his business in Parliament.

226. " 'common fame' ": That which people say or tell; public report, common talk; a particular instance of this, a report, rumour. Now *rare* (*OED*).

227. " 'treaty of Vinena' ": By the second treaty of Vienna (March 1731) Britain guaranteed Maria Theresa's succession to the Habsburg dominions in accord with the Pragmatic Sanction (1713), which had given the succession to any daughters of Charles VI.

228. " 'Policy' ": Policy: Art of government, chiefly with respect to foreign powers (sense 1 in *Dictionary*).

229. "merchants": Merchant: One who trafficks to remote countries (*Dictionary*).

230. "bill of attainder or an impeachment": Attainder: The action or process of attainting: the legal consequences of judgement of death or outlawry, in respect of treason or felony, viz. forfeiture of estate real and personal, corruption of blood, so that the condemned could neither inherit nor transmit by descent, and generally, extinction of

all civil rights and capacities. Bill or Act of Attainder: one introduced or passed in the English Parliament (first in 1459) for attainting any one without a judicial trial (*OED*). Impeachment: The accusation and prosecution of a person from the rank of peer downward for treason or other high crime or misdemeanor before a competent tribunal; in Great Britain, before the House of Lords at the instance of the House of Commons (*OED*).

231. "'dram of policy'": In this and the following sentence SJ is playing on words. Dram: A small quantity, in a kind of proverbial sense (sense 2 in *Dictionary*); Such a quantity of distilled spirits as is usually drank at once (sense 3); Spirits; distilled liquors (sense 4). Draught: The art of drinking (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); A quantity of liquor drank at once (sense 2); Liquor drunk for pleasure (sense 3). Empiric: "A trier; and experimenter; such persons as have no true education in, or knowledge of physical practice, but venture upon hearsay and observation only" (*Dictionary*, quoting John Quincy).

232. "'debaucheries'": Debauchery: The practice of excess; intemperance; lewdness (*Dictionary*).

233. "'Luxury'": Voluptuousness; addicted to pleasure (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); Lust; lewdness (sense 2); Luxuriance; exuberance (sense 3).

234. "'That he was . . . a witty man'": Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 2 vols. (1724), 1:388; SJ in "Life of Waller," in *Lives*, 2:45; *Works* (1787), 2:256.

235. "bills of mortality": Bill of mortality or weekly bill; a periodically published official return of the deaths (later, also of the births) in a certain district; such a return began to be published weekly by the London Company of Parish Clerks in 1592 for 109 parishes in and around London; hence this district (the precise limits of which were often modified) became known as "within the bills of mortality" (*OED*).

236. "ten to fifteen thousand copies a month": There are no reliable figures for the circulation of the *GM* as exist for the *London Magazine*. SJ recalled on 25 April 1778 that Cave used to sell ten thousand copies (*Life*, 3:322). See *A Ledger of Charles Acker Printer of The London Magazine*, ed. D. F. McKenzie and J. C. Ross, n.s. 15 (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1968), 11–12.

237. "turpitude": Essential deformity of words, thoughts or actions; inherent vileness; badness (*Dictionary*).

238. "fictitious relations . . . deception": Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), an imaginary island where a near ideal form of government exists; Sir Francis Bacon's *The New Atlantis* (1627), an account of social conditions on an imaginary island and also of "Solomon's House," a college of natural philosophy; Joseph Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem* (1605), a dystopian journey to the Antipodes.

239. "Voltaire was betrayed . . . declaration": JH is confused in his chronology, as Voltaire's declaration preceded SJ's writing of the debates by eight years. The comparison was made in *Lettres philosophiques sur les Anglaises* (1733), translated into English the same year as *Letters Concerning the English Nation*. See Letter VIII, "On the Parliament," 51–58. JH may have seen a later edition and thought it was the first.

240. "The speech": This speech by William Pitt, later Earl of Chatham, is from the debate on the seamen's bill in the House of Commons on 2–23 March 1741 (*GM* 11 [November 1741]: 568–70).

241. "declaimed": Declaim: To harangue; to speak to the passions; to rhetoricate; to speak set orations (*Dictionary*).

242. "florid but flimsy": Florid: Embellished; splendid; brilliant with decorations (sense 3 in *Dictionary*). Flimsy: Mean; spiritless; without force (sense 2 in *Dictionary*).

243. "blunt and dogmatical": Blunt: Rough; not delicate; not civil (sense 3 in *Dictionary*); Abrupt; not elegant (sense 4). Dogmatical: Authoritative; magisterial; positive; in the manner of a philosopher laying down the first principles of a sect (*Dictionary*); Asserting or maintaining dogmas or opinions; arbitrary, positive (*OED*).

244. "Dr. Smollet . . . history of England": Smollett's *A Complete History of England*, 4 vols. (1757–58) covered events up to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, which brought an end to the War of Austrian Succession, and his *Continuation of the Complete History of England*, 5 vols. (1760–65) brought the history to 1765. Smollett did not heed SJ's warning. See *A Complete History of England*, 3:73. The anecdote of SJ warning Smollett that he had written the debates had appeared earlier in Tyers (*Early Biographies*, 63).

245. "most popular minister . . . country": William Pitt, later Earl of Chatham.

246. "rebellion in 1745": Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins says that Horace Walpole "used to talk much of his father, and told Sir J. H. himself, the well-known fact, of his calling him to his bedside, and telling him 'that he would live to see the crown of England fought for on English ground' " (*Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs: Collected by Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins*, vol. 1 [London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1822], 102).

247. "Owen Ruffhead": Ruffhead may have been the first book reviewer for *GM*, but he was not the literary editor. Hawkesworth followed SJ in the mid-1740s as Cave's principal coadjutor and became official literary editor in 1756. See Abbott, 86–111, esp. 93; N. G. Jones, "Owen Ruffhead," in *ODNB*.

248. "editor of that collection of voyages . . . by his name": Hawkesworth compiled an account of the voyages to the South Pacific in 1765–71 based on the journals of Capt. James Cook and others, a best seller that became popularly known as "Hawkesworth's Voyages" (1773). The publication, however, "proved disastrous for Hawkesworth. He was publicly attacked on three different counts: by the captains for tampering with the texts of their journals, by prudish readers for reprinting descriptions of the sexual freedoms of the South Sea islanders, and by devout churchmen for impiety in the general introduction to the work, in which Hawkesworth had rashly challenged the doctrine of providential intervention. He was devastated by this critical barrage, and it was thought to be the main cause of his death" (Karina Williamson, "John Hawkesworth," in *ODNB*). See also Abbott, chap. 7.

249. "catalogue of books": After the death of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, on 16 June 1741 his widow decided to sell his collection of an estimated fifty thousand printed books to the bookseller Thomas Osborne. To promote the sale of the books Osborne paid SJ and William Oldys to compile the five-volume *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae* (1743–45). Michael Maittaire, who contributed the Latin dedication to John Carteret, second Baron Carteret of Hawnes, later second Earl Granville, says he had no other part in the catalog. It is difficult to distinguish between the work of SJ and William Oldys, and there is no evidence that SJ's contributions were confined to the third and fourth volumes. Of the four passages quoted by JH only 1528 and 3517 reflect SJ's style. SJ wrote the proposals, the "Account of the Harleian Library" in volume 1, reprinted from the proposals and included by JH in the *Works* (1787) (9:337–49), a notice in volume 2, the "Account of the Undertaking" in volume 3 (see n. 254 below), and an announcement of the publication of volumes 3 and 4. See Thomas Kaminski, "Johnson

and Oldys as Bibliographers: An Introduction to the Harleian Catalogue," *Philological Quarterly* 60 (1981): 439–53; Kaminski, 174–84, 249n50; DeMaria, *Life*, 94–109; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:84–90. The manuscripts eventually became the property of the nation and are in the British Library; the catalog of the manuscripts was begun in 1708 by Humfrey Wanley, Harley's librarian. The Latin in no. 1528 reads roughly as follows: "To the praise of Almighty God, of the Virgin Mary his Mother, and of all the Saints, this comprehensive Missal, called Mozarabic and following the rite of the Blessed Isidore, has been completed. With the utmost diligence it was examined and emended by Fr. Alphonso Ortiz, Canon of Toledo, Reverend Doctor of [Canon and Civil] Law. It was printed in the royal city of Toledo by order of the Most Reverend Father in Christ, Francisco Ximenes, Archbishop of that city; at the expense of the noble Melchior Gorricius of Novara; by Master Peter Hagembach of Germany; [and completed] in the year of our Salvation 1500, on the 29th day of January." More information can be found in J.-P. Migne's Latin introduction to the Mozarabic Missal in *Patrologine Cursus Completus*, vol. 85 (Paris, 1850).

250. "literary artificers": Artificer: An artist; a manufacturer; one by whom any thing is made (sense 1 in *Dictionary*). See *YW*, 17:160.

251. "'Catalogus . . . Angliae & Hiberniae'": SJ owned a copy of *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum, Angliae et Hiberniae*, ed. Edward Bernard and Humfrey Wanley (Oxford, 1697), generally known as *Bernard's Catalogue of British Manuscripts* or, simply, *Bernard's Catalogue* (*Sale Catalogue*, lot 340). See *Letters*, 1:86.

252. "Dr. Oldys, a civilian": William Oldys was a civil lawyer and advocate of the Admiralty. Civilian: One who makes or has made the Civil Law (chiefly as distinguished originally from the Canon Law, and later from the Common Law) the object of his study: a practitioner, doctor, professor, or student of Civil Law, a writer or authority on the Civil Law. "By civilian is meant in English (1) one who professes and practises the civil law, as opposed to the common, or municipal law of England; (2) one who teaches or expounds this civil law; (3) one who studies it (De Quincey)" (*OED*). See also n. 46 above.

253. "account of Wood the great eater": Much of what is known about John Taylor comes from his own writings. The source of JH's account is *All the Works of John Taylor* (1630), which contains the account of Nicholas Wood and the pudding (147) and an attack on coaches, "The World runes on wheeles" (232–44). See Bernard Capp, "John Taylor," in *ODNB*.

254. "'Harleian Miscellany'": As part of his scheme to recoup his investment in the Harleian library, Thomas Osborne reprinted, in eight quarto volumes, the texts of a selection of its political and religious pamphlets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the *Harleian Miscellany*. As with the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, SJ and William Oldys collaborated in editing it. SJ contributed the following "Account of this Undertaking," issued separately in the proposals on 30 December 1743, reprinted, with two additional paragraphs, among the preliminaries of the third volume of *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, in the *GM*, and elsewhere. For the complex history of the text of this piece see O M Brack, Jr., and Mary Early, "Samuel Johnson's Proposals for the *Harleian Miscellany*," *Studies in Bibliography* 45 (1992): 127–30; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:111–20. JH is the first to attribute the "Account" to SJ. SJ also contributed the introduction to the first volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, best known by its title, "Essay on the

Origin and Importance of Small Tracts and Fugitive Pieces," which he reprints here. See *Works* (1787), 9:350–59; Hazen, 50–59.

255. "Johnson, in his life of Pope": "Life of Pope," in *Lives*, 4:50–51; *Works* (1787), 4:83. Osborne appears at 2.167 ff. in *The New Dunciad: As it was Found in the Year 1741*. The story of Osborne and the folio, which SJ "himself confessed to be true," survives in a number of versions, many no doubt originating with SJ. Although JB claims to have the authoritative version, probably there is not one (*Life*, 1:154). See 83–84 above; O M Brack, Jr., "Thomas Osborne," in *ODNB*; "Samuel Johnson, Thomas, Osborne, and the Folio: The Incident Revisited," *Johnsonian News Letter* 59, no. 2 (2008): 18–24.

256. "This friend was Savage": JH's account is taken from SJ's "Life of Savage." SJ did not write the entire life in thirty-six hours; the composition was much more complex than JH suggests (*Lives*, 3:381–88). See 64 above, 230, and n. 644 below.

257. "Hai Ebn Yokdhan": He is the hero of the medieval Arabic romance *Hai Ebn Yokdan* by Abi Joafar Ebn Tophail. The theme is how the ideal man can be produced. It was published in Latin in 1671 and in English in 1674, 1686, and 1708 (Davis, *Life*, 287n10).

258. "certain benevolent institution in this metropolis": The Foundling Hospital. See 216–18 below.

259. "oeconomical": Disposition of things; regulation (sense 4 in *Dictionary*).

260. "a woman who had proclaimed her crimes": Anne Gerard, Countess of Macclesfield, later Lady Brett, reputed mother of Richard Savage.

261. " 'This relation . . . contemptible' ": "Life of Savage," in *Lives*, 3:188; *Works* (1787), 3:369.

262. "Henry Fielding . . . 'The Champion' ": "Sometime in January, or at the latest February 1740/1 Fielding became a silent partner" and was succeeded as editor by James Ralph (Battestin, *Henry Fielding*, 289). In a note to JB Isaac Reed identifies Ralph as the likely author of "this Eulogium" (Waingrow, 383). JH could have found this passage in Reed/Steevens (*Early Biographies*, 47–48). No copy of this issue of the *Champion* is known to survive. See n. 264 below.

263. "provide for the day that was passing over him": "much of my life . . . has always been spent in provision for the day that was passing over me" (preface to the *Dictionary*; *YW*, 18:110; *Works* [1787], 9:227).

264. "Ralph": James Ralph edited a series of opposition journals, including the *Champion* and the *Remembrancer*. From about 1743 he was personal secretary to George Bubb Dodington, Baron Melcombe, and compiled a *History of England* (1744–46) under his patronage. His *The Case of the Author by Profession or Trade Stated* was published in 1758. See *The Political Journal of George Bubb Dodington*, ed. John Carswell and L. A. Draper (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), and Laird Okie, "James Ralph," in *ODNB*. See n. 468 below.

265. "Samuel Boyse": An account of Boyse appears in Cibber's *Lives of the Poets* (1753), 5:167. The information on Boyse may have been supplied to Robert Shiels by SJ. See n. 329 below. See also Kaminski, 162–64.

266. "Waller, Dryden": See, for example, *Lives*, 2:39–40, 46, 113; *Works* (1787), 2:245–47, 256, 368–69.

267. "luxurious": Delighting in the pleasures of the table (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); Administring to luxury (sense 2); Lustful; libidinous (sense 3).

268. "spunging-house": A house to which debtors are taken before commitment to prison, where the bailiffs sponge upon them, or riot at their cost (*Dictionary*).

269. "'Inscription for St. LAZARUS's cave'": Today, high heaven as my witness, without bread, without money, harshly placed by fortune, I write to you in pain and sorrow. My liver swells with bile and hunger; Urban, send help, I pray you. For you have a human heart to which evils are not unknown. I have a mind not ungrateful for any favor you might grant. ALCAEUS. From the debtor's hell, commonly known as a sponging house.

270. "enthusiasm": A vain belief of private revelation; a vain confidence of divine favour or communication (sense 1 in *Dictionary*). See n. 222 above.

271. "St. Augustine . . . writings of Kempis": SJ had the works of Augustine in his library at his death (*Sale Catalogue*, lots 107, 239), and a copy of Thomas à Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi* that had belonged to him was in the sale of HLP's library (Fleeman, *Copies*, no. 195). Works by other church fathers were in his library; see *Sale Catalogue*. SJ made a list of church fathers in "Reportorium" on or about 31 October 1784. See *YW*, 1:409–11.

272. "ascetics": One of those who in the early church retired into solitude, to exercise themselves in meditation and prayer, and in the practice of rigorous self-discipline by celibacy, fasting, and toil (*OED*); He that retires to mortification; a hermit (*Dictionary*). St. Jerome, although not a hermit, was a strong advocate of monastic life and would fit JH's description. SJ had St. Jerome's works in his library (*Sale Catalogue*, lot 560).

273. "'Friday, August 27th. . . . to practice them'": JH has 1734 in both editions of the *Life*, but the editors of *YW* have assigned the conjectural date of 1736 (1:35–36). The manuscript for this portion of SJ's diary is unlocated. The Reverend George Strahan had published *Prayers and Meditations, Composed by Samuel Johnson, LL.D. and Published from his Manuscripts* in August 1785. See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1600–1601, and 354 and n. 737 below.

274. "dogged": Sullen; sour; morose; ill-humoured; gloomy (*Dictionary*).

275. "working with vigour and haste": "Sometime in March I finished the lives of the Poets, which I wrote in my usual way, dilatorily and hastily, unwilling to work, and working with vigour and haste" (13 April 1781, in *YW*, 1:303–4).

276. "new edition of Shakespeare . . . 1745": For his *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth: with Remarks on Sir T. H.'s Edition of Shakespear. To which is affix'd, Proposals for a New Edition of Shakespear, with a Specimen* (1745) see *YW*, 7:xiii–xiv, 3–45. Thomas Hanmer had recently published *The Works of Shakespeare, In Six volumes, Carefully Revised and Corrected by the Former Editions, and Adorned with Sculptures Designed and Executed by the Best Hands* (Oxford, 1744). SJ gives a history of Shakespeare editions in his preface to the *Plays of William Shakespeare* (1765). See *YW*, 7:93–98; *Works* (1787), 9:278–84; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:124–26, 2:1081–90.

277. "'Works of Francis Osborn'": The passage in the *Works of Francis Osborne* (1673) appears on page 182.

278. "Vide supra . . . in not.": See 53 and 54 above.

279. "'Virgidemiarum' of bishop Hall": Joseph Hall, later bishop of Norwich, published the first three books of *Virgidemarium* (*virgidemiae*: Latin, strokes or blows) in 1597 and these, with three additional books, in 1598.

280. "vernacular": Of a language or dialect: That is naturally spoken by the people of a particular country or district (*OED*); Native; of one's own country (*Dictionary*).

281. "Dr. Grey's edition of 'Hudibras'": Zachary Grey's edition of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*, with a preface and large annotations, first appeared in 1744 and went through a

number of editions. In 1752 Grey published *Critical, Historical and Explanatory Notes upon Hudibras by Way of Supplement*. A copy of *Hudibras* was in the books SJ owned as a student at Oxford (*Gleanings*, 5:225). He also owned a copy of the 1726 edition of *Hudibras* with William Hogarth's illustrations, which he marked for the *Dictionary* and signed and dated "Aug. 1747" (*Sale Catalogue*, lot 263; Fleeman, *Copies*, no. 36). SJ used Grey's edition in his "Life of Butler" (*Lives*, 2:227). Grey also wrote a number of works on Shakespeare and is cited in SJ's preface and the notes to his edition. See Scott Mandelbrote, "Zachary Grey," in *ODNB*.

282. "preface to his first edition": Lewis Theobald in *Works of Shakespeare* (1734), lxvii–lxviii.

283. "conjectural": Conjecture: The formation or offering of an opinion on grounds insufficient to furnish proof; the action or habit of guessing or surmising; conclusion as to what is likely or probable. In textual criticism, the proposal of a reading not actually found in the traditional text (*OED*). Conjectural: Depending on conjecture; said or done by guess. To conjecture: To guess; to judge by guess; to entertain an opinion upon bare probability (*Dictionary*). On conjectural critics see SJ's preface to Shakespeare in *YW*, 7:106–10; *Works* (1787), 9:293–99.

284. "Dr. Warburton a testimony": William Warburton in his preface to his edition of Shakespeare (1747), xiii. See also Reed/Steevens, in *Early Biographies*, 48. By "genius" Warburton means "a man with superior abilities" (sense 2 in *Dictionary*). SJ also defines "genius" in the *Dictionary* as "mental powers or faculties" (sense 3) and "disposition of nature by which any one is qualified for some peculiar employment" (sense 4). SJ speaks often of "genius." For a good summary see Lonsdale's extensive annotations to the "Life of Cowley" and "Life of Pope" (*Lives*, 1:309–10, 438, 4:220–22).

285. "publication of a dictionary": SJ signed a contract with seven London booksellers for *A Dictionary of the English Language* on 18 June 1746. Although he had hoped to finish the dictionary in three years, it was not published until 15 April 1755. All of SJ's writings on the English language for the *Dictionary* have been edited with introductions and annotations by Gwin J. Kolb and Robert DeMaria, Jr., in volume 18 of *YW*.

286. "Of Latin dictionaries": Sir Thomas Elyot's dictionary was first published in 1538, an enlarged edition was published in 1542, and it was reprinted with no significant changes in 1545 (see Stanford Lehmberg, "Sir Thomas Elyot," in *ODNB*). Thomas Cooper published his first revision of Elyot's dictionary in 1548. Cooper's wife, Amy, burned the early drafts of his own dictionary, the *Thesaurus*, published in 1565. He became bishop of Lincoln in 1571 and bishop of Winchester in 1584 (see Margaret Bowker, "Thomas Cooper," in *ODNB*). The long quotation is from the preface to John Baret's *An Alvearie, or Triple Dictionairie, in Englysche, Latin and French* (1574). It had a "modest number of Greek equivalents" (see R. W. McConchie, "John Baret," in *ODNB*). Except for the anecdote of Cooper's wife burning his manuscript, JH could have found this information in *BB*, 3:1457–59, 1840–41.

287. "Thomas Blount": Blount's *Glossographia* "was only the fourth monolingual English dictionary, and the first attempted on such a scale," and he also wrote *Nomolexikon* (1670), a law dictionary. Blount suffered from plagiarism on a grand scale: his *Glossographia* was plundered by Edward Phillips (see the following note) and his *Nomolexikon* by Thomas Manley. See Ian Mortimer, "Thomas Blount," in *ODNB*.

288. "Edward Philips": The extent to which *The New World of English Words* (1658) is

the "basis of English lexicography" is debatable. It is worth noting that Phillips first plundered Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656) for his earliest edition and then Stephen Skinner's *Etymologicum* (1671) for later editions (Wood, 2:1117). Nevertheless, Phillips's *New World of English Words* and Nathan Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730) were the "most important of modern English dictionaries for SJ's *Dictionary*" (*YW*, 18:xxii). See Gordon Campbell, "Edward Phillips," Ian Mortimer, "Thomas Blount," and Bertha Porter, rev. Michael Bevan, "Stephen Skinner," in *ODNB*. JH also comments on *The New World of English Words* in a note to SJ's "Life of Milton" (*Works* [1787], 2:84n).

289. "Of technical as also of etymological dictionaries": John Cowell's *The Interpreter* (1607) "was a law dictionary which provided definitions of English legal terms, while also giving similar terms from the civil law," and was the starting point for Blount's *Nomolexikon* (n. 287 above). Junius died in 1677, and his great work, *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, was not published until 1743. Stephen Skinner died in 1667, and his *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae* was published in 1671. See Brian P. Levack, "John Cowell," Sophie van Romburgh, "Junius [Du Jon], Franciscum [Francis]," Bertha Porter, rev. Michael Bevan, "Stephen Skinner," in *ODNB*.

290. "An interleaved copy of Bailey's dictionary": Anne McDermott thinks that "an interleaved Bailey was very probably the starting point for Johnson's *Dictionary*" ("The Compilation Methods of Johnson's *Dictionary*," *Age of Johnson* [2005]: 5). Allen Reddick suggests that this method of using Nathan Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* proposed by JH is "implausible," though he does concede that SJ relied on Bailey as he began the *Dictionary* project. See *The Making of Johnson's Dictionary, 1746–73*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 28, 201n8. For an example of a book marked by SJ for the *Dictionary* see 139.

291. "a plan of his dictionary": Kolb and DeMaria state that the composition of *The Plan* "ranks among the most complicated processes of writing and revising that Johnson ever undertook" (*YW*, 18:3). John Taylor told JB on 6 May 1785 that he remembered *The Plan* being passed to William Whitehead, among others (Waingrow, 83). JH may have received his information from the same source. A detailed discussion of the composition and publication of *The Plan* appears in James H. Sledd and Gwin J. Kolb, *Dr. Johnson's Dictionary: Essays in the Biography of a Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), chap. 2 ("The Composition and Publication of *The Plan of a Dictionary*"), 46–84, 211–20. A more succinct account based on this one appears in *YW*, 18:3–24. Only the first edition, first state, is dedicated to Chesterfield. A second state has the dedication removed. See also Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:141–44. JH included *The Plan* in the 1787 *Works*, 9:165–92.

292. "an invitation from lord Chesterfield to the author": SJ paid at least one visit to Chesterfield, possibly in 1746, when they had a conversation "upon philology and literature" (*Life*, 4:332–33).

293. "letters to an illegitimate son": *Letters Written by the Late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to his Son, Philip Stanhope, Esq; . . .* published by Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope, 2 vols. (1774). In the first quarto edition each volume began with the first letter numbered one. In the later duodecimo editions in four volumes the letters were numbered in sequence throughout. JH used an unidentified later edition, and the eighth edition of 1777 has been chosen for comparison. For what Chesterfield allegedly thought of SJ see the "respectable Hottentot" character in Letter 212, 116–17 below.

294. "memoirs of his life . . . miscellaneous works": The life by Matthew Maty prefaces the *Miscellaneous Works* (1777).

295. "gallantry": Courtship; refined address to women (sense 4 in *Dictionary*); Vicious love; lewdness; debauchery (sense 5).

296. "amours": An affair of gallantry; an intrigue; generally used of vicious love (*Dictionary*).

297. "A lady of high quality": Unidentified.

298. "Letters to his son, number 215": In this letter dated "London, March the 18th, O.S. 1751," after the quotation (3:134) Chesterfield says, "Every numerous assembly is *mob*, let the individuals who compose it be what they will" (3:135).

299. "looby": A lubber; a clumsy clown. Lubber: A sturdy drone; an idle, fat, bulky losel; a booby. Losel: A scoundrel; a sorry worthless fellow. Booby: A dull, heavy, stupid fellow; a lubber (*Dictionary*). "Johnson said, he had once seen Mr. Stanhope, Lord Chesterfield's son, at Dodsley's shop, and was so much struck with his awkward manners and appearance, that he could not help asking Mr. Dodsley who he was" (Hawkins, "Apothegms," 2:16).

300. "precepts of Aristotle": Chesterfield tells his son in Letter 215, "Marcel can be of much more use to you than Aristotle" (3:136).

301. " 'Suaviter . . . fortiter in re' ": In Letter 214, dated "London, March the 11th, O.S. 1751" (3:130), and in Letter 217, dated "London, April 7th, O.S. 1751" (3:146), Chesterfield tells his son to form his manners with "the charms and graces, the practices, the styles, and the customs of society." In Letter 213, no date, he says, "Pleasant in style, forceful in substance" (3:125).

302. "furniture": Appendages (sense 2 in *Dictionary*); Equipage; embellishments; decorations (sense 3).

303. "Letter 212": This letter is dated "London, Feb. 28th, O.S. 1751" (3:121–22): "On that subject: have you yet found out at Paris any friendly and hospitable Madame de Lursay, who would dearly like to take on the task of educating you? And have you had any occasion of representing to her, that she was then forming an attachment [to you]? . . . However, in matters of less importance I desire to be the faithful trustee of your secrets. . . . Is it the noise and clatter of the great world—plays, balls, operas, the life at court, etc.? Or is it some intimate social groups, less boisterous but no less pleasant on that account? Where are you the most at home? Where are you the young Stanhope? Have you stepped out yet [and] struck up a respectable acquaintance with anyone?" Madame de Lursay is a courtesan in Claude-Prosper Jolyot Crébillon (*fils*), *Les Égarements du coeur et de esprit* (1736–38) who tutors the young Meilcour in the art of love.

304. "Nocturna versate manu versate diurna": Vos exemplaria Graeca / Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna (Horace *Ars Poetica* lines 268–69): Turn over the Greeks by night, turn them over by day. Letter 217 (3:145).

305. "intrigue": A plot; a private transaction in which many parties are engaged; usually affairs of love (sense 1 in *Dictionary*).

306. " 'Go . . . among women. . . . the rest will soon follow' ": Letter 218 is dated "London, April 15th, O.S. 1751" (3:150–51). JH has omitted "Force" before "Assiduities" in the last sentence (3:151).

307. "lord Bacon has remarked": Sir Francis Bacon opens his essay "Of Cunning" by observing that "by cunning, we mean certain crooked and sinister wisdom. And certain

it is, there is a great difference between a cunning and a wise man; not only in point of honesty, but also in point of ability." Bacon concludes his essay by quoting Proverbs 14:8: "The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way; but the folly of fools is deceit" (*Essays*, 67, 71).

308. "Sir Henry Sydney to his son Philip": This 1556 letter to Philip Sydney from his father appears in Arthur Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*, 2 vols. (1746), 1:8. The Latin "labes generis" means "a stain on the family."

309. "institute": Established law; settled order (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); Precept; maxim; principle (sense 2).

310. "coxcomb": A fop; a superficial pretender to knowledge or accomplishments (sense 3 in *Dictionary*). Fop: Simpleton; a coxcomb; a man of small understanding and much ostentation; a pretender; a man fond of show, dress, and flutter; an impertinent (*Dictionary*).

311. "patron": See n. 64 above and n. 316 below.

312. "Maecenas of the age": Gaius Maecenas was the Roman patron of a literary circle that included Horace, Virgil, Propertius, and Varius.

313. "accomplishments . . . dancing-master": This popular anecdote appears in a variety of versions. See, for example, *Early Biographies*, 17, 38, 69, 102, 167, 235.

314. "Colley Cibber": Cibber, although a successful playwright and actor and the poet laureate from 1730 until his death in 1757, had a reputation for vanity and rudeness. SJ told JB that "there never was any particular incident which produced a quarrel" between them (*Life*, 1:257).

315. "respectable Hottentot": Not only JH but JB, Cooke, Isaac Reed, and Tyers, all of whom knew SJ, thought that he fit the portrait by Chesterfield (164 below; *Life*, 1:266–67; *Early Biographies*, 17, 38, 51 and n. 55, 69, 102, 234). SJ's statement that "Lord Chesterfield never saw me eat in his life" and L. F. Powell's argument that at "no time had there been the slightest intimacy" between Chesterfield and SJ, therefore the sketch could not be of SJ, is beside the point (*Life*, 1:267). Chesterfield would not have had to eat with SJ to have heard of his manners at table. See JH's description of SJ eating (214 below) and JB's graphic descriptions in *Life* (1:468, 4:72, 330–31, 5:87, 206).

316. "expressed in a letter to his lordship": JH has the chronology confused. The two papers praising the *Dictionary* appeared in the *World* for 28 November and 5 December 1754. SJ's famous letter to Chesterfield—"Is not a Patron, My Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a Man struggling for Life in the water and when he has reached ground encumbers him with help"—is dated 7 February 1755 (*Letters*, 1:94–97).

317. "eminent painter now living": The person who accompanied Sir Thomas Robinson to deliver apologies from Chesterfield to SJ is unidentified.

318. "apologue": Fable; story contrived to teach moral truth (*Dictionary*). SJ's *Rasselas* is best described as an Oriental apologue. See below 221–24 and Gwin J. Kolb in *YW*, 16:xxxiii–xliv.

319. "Lacy": After the Licensing Act of 1737 closed the theater in Haymarket, James Lacy began giving public "lectures," which had parts assigned to Lacy and his assistants and were, in fact, plays. Lacy was arrested and sent to Bridewell until February 1738. He continued to defy the Licensing Act and returned to the London stage in May 1742. See Charles Brayne, "James Lacy," and Graham Midgley, "John Henley," in *ODNB*.

320. "prologue": JH quotes below the entire "Prologue Spoken by Mr. Garrick, at

the Opening of the Theatre in Drury-Lane, 1747" (*YW*, 6:87–90; *Poems*, 107–9; *Works* [1787], 11:344–46). Thomas Davies in *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, 2 vols. (1780), also quoted the entire prologue, saying, "the omission . . . no man who had read it a hundred times, would pardon" (1:108–11).

321. "Garrick, in one of his prologues": The lines from the prologue to *Catherine and Petruchio* (1756) should read: "'Tis my chief wish, my joy, my only plan, / To lose no drop of that immortal man" (54–55); "And of the stronger liquors more invite you, / Bardolf is gin and Pistol aqua-vitae" (23–24).

322. " 'Pilgrim's Progress' ": John Bunyan's Christian allegory, *The Pilgrim's Progress, from this World to that which is to come* (1678, 1684), initially appealed largely to the uneducated but became widely popular. SJ praised the work highly: "His 'Pilgrim's Progress' has great merit, both for invention, imagination, and the conduct of the story; and it has had the best evidence of its merit, the general and continued approbation of mankind. Few books, I believe, have had a more extensive sale" (*Life*, 2:238). HLP reports that SJ asked, "Was there ever yet any thing written by mere man that was wished longer by readers, excepting Don Quixote, Robinson Crusoe, and the Pilgrim's Progress?" (*Anecdotes*, 332).

323. "his tragedy on the stage": *Irene* was produced on 6 February 1749 and ran for nine nights. As was the custom, he received the net profits for every third night, totaling £195 17s., and for the printed play, published on 16 February 1749, he received £100. See *Irene* in *YW*, 6:109–239; *Poems*, 267–409; *Works* (1787), 11:219–315; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:177. For Knolles's *History* see 25–27 above.

324. "business": Action as distinguished from dialogue (*OED*). It does not appear in this sense in *Dictionary*.

325. "imbecillity": Weakness; feebleness of mind or body (*Dictionary*).

326. " 'The vanity of human wishes' ": The poem was published on 9 January 1749. JH quotes the final paragraph of the poem, lines 343–68. See *YW*, 6:90–109; *Poems*, 110–33; *Works* (1787), 11:342–43; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:170–72.

327. "Milton, wrote a prologue": "A New Prologue Spoken at the Representation of Comus" was composed for the benefit performance for Milton's granddaughter Elizabeth Foster, given on 5 April 1750 at Drury Lane (*YW*, 6:239–41; *Poems*, 134–38; *Works* [1787], 11:346–47; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:316–17). As Lonsdale observes, "SJ's complicated attitude throughout his life to M[ilton] includes veneration for his poetic genius in *Paradise Lost*, hostility to his republican politics, and disapproval of his continuing political and literary influence" (*Lives*, 1:366–70). See 166–72 below for SJ's involvement in William Lauder's attempt to discredit Milton by arguing that he had plagiarized a number of Latin poems in *Paradise Lost*.

328. "De Groot": For additional information on SJ's assistance to Isaac De Groot, great-grandson of Hugo Grotius, Dutch jurist and statesman, and author of *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, see *Letters*, 3:36–37, 38–39; *Life*, 3:124–25.

329. "Shiells": Robert Shiels or Sheills published *Beauty* in 1766 and *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, to the Time of Dean Swift*, 5 vols., in 1753. In the "Life of Hammond" SJ states: "I take this opportunity to testify that it was not written, nor, I believe, ever seen, by either of the Cibbers; but was the work of Robert Shiels, a native of Scotland, a man of very acute understanding, though with little scholastick education, who, not long after the publication of his work, died in London of a consumption. His

life was virtuous, and his end was pious. Theophilus Cibber, then a prisoner for debt, imparted, as I was told, his name for ten guineas" (*Lives*, 3:116; *Works* [1787], 3:237). That Shiels was primarily responsible for *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland* is certain, but Theophilus Cibber and others also made contributions. The debate over the division of responsibility for these lives has continued and is canvassed by Lonsdale in *Lives* (3:372–73). The possibility that SJ may have assisted Shiels with the lives is discussed in W. R. Keast, "Johnson and 'Cibber's' *Lives of the Poets*, 1753," in *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature*, ed. Carroll Camden (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 89–101. For the various relationships between the two sets of lives see the index in *Lives*, s.v. "Sheils" (4:631).

330. "Canne": John Canne, independent minister and printer, published an annotated reference Bible in 1647 and a revised version in 1664.

331. "Hoffman": Johann Jacob Hofmann, *Lexicon universale historico-geographico-chronologico-poëtico-philologicum*, 2 vols. (Basil, 1677), with two supplementary volumes (1683) and a revised second edition in four volumes (1698), totaling 3,742 pages.

332. "Dr. Thomas Birch": He was an editor and wrote 615 biographies signed T and H for *GD*. See J. M. Osborn, "Thomas Birch and the *General Dictionary*, 1734–1741," *Modern Philology* 36 (1938–39): 25–46; David Philip Miller, "Thomas Birch," in *ODNB*; and *ESTC* for a list of his works. Birch's biographies in *GD* served as sources for SJ's "Life of Robert Blake" and "Life of Thomas Sydenham" (*Works* [1787], 4:358–78, 492–500). See volume 19 of *YW*, forthcoming. SJ also drew heavily on Birch's account for his "Life of Milton" (*Lives*, 1:365–66).

333. "Elizabeth Cockburn": Both editions of the *Life* read Elizabeth for Catherine; Thomas Birch wrote the *Life of Catherine Cockburn* (in her *Works*, 2 vols. [1751]).

334. " 'He went . . . every one of them' ": "He went into all the best things, that were in that great man, but so, that he perfected every one of them." See *The Life of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, 2nd ed. (1753), 7.

335. "Dr. John Campbell": The source for JH's account is *NGBD* (1784), 3:117–25. See Francis Espinasse, rev. M. J. Mercer, "John Campbell," in *ODNB*; and *ESTC* for a list of his works.

336. "Dr. John Hill": Hill received an M.D. degree from the University of St. Andrews in 1751 and in 1774 was awarded the Order of Vasa by Gustavus III, king of Sweden. The epigraph from *Romeo and Juliet* (5.1.37–40) appears on the title page of *A Letter from Henry Woodward, Comedian* (1752): "I do remember an Apothecary—— /——whom late I noted / In tatter'd Weeds—— / Culling of Simples.——" For Hill's altercation with Brown see *A Narrative of the Affair between Mr. Brown, and the Inspector, wherein All the Facts are Set in Their True Light, with Some Observations on the Inspector's Own Account of It* (1752). See Barry O'Connor, "John Hill," in *ODNB*; and *ESTC* for a list of his works.

337. "Batson's coffee-house": "At Batson's in Cornhill, the doctors used this stock-jobbers' haunt as a sort of city consulting-room, and here at noon each day, they would receive the wealthy merchants." It is described in the first number of the *Connoisseur* (January 1754). See Aytoun Ellis, *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffee-Houses* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1956), 125.

338. " 'Pamela' of Mr. Richardson": See n. 342 below.

339. "Henry Fielding": Fielding published *The History of the Adventures of Joseph An-*

*drews* in 1742, *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* in six volumes in 1749, and *Amelia* in four volumes in 1751. Andrew Millar paid Fielding £800 for the manuscript of *Amelia* (Battestin, *Henry Fielding*, 532). JH gives a popular, and simplified, interpretation of the philosophy of Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, and exaggerates its influence on Fielding (ibid., 6, 156, 455). For a brief overview of Shaftesbury's philosophy see Lawrence E. Klein, "Interpreting *Characteristics*," in "Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury," in *ODNB*; see also his edition of *Characteristics* (1711; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). JH, as a staunch Christian and a member of the Church of England, objected to Shaftesbury's skepticism of the claims for the Christian God and revealed religion, his anticlerical position, and his attempt to establish an ethical core based on human solidarity. For additional comments by JH on Shaftesbury's philosophy see 153–55 and 157 below. Trading: That trades in or makes a trade of something (e.g. a public office or position). The obsolete use of this word is entered in the *OED* as the authority of this passage. The second illustrative quotation is from Francis Grose's *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (3rd ed., 1796): Trading Justices, Broken mechanics, discharged footmen, and other low fellows, smuggled into the commission of the peace, who subsist by fomenting disputes, granting warrants, and otherwise retailing justice.

340. "Dr. Tobias Smollet": Smollett published *The Adventures of Roderick Random* in 1748 and *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* in 1751, which included "The Memoirs of a Lady of Quality," an account of Frances, Viscountess Vane, written by Smollett with materials supplied to him by Lady Vane. *The History of a Woman of Quality: or, the Adventures of Lady Frail. By an Impartial Hand* was probably written by Dr. John Hill, author, apothecary, and quack physician (see n. 336 above). See O M Brack, Jr., "Smollett and the Authorship of *The Memoirs of a Lady of Quality*," in *Tobias Smollett, Scotland's First Novelist: New Essays in Memory of Paul-Gabriel Boucé*, ed. O M Brack, Jr. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 35–73. Smollett edited and contributed to the *Modern Part of the Universal History* (1759–66). See Louis L. Martz, "Tobias Smollett and the *Universal History*," *Modern Language Notes* 59 (1941): 1–14. Among his translations are *The Adventures of Gil Blas* (1749) by Alain René Le Sage and *The Adventures of Telemachus, Son of Ulysses* (1776) by François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon. Although Smollett may have learned French at school, he taught himself Spanish, but, like most professional writers of the period, he consulted previous translations while making his own. For a discussion of Smollett's method of translating *Don Quixote* see Martin C. Battestin, "Authorship of Smollett's *Don Quixote*," *Studies in Bibliography* 50 (1997): 295–311; and *The History and Adventures of the Renowned Don Quixote*, trans. Tobias Smollett, introduction and annotations by Martin C. Battestin, with text ed. O M Brack, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), xxxiv–xxxvi. See also Leslie A. Chilton, "Smollett as Professional Translator," in Brack, *Tobias Smollett, Scotland's First Novelist*, 86–99.

341. "Jarvis's translation": Charles Jervas (spelled "Jarvis" on the title page), painter and friend of Pope, died in 1739. The translation was not published until 1742, with a second edition in 1749, and may well have been finished by the Reverend Thomas Broughton, Church of England clergyman and author. At the end of this paragraph Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins has written in the margin of her fist edition of the *Life*, now in the Hyde Collection: "This is hardly fair. My father had he understood Spanish would have spoken better of the work." She has a long note on this subject in Hawkins, *Memoirs*, 1:104.

342. "Richardson": Samuel Richardson published *Pamela: or Virtue Rewarded* in 1740, *Clarissa: or the History of a Young Lady* in seven volumes in 1747–48, and *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* in seven volumes in 1754. There is no surviving evidence that Richardson intended to extend *Clarissa* to twenty-four volumes; it sounds like a bookseller's joke that JH took literally. Some of his bookseller associates were concerned about the length of the novel, which eventually appeared in seven volumes of small type. At least the following booksellers were involved in the publication of the novel: J. Osborn, A. Millar, J. and J. Rivington, R. Dodsley, and J. Leake; it is not known with whom JH spoke. See T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 213, 219. Richardson printed Robert James's *Medicinal Dictionary* (1742–45), for which SJ wrote part of the proposals, the dedication, and a few articles, and he may have met Richardson then. Richardson contributed no. 97 for 19 February 1751 to the *Rambler* (ibid., 84, 332–39). SJ told JB that Richardson was one of the few friends he sought after (*Life*, 3:314). SJ thought highly of Richardson's novels. According to HLP, SJ used to say that "he believed no Combination could be found & few Sentiments, that might not be traced up to Homer Shakespeare & Richardson" ("Marginalia," 3:312).

343. "Laurence Sterne": *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* was published in nine volumes in 1760–67 and *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy, by Mr Yorick* in two volumes in 1768. SJ's comment on meeting Sterne is in *Works* (1787), 11:214.

344. "formalists": Formalist: One who practises external ceremony; one who prefers appearance to reality; one who seems what he is not (*Dictionary*).

345. "Psalmanaazar, George Sale, the above Dr. Campbell, and Mr. George Shelvocke": For George Psalmanazar see 329–30 below. George Sale, Orientalist, best known for his translation of the Koran (1734), contributed articles on Oriental history to *GD* and wrote the early chapters of the history of the world before the flood for *An Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time*, 7 vols. (1736–44). See Arnoud Vrolijk, "George Sale," in *ODNB*. For John Campbell see 129 above. George Shelvocke was the son of George Shelvocke, privateer and author (Jonathan Lamb, "George Shelvocke," in *ODNB*), whom he accompanied in a voyage around the world. The son was an author, historian, and secretary to the General Post Office, London.

346. "formed a club . . . beef-steak house, in Ivy-lane": Club: An assembly of good fellows, meeting under certain conditions (*Dictionary*). Most of what is known about what seems to be SJ's earliest club comes from JH. The Ivy-Lane Club (Rambler Club) met for supper every Tuesday evening at the King's Head, a beefsteak house kept by a Mr. Horseman in Ivy Lane, between Paternoster Row and Newgate Street. It was founded in the winter of 1748–49 and broke up in 1756, according to JH, although SJ implies in a letter to Hester Thrale of 13 December 1783 that it may have ceased in 1753 (*Letters*, 4:259). An account of the Ivy-Lane Club by James Sambrook appears in *ODNB*. (In the article "Samuel Johnson" by Pat Rogers, under "Themes" in the left margin, click on "Ivy Lane Club.") Biographies of all the members of the club except M'Ghie are in *ODNB*. See also 339–40 below.

347. "Dr. Hawkesworth": See *NGBD* (1784), 6:477–78. See 83 above and 152–53 and 186–87 below.

348. "Samuel Dyer": See also 255 below.

349. "Schultens": Albert Schultens, the friend and colleague of Herman Boerhaave,

whose eulogy, *Oratio academica in memoriam Hermanii Boerhaavii* (1738), served as the source for SJ's "Life of Boerhaave" (*Works* [1787], 4:329–57).

350. "life of Watts": SJ introduces this quotation with "it was observed by the late learned Mr. Dyer" that Watt "confounded" (*Lives*, 4:108–9; *Works* [1787], 4:186).

351. "whatever is, is right": Pope's *Essay on Man*, 1.294.

352. " 'Les Moeurs' ": *Les Moeurs*, written by François-Vincent Toussaint, appeared in an English translation in 1749. *Felicia to Charlotte*, 2 vols. (1744, 1749), was written not by Joseph Collyer but by his first wife, Mary. At this point Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins has written in the margin of her first edition of the *Life*: "I have a note on this." It remains unlocated. Next to the following paragraph beginning "Few who are acquainted with this book" she has written "?Deistical." See Thomas Cooper, rev. Joyce Fullard, "Joseph Collyer, the elder," and Joyce Fullard, "Mary Collyer," in *ODNB*; *ESTC*.

353. "phlegm": The watery humour of the body, which, when it predominates is supposed to produce sluggishness or dulness (sense 1 in *Dictionary*).

354. "Plutarch's lives by several hands": *Plutarch's Lives, Translated from the Greek by Several Hands*, 5 vols. (1683–86, 1693), with the dedication and the "Life of Plutarch" by John Dryden.

355. "Theism": JH seems to be using the term in the sense of a belief in a deity or deities as opposed to atheism but with a denial of revelation (*OED*).

356. "syrens . . . arts of Ulysses": An allusion to Odysseus stopping his ears with wax and having himself lashed to the mast to resist the voices of the Sirens in *Odyssey*, bk. 12.

357. "content to eat the bread of idleness": A good wife "looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness" (Proverbs 31:27).

358. "the funds": The stock of the national debt, considered as a mode of investment (*OED*).

359. "quinsey": A tumid inflammation in the throat, which sometimes produces suffocation (*Dictionary*). Tumid: Swelling; puffed up (sense 1 in *Dictionary*).

360. "lord Shaftesbury's philosophy": See n. 339 above.

361. " 'the Adventurer' ": Bathurst did not contribute to the *Adventurer.* See Robert DeMaria, Jr., "Richard Bathurst," in *ODNB*.

362. "put a period to an innocent and useful life": "The Havannah is taken; a conquest too dearly obtained; for, Bathurst died before it." Bennet Langton remembered SJ writing this in a letter to Topham Beauclerk (*Life*, 1:242). Bathurst died sometime before the battle ended on 12 August 1762 (*ODNB*).

363. "honour the physician": Ecclesiasticus 38: "1. Honour a physician with the honour due unto him for the uses which ye may have of him. . . . 2. For of the most High cometh healing, and he shall receive honour of the king. 3. The skill of the physician shall lift up his head: and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration. . . . 12. Then give place to the physician, for the Lord hath created him: let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him."

364. "fortune of physicians": See SJ's "Life of Akenside" (*Lives*, 4:172–73; *Works* [1787], 4:289).

365. "Batson's or Child's": For Batson's see n. 337 above. Child's Coffee-house in St. Paul's churchyard is where Mr. Spectator is having a pipe and overhearing the conversations at each table in Joseph Addison's *Spectator*, no. 1, 1 March 1711. In no. 556 for Friday,

18 June 1714, Addison refers to it as a Whig establishment. It was frequented by clergy, physicians, and members of the Royal Society. See John Timbs, *Curiosities of London* (London: John Camden Hotten, [1868]), 264.

366. "sentiments of Montaigne": Perhaps a reference to his antiphysician stance in, for example, "De l'experience" or "De la ressemblance des enfants aux père."

367. "lord Shaftesbury's remark": "*Gravity* is the Essence of Imposture." See Klein, *Characteristics*, 8.

368. "Hogarth's prints": See, for example, plate 5 of *A Harlot's Progress* (1732) and plate 6 of *Marriage à la Mode* (1745) in William Hogarth, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, ed. Ronald Paulson, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970), vol. 2, pl. 131 (cat. no. 125), pl. 273 (cat. no. 233), and Paulson's commentary, 1:148, 275.

369. "kennel coal": Cannel coal: A bituminous coal (in Scotland called *parrot-coal*), which burns with a very bright flame, and, from its richness in volatile matter, is much used in the manufacture of coal oils and gas: its texture is sufficiently compact and hard to allow of its being cut and polished like jet (*OED*).

370. "Duke's place": This was the site of the first synagogue built after Oliver Cromwell allowed the Jews to return to England. Originally built by Portuguese settlers in 1656, the Great Synagogue was built by German and Polish Jews in 1692. See Timbs, *Curiosities*, 228; *London Encyclopedia*, ed. Ben Weintraub and Christopher Hibbert (London: Macmillan, 1983).

371. "He had a son . . . licentiate": JH has given a good overview of Isaac Schomberg's altercations with the Royal College of Physicians. See also W. P. Courtney, rev. Edgar Samuel, "Isaac Schomberg," in *ODNB*; G. N. Clark, *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 2:547–62. Becoming a licentiate is a formal attestation of professional competence or of a certain degree of proficiency in some art from some collegiate or other examining body, in this case the Royal College of Physicians (*OED*). By midcentury no one could be admitted a fellow without obtaining a doctor of physic degree from one of the English universities and passing an examination in Latin. George Jeffreys (Jefferies), first Baron Jeffreys of Wem, became lord chancellor in 1685 and died in 1689.

372. "Swift somewhere calls . . . discretion": "*The Intelligencer* Numbers V and VII," in *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis, vol. 12, *Irish Tracts, 1728–1733* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1935), 39.

373. "Johnson has recorded of him": "Life of Akenside," in *Lives*, 4:171–75; *Works* (1787), 4:286–93.

374. "chariot": A lighter kind of coach with only front seats (sense 3 in *Dictionary*).

375. "Ballow": Henry Ballow published *A Treatise in Equity* anonymously in 1737. SJ told JB, "I learnt what I know of law from Mr. Ballow, a very able man" (*Life*, 3:22).

376. "splenetic": Troubled with the spleen; fretful; peevish (*Dictionary*).

377. "republican principles": Republican: adj. Placing the government in the people; n.s. One who thinks a commonwealth without monarchy the best government (*Dictionary*). On Akenside's republican principles see Robin Dix, *The Literary Career of Mark Akenside* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), 193–99.

378. "privilege of Thersites": Thersitical: like Thersites in language and address; abusive, reviling, scurrilous (*OED*). This is an allusion to the *Iliad*, 2.211–63.

379. "lives of the Gresham professors": The engraved view of Gresham College, home

of the Royal College of Physicians, is in John Ward, *The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College* (1740), 33.

380. "live peaceably with all men": An allusion to St. Paul's epistle to the Romans: "If it be possible, as much as lieth within you, live peaceably with all men" (12:18).

381. "late lord Holland": Henry Fox, first Baron Holland, statesman who died in 1774.

382. "Dr. Secker": The life prefaces *Sermons on Several Subjects*, ed. Beilby Porteus and George Stinton, 7 vols. (1770, 1771). See also Jeremy Gregory, "Thomas Secker," in *ODNB*.

383. "supper . . . with him it was a dinner": Dinner was the major meal of the day and was treated with some formality; supper, the last meal of the day, was usually light and less formal. Frances Burney described her daily routine in 1768: "We live here, generally speaking, in a very regular way.—we breakfast at 10, and rise as much before that as we please—we dine precisely at 2, drink tea about 6—and sup exactly at 9." See *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, vol. 1, *1768–1773*, ed. Lars E. Troide (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1988), 14. The dinner hour, however, gradually became later during the century. See 158 below, where JH says the dinner hour is "five or six."

384. "late adventurer in Scotland": Charles Edward (Charles Edward Stuart, styled Charles III, known as the Young Pretender, Bonnie Price Charlie), Jacobite claimant to the English, Scottish, and Irish thrones, attempted to raise a rebellion in the Highlands of Scotland in July 1745 and, after some initial success, was defeated at the battle of Culloden on 16 April 1746. Four peers were among 120 Jacobites who were executed in the aftermath of the rebellion.

385. " 'Study to be quiet' ": An allusion to St. Paul's first epistle to the Thessalonians: "And that ye study to be quiet and do your own business" (4:11).

386. "temerarious": Rash; heady; unreasonably adventurous; unreasonably contemptuous of danger (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); Careless; heedless; done at random (sense 2).

387. "In his essay . . . clergymen": "*The Intelligencer* Numbers V and VII," 41–45. See n. 372 above.

388. "Keill's 'Introduction,' Chamber's 'Dictionary' ": John Keill gave a course of lectures at Oxford on Newtonian natural philosophy, published as *Introductio ad veram physicam* (Oxford, 1702). Ephrain Chambers published his popular *Cyclopaedia, or, An Universal Dictionary of Art and Sciences* in 1728.

389. "characteristic": A distinctive mark, trait, or feature; a distinguishing or essential peculiarity or quality (*OED*).

390. "Dr. Waterland had foiled him": See, for example, Daniel Waterland's *The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity Asserted* (1734), and for an overview of the argument see B. W. Young, "Daniel Waterland," and Hugh de Quehen, "Richard Bentley," in *ODNB*.

391. "superstition": Unnecessary fear or scruples in religion; observance of unnecessary and uncommanded rites or practices; religion without morality (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); False religion; reverence of beings not proper objects of reverence; false worship (sense 3). Scruple: Doubt; difficulty of determination; perplexity: generally about minute things (sense 1 in *Dictionary*). On Tuesday, 20 November 1784, John Hoole reported SJ saying, "Scruples make many men miserable, but few men good" (*Journal*). For "enthusiasm" see nn. 222 and 270 above.

392. "cant of the Shaftesburian school": From the note below JH seems to have particularly in mind Shaftesbury's comments on "taste" in "Miscellany III" in *Characteristics* in which he says, his "design is to advance something new, or at least something different, from what is commonly current in philosophy and morals" (Klein, *Characteristics*, 404). In *Idler* 36, from which JH quotes below the final two paragraphs, SJ says, "There are men who seem to think nothing so much characteristick of a genius, as to do common things in an uncommon manner," adding that the men use "a style by which the most evident truths are so obscured that they can no longer be perceived, and the most familiar propositions so disguised that they cannot be known" (*YW*, 2:112, 113). Francis Hutcheson, professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow, published *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725), *Essay in the Nature and conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense* (1728), and, posthumously, *A System of Moral Philosophy in Three Books* (1755). Thomas Nettleton, M.D. and F.R.S., published *Some Thoughts Concerning Virtue and Happiness. In a Letter to a Clergyman* in 1729 and revised and expanded it for a fourth edition in 1757 as *A Treatise on Virtue and Happiness*. The best-known work of James Harris, philosopher and musical patron (and nephew of the third Earl of Shaftesbury, who greatly influenced him), was *Hermes, or, A Philosophical Inquiry Concerning Universal Grammar* (1751). On 3 November 1773 SJ called Harris "a coxcomb," and JB adds, by way of explanation, that SJ said this of him "not as a man, but as an authour." JB then admits that "there always appeared to me something of affectation in Mr. Harris's manner of writing; something of a habit of clothing plain thoughts in analytick and categorical formality" (*Life*, 5:377–78). For "coxcomb" see n. 310 above. JH's comments on Shaftesbury and what he considers Shaftesburians should be read with his comments on "humanity is the fashion" 313 below).

393. "'The author. . . . plain language'": *Idler* 36, Saturday, 23 December 1758 (*YW*, 2:114; *Works* [1787], 8:144–45). SJ takes his quotation from the posthumously published *Letters Concerning Mind. To Which is Added, A Sketch of Universal Arithmetic; Comprehending the Differential Calculus, and the Doctrine of Fluxions. By the late Reverend John Petvin, A.M. Vicar of Islington in Devon* (1750), 40.

394. "ridicule is the test of truth": SJ says of Mark Akenside: "He adopted Shaftesbury's foolish assertion of the efficacy of ridicule for the discovery of truth" ("Life of Akenside," in *Lives*, 4:172; *Works* [1787], 4:288). Shaftesbury advanced this view in *A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm* (1708), included in volume 1 of *Characteristics* (1711). See Klein, *Characteristics*, 7–12. The history of this idea is canvassed by Lonsdale in *Lives*, 4:470n. Ridicule: Wit of that species that provokes laughter. To ridicule: To expose to laughter; to treat with contemptuous merriment (*Dictionary*). See also Richard Terry, "'The Mirthful Sting': Akenside and the Eighteenth-Century Controversy over Ridicule," in *Mark Akenside: A Reassessment*, ed. Robin Dix (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000), 108–31.

395. "symposiarch": Symposiack: Related to merry makings; happening where company is drinking together (*Dictionary*). The master, director, or president of a symposium; the leader of a convivial gathering (*OED*), citing this passage.

396. "Rota club": In a note to SJ's "Life of Milton" JH, drawing on Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 2:591, describes the club, which began in fall 1659 under the direction of James Harrington, author of *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656): "The purpose of it was to settle the form of a common wealth, the model of which was a succession of magistrates

in rotation, to be selected by ballot, and continue in office for three years. At these meetings they debated political questions" (*Works* [1787], 2:118). See 166 below.

397. "'Mirth . . . repenting draws'": The quotation is from Milton's sonnet "To Cyriack Skinner," line 6.

398. "hebetude": Dulness; obtuseness; bluntness (*Dictionary*).

399. "mentioned by Cibber": Richard Tarlton (Tarleton), who died in 1588, was an actor and clown whose real life is difficult to separate from that of the hero of *Tarlton's Jests* (1611). See Peter Thomson, "Richard Tarlton," in *ODNB*; *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, Comedian* (1740) mentions comic actors of the late seventeenth century such as James Noke (Nokes), Anthony Leigh, and Cave Underhill.

400. "authors are treated by lord Shaftesbury": Although Shaftesbury was a great admirer of classical philosophy and literature, he also drew upon modern philosophers such as Locke and Hobbes as well as moderate English churchmen such as Jeremy Taylor and Henry More. See Klein, "Interpreting *Characteristics*." Shaftesbury does not draw on the essayists JH mentions below.

401. "ephemeron": The insect, which, in its winged state, lives but a day; figuratively, a short-lived person, institution, or production (*OED*).

402. "fop . . . as Cibber describes it": Cibber says, "The *Beaux* of those Days [1695], were of quite different Cast, from the modern Stamp, and had more of the Stateliness of the Peacock in their Mien" (*Apology*, 214).

403. "methodism": Methodist: One of a new kind of puritans lately arisen, so called from their profession to live by rules and consistent method (sense 2 in *Dictionary*).

404. "rout": A fashionable gathering or assembly; a large evening party or gathering (*OED*). SJ reveals his attitude toward such gatherings in *Dictionary*: A clamorous multitude; a rabble; a tumultuous croud (sense 1); To route: *v.n.* To assemble in clamorous and tumultuous crouds.

405. "St. James's chapel": Services at the chapel in St. James's Palace were at eight o'clock and noon on Sundays. Services were attended by George III when he was in residence (Timbs, *Curiosities*, 140–41).

406. "deists . . . infidels": Deist: A man who follows no particular religion but only acknowledges the existence of God, without any other article of faith. Infidel: An unbeliever; a miscreant; a pagan; one who rejects Christianity (*Dictionary*).

407. "Bangorian controversy": The controversy began when Benjamin Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, preached his sermon "The Nature of the Kingdom, or Church, of Christ" on 31 March 1717, in which he stated that Christ was the "Sole *Law-giver* to his Subjects, and Sole *Judge*, in matters relating to Salvation" and that He had "left behind Him, no visible, humane *Authority*; no *Vicegerents*, who can be said properly to supply his Place; no *Interpreters*, upon whom his Subjects are absolutely to depend; no *Judges* over the Consciences or Religion of his People." Rewards and punishments belonged to a future state and were not temporal; to think so, Hoadley argued, was "to act contrary to the Interests of True Religion." See *The Works of Benjamin Hoadley, D.D.*, ed. J. Hoadley, 3 vols. (1773), 2:409, 404, 406–7; Stephen Taylor, "Benjamin Hoadley," in *ODNB*.

408. "Free-thinking": Free-thinker: A libertine; a contemner of religion (*Dictionary*). In 1713 Anthony Collins published *A Discourse of Free-thinking, Occasioned by the Rise and Growth of a Sect Call'd Free-thinkers*, and Richard Bentley replied in his *Remarks upon a Late Discourse of Free-thinking* (Davis, *Life*, 291n4). See n. 175 above.

409. "Mrs. Cornelys": (Anna Maria) Teresa Cornelys (née Imer, married name Pompenti, known as Madame Trenti and Mrs. Smith), singer and impresario who organized subscription balls, concerts, and masquerades at Carlisle House, Soho Square. She died impoverished in Fleet Prison in 1797.

410. "riots in 1780": Gordon Riots were from 2 to 8 June 1780 and did much damage in London. They began when Lord George Gordon, president of the Protestant Association, presented a petition to Parliament objecting to recent concessions to the Roman Catholics. The protest quickly grew out of hand, troops had to be called, and order was restored with great difficulty.

411. "Almighty God. . . . Amen": The prayer must have been written shortly before 20 March 1750, when the first number of the *Rambler* appeared (*YW*, 1:43).

412. "Mr. Addison . . . 'Spectators' ": *Spectator* 46, Monday, 23 April 1711.

413. "Johnson's 'Adversaria' ": JB, who also reproduces passages from SJ's notebooks on reading, claims that JH has incorrectly transcribed some words in these passages, but it is now impossible to know the extent, as the notebooks are unlocated. See *Life*, 1:204–8.

414. "life of Addison . . . Poets' ": The remark by Bernard Mandeville appears in *Lives*, 3:21; *Works* (1787), 3:82.

415. "two most excellent papers . . . legacy-hunting": *Rambler* 197, Tuesday, 4 February 1752, and 198, Saturday, 8 February 1752 (*YW*, 5:261–70; *Works* [1787], 7:327–28). The Latin above is from the closing line of an epigram that begins "Vive et amicitias omnes fuge" (Live and flee all friendships); SJ probably would found it attributed to Seneca, though the authorship is now in dispute. It may be translated as "Live your own life, for you die your own death." In *A Sermon Preach'd before His Majesty King George at his Royal Chapel of St. James's on Sunday February 3. 1716/17* (1717) Richard Bentley compares "vive tibi, nam moriere tibi" with the text of his sermon, Romans 14:7: "For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself." The epigram was included in *Anthologia veterum latinorum epigrammatum et poematum*, ed. Peter Burmann the Second, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1759, 1773), 1:310.

416. "Stage Coach . . . 'Adventurer,' Number 84": Saturday, 25 August 1753 (*YW*, 2:406–11; *Works* [1787], 9:54–61). The epigraph for the essay is from Horace *Satires* 2.7.73–74: "Tolle periclum, / Jam vaga prosiliet fraenis natura remotis." SJ includes a translation from Philip Francis: "But take the danger and the shame away, / And vagrant nature bounds upon her prey." The phrase "dixit quaedam" means "a certain woman said" or, depending on context, "some woman said." For writers for bread see *Adventurer*, no. 115, Tuesday, 11 December 1753, where SJ says, "The present age, if we consider chiefly the state of our own country, may be stiled with great propriety The Age of Authors; for, perhaps, there never was a time, in which men of all degrees of ability, of every kind of education, of every profession and employment, were posting with ardour so general to the press." See also no. 137 for Tuesday, 26 February 1754, and no. 138 for Saturday, 2 March 1754 (*YW*, 2:457–61, 490–97; *Works* [1787], 9:116–22, 152–61). In the footnote "Quid expedivit Psittacus" is a misquotation from Persius, prologue to his *Satires* line 8 (probably an error by JH rather than SJ), that should read "Quis expedivit psittaco suum chaere" (Who coaxed the greeting from the parrot). The whole passage in Persius is relevant to SJ's essay. Persius says that it was the parrot's stomach—he did it for food. Persius further suggests that he is writing for money, not for fame. JB is correct in suggesting that the Latin from Thuanus (Jacques Auguste de Thou) below should be

"fami non famae scribere" (to write for hunger, not for fame). See *Historia*, 62.5 (1733), 3:61. The French should read "Degouté de fame, et affamé d'argent" (*Life*, 1:208n1), "sick of fame, hungry for money." The allusion to Roscommon is from *An Essay on Translated Verse*:

> I pity from my Soul, Unhappy Men,
> Compell'd by *Want* to *Prostitute* their Pen;
> Who must, like *Lawyers*, either *starve* or *plead*,
> And *follow*, right or wrong, where *Guineas lead*,
> But you, *Pompilian, wealthy, pamper'd Heirs*,
> Who to your *Country* owe your *Swords* and *Cares*,
> Let no vain hope your easie Mind seduce,
> For *Rich Ill Poets* are without *Excuse*.

See *Poems by the Earl of Roscommon* (1717), 37. For John Gay's failure to find a place see *Lives*, 3:98. The notes from "Adversaria" at the bottom of the page are not included in a single essay, but a number can be found scattered among the essays on authors and authorship SJ wrote for the *Rambler*, *Idler*, and *Adventurer*. SJ thought of translating Thuanus. See n. 671 below.

417. "sale of the paper": Surviving evidence suggests that the folio first edition of the *Rambler* did not have a great sale, and the five hundred copies mentioned later by JH (174) seem a reasonable size for the printing. The essays reached a wider audience when they were reprinted in contemporary newspapers and magazines. The collected *Rambler* went through numerous editions in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin in SJ's lifetime. There is no evidence for the Russian translation mentioned below (175). See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:196–230.

418. "tumidity": Tumid: Pompous, boastful; puffy; falsely sublime (sense 3 in *Dictionary*).

419. "precatory": Of, pertaining to, the nature of, or expressing treaty or supplication; *OED* cites this passage.

420. "'middle style'": SJ devotes a paragraph to describing the "middle style" in the "Life of Addison" (*Lives*, 3:38; *Works* [1787], 3:110). "Mediocrist" is not in *Dictionary* but is defined in *OED* as a person of mediocre talents or ability; (occas.) a person who takes the middle course. The first illustrative quotation is from SJ's "Life of Hughes," and the second is this passage. SJ is quoting Swift's letter to Pope of 3 September 1735. Swift had actually written "mediocribus," alluding to Horace's *Ars Poetica* (l. 372). The reading was later corrected in Swift's letter, but SJ probably thought the word "was a coinage by Swift." See Lonsdale's commentary in *Lives*, 3:42, 283–84.

421. "four that were not of his own writing": Five essays were contributed by others. To JH's list should be added the following numbers: 10 written by Hester Mulso, later Mrs. Chapone; the second letter in 15, written by David Garrick; and a letter signed "Amicus" in 107, contributed by Joseph Simpson. See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:196.

422. "Chesterfield . . . social intercourse": See, for example, Letter 212 of *Letters to His Son* (3:119–23) mentioned in n. 303 above.

423. "'To give . . . nation'": The quotation is from Swift's "The Grand Question Debated," lines 161–62. The history of the text for this poem is complex. Another reading for the second line is "The army's the only good school in the nation." See *Jonathan*

*Swift: The Complete Poems*, ed. Pat Rogers (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983), 385, 796–98.

424. "criticism, both preceptive and corrective": Preceptive: Containing precepts; giving precepts (*Dictionary*). Precept: A rule authoritatively given; a mandate; a commandment; a direction (*Dictionary*). Corrective: Having the power to alter or obviate any bad qualities (*Dictionary*). To correct: To emend; to take away faults, in writing, life, and things (sense 2 in *Dictionary*). For Knolles's *History* see *Rambler* 122, and for Milton's *Samson Agonistes* see *Rambler* 139 and 140 (*YW*, 4:290, 371–76, 377–83). JH, even though he included the *Rambler* in the *Works* (1787), did not reexamine it carefully, as there are criticisms of a number of authors and their works, including *Paradise Lost*, for example, in 86, 88, 90, and 94 (*YW*, 4:88–93, 99–104, 109–15, 137–43). For SJ's comments on Milton's style see "Life of Milton" (*Lives*, 1:250–51, 293; *Works* [1787], 2:99, 173).

425. " 'a tragedy . . . applauded' ": For "a tragedy" read "the tragedy" (*YW*, 4:376). See also "Life of Milton" (*Lives*, 1:292–93; *Works* [1787], 2:172).

426. "Lauder": William Lauder's charges that Milton in his *Paradise Lost* had plagiarized from certain neo-Latin writers had first appeared in a series of five articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* between January and August 1747. These articles were revised and expanded for his *Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise Lost*, published on 14 December 1749 but dated 1750 on the title page. Even before all of Lauder's five installments appeared, scholars were attacking his falsification of evidence, but the full exposé came from John Douglas in *Milton Vindicated*, published on 26 November 1750 but dated 1751. Two days later the booksellers John Payne and Joseph Bouquet placed an advertisement in the newspapers, explaining that they had been deceived and denouncing Lauder's book as "a masterpiece of fraud." To the unsold copies of Lauder's work was added a "New Preface by the Booksellers," in which the booksellers apologized and explained how they had been deceived shortly after adding a "New Postscript." SJ, insisting that Lauder make a full confession, dictated a retraction that was published as *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Douglas, Occasioned by his Vindication of Milton* (1751), signed: "*Dec.* 20, 1750. WILLIAM LAUDER." Lauder, however, contradicted almost everything SJ had to say in a postscript. See Michael Marcuse, " 'The Scourge of Imposters, the Terror of Quacks': John Douglas and the Exposé of William Lauder," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 42 (1979): 231–61; Clifford, *Dictionary Johnson*, 57–70; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:320–21.

427. " 'the folly of mankind . . . twenty lines' ": "New Preface by the Booksellers," ii.

428. " 'Candour and tenderness. . . . atonement' ": *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Douglas*, 3–4.

429. " 'About ten years ago. . . . jealousy' ": Ibid., 12–14, which contains the concluding paragraph below.

430. " 'As for his [Milton's] . . . laurels' ": *King Charles I. Vindicated* (1754), 64.

431. " 'An immediate application. . . . parallel!' ": *Milton No Plagiary* (1756), 82–83. It had appeared earlier in "New Preface by the Booksellers," ii–iii.

432. "Mrs. Lenox": The celebration probably took place in the spring or autumn of 1750. See Duncan Isles, "Johnson and Charlotte Lennox," *New Rambler* (June 1967): 42 and n. 31. Many years later Lennox recalled the celebration differently. See *Early Biographies*, 272–73.

433. " 'that from the symptoms . . . faculties' ": On his return from Oxford in Decem-

ber 1729 SJ prepared a statement of his case in Latin and gave it to Dr. Samuel Swinfen or Swynfen, M.D., his godfather (*Life*, 1:64–65; *Gleanings*, 5:26). The quotation is untraced, but JH may have received it from Elizabeth Desmoulins, Swinfen's daughter, or Edmund Hector.

434. "ebriety": Drunkenness; intoxication by strong liquors (*Dictionary*).

435. " 'I have never. . . . dignity' ": *Rambler* 208, Saturday, 14 March 1752 (*YW*, 5:316; *Works* [1787], 7:393).

436. "Russian language": See n. 417 above.

437. " 'I have laboured. . . . writers' ": Both editions of the *Life* have "grammar and purity" for "grammatical purity" (*YW*, 5:318–19; *Works* [1787], 7:395; Davis, *Life*, 292n15).

438. " 'The essays. . . . last reward' ": *YW*, 5:320; *Works* (1787), 7:396–97.

439. "letter T. by Johnson": The papers signed "A" were written by Bonnell Thornton. See *YW*, 2:323–36; Robert DeMaria, Jr., "Richard Bathurst," in *ODNB*.

440. "Dr. Warton's remarks": Dr. Joseph Warton's remarks on *King Lear* and *The Tempest* appear in *Adventurer* 93, 97, 113, 116, 122.

441. "Admirable Crichton": SJ's account of James Crichton appears in *Adventurer* 81, Tuesday, 14 August 1753 (*YW*, 2:402–5). Since JH quotes it in his *Life*, which is the first volume of the 1787 *Works*, he omits it from among the *Adventurer* essays in volume 9. See the following note.

442. "Sir Thomas Urquhart": For the quotations from *Ekskubalauron, or, The Discovery of a most Exquisite Jewel* (1652) see 104–12, 146–47, and from *Pantochronochanon, or, A Peculiar Promptuary of Time* (1652), his family genealogy, see 6, 7–8, 9. These were reprinted as *Tracts of the Learned and Celebrated Antiquarian Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty* (Edinburgh, 1774). *Ekskubalauron* is a vindication of Scottish heroism against the malignancy of presbyterianism "by running through all the eminent Scots Urquhart could remember or invent." See David Reid, "Prose after Knox," in *The History of Scottish Literature*, ed. C. Craig, vol. 1, *Origins to 1660*, ed. R. D. S. Jack (1988), 183–98, esp. 195. See R. D. S. Jack, "Sir Thomas Urquhart," in *ODNB*.

443. "Mr. Pennant": Thomas Pennant published two accounts of his tours to Scotland: *A Tour in Scotland, 1769* (Chester, 1771) and *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides, 1772*, 2 vols. (Chester, 1774, 1776). The account of Crichton was included in the 1769 *Tour* only in the third edition. See *Additions to the Quarto Edition of the Tour of Scotland, MDCCLXIX, And the New Appendix Reprinted for the Accommodation of the Purchasers of the First and Second Editions* (1774), 86–103. Pennant claims in the head note that "this compilation was some years ago printed in *Aberdeen*" and that he has only checked the authorities and added a few notes, concluding, "the life . . . may be found in the 81st Number of the *Adventurer*, treated in a more elegant, but far less comprehensive manner" (86). See J. H. Burns, "James Crichton," in *ODNB*.

444. "Johnson . . . did not himself write it": That is, SJ summarizes the accounts in Urquart's *Ekskubalauron, or, The Discovery of a most Exquisite Jewel* (1652), 81 ff., and George Mackenzie's *Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation* (1722), 3:198–207. SJ revised his account for the second edition.

445. "But Hawkesworth . . . archbishop": See Abbott, 28–46. Hawkesworth was awarded the degree of doctor of laws on 3 December 1756. As JH makes clear below, "doctor of both laws" refers to civil and canon law (see n. 46 above). Lambeth was the palace of the archbishop of Canterbury in London. *Corpus Justinius Civilis*, a uniform

rewriting of Roman law under the emperor Justinian I, is still the basis of civil law in many states. The *Corpus Juris Canonici*, or corpus of canon law, is a set of six compilations of law in the Roman Catholic Church that, until superseded in 1917, had provided the chief source of ecclesiastical legislation since the Middle Ages. The "constitution" of Archbishop John Peccham can be found in Bishop William Lyndewood's *Provincale* (1434) and Bishop Edmund Gibson's *Codex juris ecclesiastici Anglicum* (1713). The Latin may be translated: "No one may be an advocate before he has attended to the laws [i.e., been instructed in them] for three years." Doctors' Commons: The common table and dining-hall of the Association or College of Doctors of Civil Law in London; hence, the buildings occupied and used by these as an incorporated Society, to the south of St. Paul's Cathedral. The Society was formed in 1509, by civilians entitled to plead in the Court of Arches. In 1768 they were incorporated under the name of "the College of Doctors of Laws [of Oxford and Cambridge] exercent in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts." In the buildings of Doctors' Commons were held five courts, viz. the Court of Arches, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Court of Faculties or Dispensations, Consistory Court, and High Court of Admiralty; the business included all matters of ecclesiastical law, prosecutions for heresy, divorce suits, licences for marriage, testamentary affairs, Admiralty and Prize cases, etc. (*OED*).

446. "loss of his wife": Elizabeth Johnson died on 17 March 1752 Old Style and was buried on 26 March. SJ did not attend his wife's funeral but composed a sermon for it that was never preached (*YW*, 14:xx, 261–71; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1736). SJ wrote the epitaph for his wife in the summer of 1784: "Here lie the remains of Elizabeth, of the ancient family of the Jarvises, born at Peatling in Leicestershire. Beautiful, refined, talented, pious, by her first marriage she was the wife of Henry Porter, by her second, of Samuel Johnson, who, having loved her greatly and long wept over her loss, covered her with this stone. She died at London in March 1753." "Formosae" means beautiful. The 1753 date of death in the epitaph is SJ's error (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1564–66). For books associated with his wife see n. 209 above.

447. "entertained a romantic passion": The source for such information may be Edmund Hector, SJ's schoolfellow and lifelong friend, but it is uncertain to whom JH refers.

448. "Molly Aston": Mary "Molly" Aston, one of eight daughters of Sir Thomas Aston, Baronet, was born on 25 December 1706, married Captain David Brodie on 31 May 1753, and died about 1765 without issue. HLP says that "when Mr. Thrale once asked him what had been the happiest period of his past life? he replied, 'it was that year in which he spent one whole evening with Molly Aston. That indeed (said he) was not happiness, it was rapture; but the thoughts of it sweetened the whole year' " (*Anecdotes*, 255). This evening was probably during SJ's visit to Lichfield during late 1739 and early 1740. The portrait of Molly Aston is reproduced from the frontispiece to volume 6 of *Gleanings*. An extensive search has failed to locate the original.

449. " 'Methought . . . espoused saint' ": This is the first line and the title of Milton's sonnet either to his first wife, Mary Powell, who died in May 1652, or, more likely, his second wife, Katherine Woodcock, who died in February 1658. In the sonnet Milton describes a beautiful dream vision of his wife in heaven. SJ thinks it was written for his second wife and in the "Life of Milton" states that "her husband has honoured her memory with a poor sonnet" (*Lives*, 1:256; *Works* [1787], 2:109).

450. "Kitty Fisher": Catherine Maria Fischer (married name Norris) was born in 1741 and from 1758 until 1763 was one of the top courtesans in London and much in the public eye. She was painted four times by Sir Joshua Reynolds, but SJ seems not to have met her. She married John Norris in 1766 and died in 1767. See the account by Cindy McCreery in *ODNB*. A number of stories have survived about Laïs and Demosthenes, but none seems to fit this context.

451. "picture and the subject . . . represent": JH exaggerates the effects of SJ's shortsightedness. He was certainly capable of enjoying landscape when he wished. See, for example, his comments on his visit to Dovedale (16 July) and Hawkstone Park (25 July 1774; *YW*, 1:168–69, 174–75). Whatever difficulties SJ may or may not have had with seeing the resemblance between the landscape and representations of it, he was certainly capable of appreciating portraits, the prints made from them, and the resemblance of them to their subjects. In a letter to Frances Reynolds of 19 October 1779 SJ asks her to "buy for me the prints of Mr. Burke, Mr. Dyer, and Dr. Goldsmith, as You know a good impression. If any of your own pictures be engraved buy them for me. I am fitting a little room with prints." See also his letter to Hester Thrale of 15 October 1778, where he expresses the wish that Elizabeth Robinson Montagu will give him a copy of a print of herself, which she graciously did (*Letters*, 3:192, 126–27). *Sale Catalogue* has twelve lots containing well over one hundred portraits, many framed and glazed. The print of Mrs. Montagu was lot 662. See J. D. Fleeman, ed., *The Sale Catalogue: A Facsimile Edition* (Vancouver, B.C.: University of Victoria, 1975), 64. See Brownell for a thorough analysis of SJ's complex attitudes toward pictures and prints (37–104).

452. "noted in the life of Barretier": "With regard to common Life, he had some Peculiarities. He could not bear Musick, . . . nor relieved his Studies with any other Diversion than that of Walking and Conversation" (*Early Biographical Writings*, 187–88). SJ's supposed antipathy to music is not borne out by the *Dictionary*, for example, where music is defined as "The science of harmonical sounds" (sense 1) and has as the first illustrative quotation the famous passage from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, "The man that hath no musick in himself, / Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds, / Is fit for treasons" (5.1.83–85). Brownell comments on this passage and others alleging SJ's prejudice against music and concludes that he "belonged to the group of those born with a susceptibility, though ignorant of the science of music" (9–34, esp. 16). SJ frequently comments on music and poetry. See, for example, the index to *Lives* (4:591), s.v. "metre, music of." The "Life of Barretier," in the 1787 *Works* (4:461–71), is only the first portion from the December 1740 *GM*, with none of the material SJ added later. For the quotation about music JH would have needed the supplement to the life in the May 1742 *GM* or the 1744 pamphlet version. Both the *GM* and the pamphlet versions appear in volume 19 of *YW*, forthcoming. See n. 214 above, and Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:55, 58, 83, 110–11.

453. "evils of human life . . . enjoyments of it": See, for example, *Rasselas*: "Human life is every where a state in which much is to be endured, and little to be enjoyed" (*YW*, 16:50; *Works* [1787], 11:36).

454. "grain levigated": Grain: The smallest weight, of which in physick twenty make a scruple, and in Troy weight twenty-four make a pennyweight; a grain so named because it is supposed of equal weight with a grain of corn (*Dictionary*); To levigate: To rub or grind to an impalpable powder (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); to mix till the liquor be-

comes smooth and uniform (sense 2). JH is concerned enough about SJ's use of opium to return to it three more times (273, 324, 354). "There are ample reasons for accepting the accuracy of Hawkins's perception of Johnson of what now would be called an opium addict." See Tim Arthur and Steven Calt, "Opium and Samuel Johnson," *Age of Johnson* 17 (2006): 85–99, esp. 87.

455. "memoirs of Abbate Steffani": In spite of JH's hurt feelings and protests, he accepted some of SJ's corrections in *Memoirs of the Life of Sig. Agostino Steffani* (1758). There are signs of SJ's hand, especially in the opening and closing paragraphs but in other places as well. See Davis, *Proof,* 64. It is included in an appendix to volume 20 of *YW,* forthcoming. JH revised, corrected, and extended the account of Steffani when he included it in *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776), 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1963), 2:665–73.

456. "Zachariah Williams": Williams was evicted from the Charterhouse on 23 May 1748, causing many of his possessions, including books and mathematical instruments, to be damaged or lost. Among his offenses was that his daughter had lived with him for the past two years. He had been in the Charterhouse since 1729 and had been bedridden since 1745. He published *A True Narrative of Certain Circumstance Relating to Zachariah Williams, an Aged and Very Infirm Poor Brother Pensioner, in Sutton's, Royal Hospital, the Charterhouse* (1749). SJ assisted him and his daughter, Anna, who became companion to Tetty Johnson. See W. P. Courtney, rev. Patricia Fara, "Zachariah Williams," in *ODNB*.

457. "written . . . by Johnson": JB says that SJ, "having made himself master of his principles and experiments, wrote for him a pamphlet" (*Life*, 1:301–2); the attribution is beyond doubt (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:406–8).

458. "Of his daughter": See Laetitia-Mathilda Hawkins's fond recollections of Anna Williams in *Memoirs*, 1:151–53. JH and his family watched over Anna Williams when SJ was away at Streatham Park with the Thrales (n. 575 below). See also William R. Jones, "Anna Williams," in *ODNB*.

459. "inspissated": To inspissate: To thicken; to make thick (*Dictionary*).

460. "'Life of the emperor Julian'": *The Life of the Emperor Julian; trans. From the French and improved, with coins, notes, and genealogical tables* (1746). For the Misses Wilkinson, who assisted Anna Williams with the translation, see *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 2:171–72, 174–75. See also Nichols, 2:178–84; *Early Biographies*, 42 and n. 44. The benefit performance of Voltaire's *Mérope* took place on 22 January 1756. See Jones, "Anna Williams," in *ODNB*.

461. "volume of miscellanies in prose and verse": Proposals for Anna Williams's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* were issued in *GM* 20 (September 1750): "323" [= 432], then in 1762, with the volume finally appearing in 1766. SJ was responsible for the proposals and contributed poems and "The Fountain" to the volume (Hazen, 213–16; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:319, 2:1037–38, 1139–42).

462. "experimental prudence": Experimental: Built upon experience; formed by observation (sense 1 in *Dictionary*); Known by experiment or trial (sense 2). Prudence: Wisdom applied to practice (*Dictionary*).

463. "loss of his friend Cave": Edward Cave died on 10 January 1754; SJ wrote an obituary and a life. See *GM* 23 (1753): last page of index; *GM* 24 (February 1754): 55–58; *Early Biographical Writings*, 9, 407–10; *Works* (1787), 4:521–30; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:404–5.

464. "Carthusian": A member of the austere order of monks founded by St. Bruno in 1084 (*OED*). The monks live cut off from the outside world and mostly in solitude.

465. "Magliabechi": Earlier JH mentions Spence's account (n. 51). He is included in a number of the biographical dictionaries and turns up in other works as an example of the otherworldly scholar who cares little about personal comfort, including cleanliness. In the "Life of Pope" SJ says, "His weakness made it very difficult for him to be clean" (*Lives*, 4:55; *Works* [1787], 91).

466. "'That having perused . . . visit from him'": *The Diary of the Late George Bubb Dodington, Baron of Melcombe Regis: from March 8, 1748–9, to February 6, 1761. With an Appendix Containing some Curious and Interesting Papers, . . . Now First Published from His Lordship's Original Manuscripts* by Henry Penruddocke Wyndham (Salisbury and London, 1784). Dodington was created Baron of Melcombe in 1761. In *The Political Journal of George Bubb Dodington*, ed. John Carswell and L. A. Draper (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), the editors suggest that Dodington may have dined with SJ at Lord Vere Poulett's on Sunday, 7 January 1750, and tried to solicit SJ as a journalist (35, xiii). For Dodington's invitation to SJ see Nichols, 5:38; and Edward Cave's letter to Samuel Richardson of 23 August 1750 (*Correspondence*, ed. Anna Letitia Barbauld [1804], 1:169). *Rambler* 14, Saturday, 5 May 1750, may be a response to this invitation (*YW*, 3:78; *Works* [1787], 5:93). In the "Life of Thomson" SJ praises Dodington as "a reader eminently elegant" (*Lives*, 4:103; *Works* [1787], 4:175), suggesting that, if he had not spent time in Dodington's company, he had received some favorable report.

467. "Dr. Edward Young": Young had known Dodington at Winchester and Oxford. James E. May, bibliographer of Young, says that none of the dedications to the satires and only some to *Night Thoughts* were omitted by Young. For Dodington's relationship with Young see a letter in Herbert Croft's "Life of Young" (*Lives*, 4:157–58; *Works* [1787], 4:264–66).

468. "learned from the 'Dunciad'": The final sentence of Pope's note on James Ralph reads: "He ended at last in the common Sink of all such writers, a Political News-paper . . . and receiv'd a small pittance for pay." See *The Dunciad* (1728), 3.159–60, (1742), 1.216, 3.165–66. See Valerie Rumbold's note to 3.165–66 in her edition: *The Dunciad in Four Books* (London: Longman, 1999), 238–39.

469. "'I from my soul . . . state'": "I from my Soul sincerely hate / Both —— and M——rs of State" is taken from Swift's "To Stella, Visiting Me in My Sickness": "What indignation in her mind / Against enslavers of mankind! / Base kings and ministers of state, / Eternal objects of her hate" (ll. 61–64; Rogers, *Jonathan Swift*, 202). Whitehead published *The State Dunces: A Satire* in 1733 and *Manners: A Satire* in 1739.

470. "*quoad*": To the extent, as regards, with respect to (*OED*).

471. "'Craftsman,' were men of this character": For the *Craftsman* see nn. 161 and 196 above. Samuel Strutt's *Philosophical Enquiry* had appeared in 1732. For Clarke and Leibnitz on freedom of the will see n. 175 above.

472. "'Scarcely . . . undertakes to teach'": The quotation is from the preface to Richard Rolt's *A New Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* (1756). See *Works* (1787), 9:422; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:670–73. The London clergyman is unidentified.

473. "'To Mr. Stephen G——bbs. . . . and all friends'": The letter is to the Reverend Mr. Stephen Gibbs at Wymondham, Norfolk, from Tinckler Ducket, who was admitted sizar at Caius College, Cambridge, on 9 October 1727, later became a fellow, was

tried for atheism on 9 March 1738, and was expelled. The blanks in the letter should be filled in with Bob Pate, Votier (?), William Bale, and Windle. Ducket was still "living [in] 1773, when he is described as at Venice, lately residing in Constantinople." See *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 71. There is a copy of the letter among the papers of the Reverend William Cole (BL Add. MS. 5822 fols. 90–94). Cole, a friend of Horace Walpole, furnished friends with materials from his manuscript collection, which he bequeathed to the British Museum (John D. Pickle, "William Cole," in *ODNB*).

474. "exhibited a procession": According to James Sambrook, "Whitehead achieved more public notice when, on 9 March 1741, he and Esquire Carey, surgeon to the prince of Wales, organized a mock Masonic procession along the Strand. The joke was repeated the following year and in both years was the subject of satirical prints" ("Paul Whitehead," in *ODNB*). See F. G. Stephens and M. D. George, eds., *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, Division I: Political and Personal Satires* (1877), 3:387–89.

475. "Teresia Constantia Phillips . . . work of Paul": Whitehead had to have written *An Apology for the Conduct of Mrs. Teresia Constantia Phillips*, 3 vols. ([1748]–49) with materials supplied by Phillips; the extent of his contribution is undetermined. His defense of Admiral the Honourable John Byng before his court martial for demonstrating lack of courage and thus losing Minorca to the French is thought to be *A Letter to a Member of Parliament in the Country from his friend in London Relative to the Case of Admiral Byng: With Some Original Papers and Letters Which passed during the Expedition* (1756). It was reviewed by SJ. See *YW*, 10:218, 241.

476. "Dr. Thompson": This digression on Thomas Thompson may have been suggested to JH by SJ's account of Paul Whitehead's *An Epistle to Dr. Thompson* (1755) in his "Life of Pope" (*Lives*, 4:51; *Works* [1787], 4:85). Frederick II, king of Prussia, styled "the Great," was frequently in the news at the time. SJ wrote "The Memoir of the King of Prussia" for the *Literary Magazine* (1756–57). See *Early Biographical Writings*, 475–93; *Works* (1787), 4:531–80; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:678–90. For Thompson see Robert Adams Day, "When Doctors Disagree: Smollett and Thomas Thompson," *Études Anglaises* 32 (1979): 312–24; and O M Brack, Jr., "Tobias Smollett's Authorship of *Habbakkuk Hilding* (1752)," *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*, n.s. 20, no. 3 (September 2006): 5–17.

477. "A son of a friend of mine": Unidentified.

478. " 'I never . . . did nothing' ": Perhaps JH, otherwise unidentified.

479. " 'God for any thing' ": JH could have found this anecdote in the first edition of Tyers in *GM* 54, pt. 2 (December 1784): 910, or in the second edition (*Early Biographies*, 84–85); there is no evidence for notes being exchanged. SJ's *Dictionary* was published on 15 April 1755. See n. 285 above.

480. "specimen of a fine Latin style":

> To the Very Reverend G. Huddesford, S.T.P., most worthy Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.
>
> I should certainly seem ungrateful, both to you and to myself, if I did not convey to you by means of a letter (though nothing is more trifling) the great joy I felt from the honor that the university senate (with you, I believe, proposing the mo-

> tion) has recently conferred upon me. Ungrateful still should I seem if I failed to acknowledge and to praise the courtesy with which that excellent man gave into my hands the evidence of your affection for me. If there is any way in which the agreeableness of such a welcome occurrence can be increased, I am even more pleased that I have been newly admitted to the academic ranks at a time when men marked by subtlety rather than acuity are trying in every way to diminish your authority and to damage the reputation of Oxford; I have always opposed such men (insofar as one can who lives out of the public eye) and always shall. Whoever shall fail either you or the university in these stormy times will, I think, fail virtue and letters, himself and posterity.

The manuscript for this letter is in the Hyde Collection and is published in *Letters*, 1:98–99. Above the line of address to Huddesford is "Londini 4to Cal. Mart. 1755," and it is endorsed "Sam. Johnson, 26 Feb. 55." It is also reprinted in *Life*, 1:282, with a note by G. B. Hill that attempts to explain the passage about men seeking to damage the reputation of Oxford University. The punctuation differs between the three texts with the following substantive variants: JH "Oxoniae," *Life* "Oxonii," *Letters* "Oxoniensium"; JH, *Life* "inter has rerum," *Letters* "has inter rerum." "Oxoniensium" is almost certainly correct and would translate as "to damage the reputation of *Oxford men*." SJ's master of arts diploma is now in the British Library (Add. MS. 38063).

481. "OCEAN": JH is relying on memory here, incorrectly remembering from the preface to the *Dictionary*: "It is remarkable that, in reviewing my collection, I found the word SEA unexemplified" (*YW*, 18:103; *Works* [1787], 9:221).

482. " 'Talk of war . . . beat forty more' ": Garrick's "On Johnson's Dictionary" first appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, 22 April 1755, and in the *GM* 25 (April 1755): 190, beneath an advertisement for the *Dictionary*. JH might have found the verses also in the *European Magazine* 7 (February 1785): 81–82 (Reed/Steevens, in *Early Biographies*, 52).

483. "liberal recompence": SJ made the abridgment and wrote a new preface for this edition of the *Dictionary*, but it is not known how much he was paid (*YW*, 18:363–65).

484. "Campbell": Archibald Campbell satirized SJ and Akenside in *Lexiphanes* (1767), and both of them as well as others in *The Sale of Authors* (1767). See William R. Jones, "Archibald Campbell," in *ODNB*.

485. " 'Iste tulit pretium . . . feretur' ": In the Loeb edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the first line reads "temptaminis" for "certaminis" and the second line "quod" for "quo": "Already he has gained reward enough in this contest because, when conquered, he will say he strove with me." The Dryden passage is from "The Speeches of Ajax and Ulysses. From Ovid's Metamorphoses Book XIII" (*Fables Ancient and Modern* [1700], lines 27–28).

486. " 'no author . . . but by himself' ": Richard Bentley said, "For it is a maxim with me, that no man was ever written out of reputation but by himself." See *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. William Warburton, 9 vols. (1757), 4:157n.

487. "younger Richardson": Colley Cibber's *A Second Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope* (1743). Jonathan Richardson, the elder, painter of portraits of Alexander Pope, Matthew Prior, Sir Richard Steele, and many others, was the author of *Theory of Painting* (1715). His son, Jonathan, the younger, was also a portrait painter. This story is also found in SJ's "Life of Pope" (*Lives*, 4:51; *Works* [1787], 4:84). On Pope's response to attacks on him see also *Lives*, 4:34, 59; *Works* (1787), 4:34, 59.

488. "Sir Richard Blackmore": JH is paraphrasing SJ's "Life of Blackmore," in *Lives*, 3:84–85; *Works* (1787), 3:189–90. The references to Addison's *Spectator* 339 and the Dennis quotation are also taken from SJ (*Lives*, 3:78; *Works* [1787], 3:178). See also Lonsdale's note to paragraph 22 (3:330). See *The Works of Thomas Brown*, 4th ed., 4 vols. (1719), 4:75–78, 83, 87; Swift in *A Tale of a Tub* and *Battle of the Books*, in *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis, vol. 1, *A Tale of a Tub with Other Early Works, 1696–1707* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), 116, 158. There was a copy of Blackmore's *Creation, A Philosophical Poem* (1712), in the books SJ took to Oxford (*Gleanings*, 5:227). *The Creation* was the only poem included in *Lives* on SJ's recommendation (*Lives*, 1:9, 62, 64, 3:78; *Works* [1787], 3:178).

489. "'Certainly . . . poles of Truth'": Sir Francis Bacon's essay "Of Truth" (*Essays*, 3).

490. "Sonnet on his blindness": Milton's "When I consider how my light is spent," lines 12–14.

491. "'The Apotheosis of Milton'": William Guthrie was the author. JH may have found this information in Reed/Steevens (*Early Biographies*, 46). It is included in the 1787 *Works* (11:163–88). For SJ's contributions to the *GM* see Fleeman, *Bibliography*.

492. "'The Universal Visitor, or Monthly Memorialist'": JH has confused SJ's contributions. He contributed "Further Thoughts on Agriculture" (*YW*, 10:116–25; *Works* [1787], 10:306–12), "Reflections on the Present State of Literature," as well as "A Dissertation on the Epitaphs Written by Pope," added to the third edition of the *Idler* (1767) and incorporated later in the "Life of Pope" (*Lives*, 4:81–93; *Works* [1787], 4:140–62). See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:660–63.

493. "'The Literary Magazine'": For SJ's contributions see Donald D. Eddy, *Samuel Johnson Book Reviewer in the Literary Magazine: or, Universal Review 1756–1758* (New York: Garland Press, 1979); Brian Hanley, *Samuel Johnson as Book Reviewer* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001); Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:678–90. The review of Soame Jenyns's *Free Enquiry* (1757) is in *YW*, 17:389–432; *Works* (1787), 10:220–58.

494. "Jonas Hanway": SJ reviewed the second edition of *Journal of Eight Days Journey. . . . To which is added An Essay on Tea* (1757) in the *Literary Magazine*, no. 13 (15 April–15 May 1757): 162–67. In November 1756 SJ had visited the Foundling Hospital and remarked in the review on the hospital's failure to teach the children religious principles and the catechism. SJ's remarks in the *Literary Magazine* were reprinted in the *London Chronicle* for 17 May 1757 and repeated in the *Gazetteer* the following day. In the *Gazetteer* for 26 May Hanway responded to SJ's charge. This issue of the *Gazetteer* has not survived, but it is possible to have an idea of its contents by SJ's response to it in the *Literary Magazine*, no. 14 (15 May–15 June 1757): 253–56. See *Works* (1787), 10:259–82. On the controversy see Clifford, *Dictionary Johnson*, 184–86; Ruth K. McClure, "Johnson's Criticism of the Foundling Hospital and Its Consequences," *Review of English Studies* 27 (1976): 17–26; Eddy, *Samuel Johnson Book Reviewer*, 11–15, passim; Hanley, *Samuel Johnson as Book Reviewer*, 143–50. The earliest mention of tea by an Englishman is probably in 1598, but tea was not known in England until about 1650–55 (*OED*).

495. "Northumberland houshold book": *The Regulations and Establishment of the Houshold of Henry Algernon Percy, Fifth Earl of Northumberland* (1770), 73, 75.

496. "That tea is a luxury": Jonathan Swift attacks luxury and imported goods in a number of places. JH must have been thinking of a passage at the beginning of part 4, chapter 6 of *Gulliver's Travels*, in which the Houyhnhnm master quizzes Gulliver on the subject of expensive meats and so on: "Whereupon I enumerated as many Sorts as

came into my Head, with the various Methods of dressing them, which could not be done without sending Vessels by Sea to every Part of the World, as well as for Liquors to drink, as for Sauces, and innumerable other Conveniencies. I assured him, that this whole Globe of Earth must be at least three Times gone round, before one of our better Female *Yahoos* could get her Breakfast, or a Cup to put it in." See *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis, vol. 11, *Gulliver's Travels* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 251–52. See also *Answer to Several Letters from Unknown Persons* and *A Proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland should appear constantly in Irish Manufactures*, in Davis, *Irish Tracts*, 79–80, 126–27. For John Quincy's views on tea see, for example, his article "Bohea-tea," in *Pharmacopoeia Officinalis & Extemporanae or, A Complete English Dispensatory* (1742), 120. George Cheyne suggests the increase in nervous distempers may be attributed to tea, among other things, but recommends its use in moderation in *The English Malady*, 4th ed. (1734), 48–49. Bishop Gilbert Burnet's tea-drinking habit may be anecdotal.

497. "no thought what we shall eat . . . drink": "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink. . . . Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? What shall we drink?" (Matthew 6:25, 31; Luke 12:29). For Epictetus on food see *Encheiridion* bk. 3, chap. 26, "To those who fear want."

498. "Polyphemus": An allusion to a Cyclops, a savage one-eyed giant, in Homer's *Odyssey* (9). The comparison to Polyphemus was made by JH's children. "Polypheme, as, shame to say, we had nicknamed him," says Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins of herself and her two brothers in *Memoirs* (1:87n).

499. "Shakespeare's dramatic works": *Proposals for Printing, by Subscription, the Dramatick Works of William Shakespeare* are dated 1 June 1756, although the edition was not published until 10 October 1765 (*Works* [1787], 9:230–38; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:694–95, 2:1081–96). See also J. D. Fleeman, "Johnson's *Shakespeare*: The Progress of a Subscription," in *Writers, Books, and Trade*, ed. O M Brack, Jr. (New York: AMS Press, 1994), 355–65; and 264–67 below.

500. " 'The Idler' ": The essays were published every Saturday from 8 April 1758 to 5 April 1760 in the *Universal Chronicle*. The printer of the newspaper has proved elusive, as have the roles of the various proprietors. JH is probably right that John Newbery was a financial backer, although he was not a publisher. Newbery did, however, publish the first collected edition of the *Idler* in 1761. SJ contributed other writings to the *Universal Chronicle* beyond the *Idler* essays. See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:729–41; *YW*, 2:xv–xxviii.

501. "Favonius of the 'Tatler' ": See *Tatler* 72, Saturday, 24 September 1709.

502. "the death of his mother": Sarah Johnson died on Monday, 22 January 1759, and was buried the following day at St. Michael's, Lichfield. For the payment to Edmund Allen see the entry for Friday, 15 March 1765, in *YW*, 1:89. *Idler* 41 is dated Saturday, 27 January 1759 (*YW*, 2:128–31; *Works* [1787], 8:163–66).

503. " 'Rasselas' ": SJ's eastern tale, "History of Seged," appears in *Rambler* 204, Saturday, 29 February, and 205, Tuesday, 3 March 1752 (*YW*, 5:296–395; *Works* [1787], 7:368–79); Hawkesworth's essays in the *Adventurer* include 20–22, 32, 72–73, 76, 91, 103–4, 114. SJ sold *Rasselas* to Robert Dodsley, William Johnston, and William Strahan for £100 and received £25 for the second edition (*YW*, 16:xxiv–xxvi). For a thorough account of the publication and sources for *Rasselas* see Gwin J. Kolb's introduction to *Rasselas*

*and Other Tales* in *YW*, 16:xix–lxx. The quotation below on pilgrimages appears in *YW*, 16:47–48; *Works* (1787), 11:34–35. On SJ's possible intention to write a second part to *Rasselas* see *YW*, 16:lxi–lxii. See also Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:785–93.

504. "vindicates the ways of God to man": "And justify the ways of God to men" (*Paradise Lost*, 1.26). JH calls *Rasselas* a "general satire," as opposed to a "personal satire" that attacks specific individuals. See SJ's "Life of Pope," in *Lives*, 4:75 (*Works* [1787], 4:129) and Lonsdale's note (4:338–39).

505. "Dr. Young . . . had no bright side": Edward Young's *A Vindication of Providence: or, a True Estimate of Human Life* (1728), called "Discourse I" on the title page, is an expanded sermon that was frequently reprinted. The discourse ends with a promise of a more consoling second part. Young worked on a second discourse, but it was never completed, and the manuscript was lost (*Correspondence of Edward Young, 1683–1765*, ed. Henry Pettit [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], 562). Herbert Croft in the "Life of Young" says that it "exhibits only the wrong side of the tapestry; and being asked why he did not show the right, he is said to have replied he could not" (*Lives*, 4:148–49; *Works* [1787], 4:251–52).

506. "fugacious": Volatility; the quality of flying away (*Dictionary*).

507. "Black-Friars bridge": SJ supported the plan of John Gwynne against that of Robert Mylne, the winner of the competition, in three letters to the *Daily Gazetteer* (1, 8, 15 December 1759). The *Daily Gazetteer* numbers are unlocated, and JH is the only source for the text. See *Works* (1787), 10:290–98; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:999. The "person eminently skilled in mathematics and the principles of architecture" is unidentified. JH served a brief apprenticeship, about the year 1736, with architect Edward Hoppus, author of *Practical Measuring* (1736) and *The Gentleman's and Builder's Repository* (1738), which became standard architectural texts during the century (Davis, *Proof*, 7). On the controversy surrounding the bridge and SJ's role in it see Brownell, 107–26. SJ's skills as a critic of architecture can be seen in his comments on Chatsworth and Kedelston, for example (*YW*, 1:165–66, 170).

508. "sesquioctave . . . sesquinonal": Sesqui- is a Latin prefix, meaning a half in addition. With an ordinal numeral adjective, denoting the proportion 1 + 1/n:1, i.e. n + 1:n, where n is the corresponding cardinal number, as sesquioctavus, bearing the ratio: 1 ⅛:1, i.e. 9:8; sesquinonal 10:9 (*OED*).

509. "Of these the principal . . . concords in music": JH explains these terms in *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 1:30, 49–53.

510. " 'London, January 5, 1759. . . . penitence nor shame' ": The advertisement, written by SJ, appeared in the *Universal Chronicle* for 13–20 January and was repeated on 20–27 January 1759 (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:735). A charity, "A Public Place of Reception for Penitent Prostitutes," opened its doors on 10 August 1758, admitting eight prostitutes between nine and fourteen years old, with an inaugural sermon by the Reverend William Dodd (see n. 653 below). It soon became Magdalen Hospital, and the inhabitants were called Magdalens, in reference to Mary Magdalen, a follower of Jesus to whom he appeared after his resurrection (John 20:1–18), in the Western Church frequently also identified with the unnamed sinner of Luke 7:37, and therefore represented in hagiology as a reformed prostitute elevated to sanctity by repentance and faith. Now chiefly *hist.* (*OED*). In 1758 SJ attended several meetings of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures & Commerce that addressed the problem of prostitution.

One of the proposals for addressing the problem was *A Proposal to Render Effectual a Plan to Remove the Nuisance of Common Prostitutes from the Streets of the Metropolis* (1758) by Saunders Welch, high constable of Holborn and close friend of SJ. To this pamphlet SJ contributed the opening and closing, and touches of his hand can be seen scattered throughout. See E. L. McAdam, Jr., "Dr. Johnson and Saunders Welch's *Proposals*," *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 4 (1953): 337–45; D. G. C. Allan and John L. Abbott, "'Compassion and horror in every humane mind': Samuel Johnson, the Society of Arts, and Eighteenth Century Prostitution," *Journal of the Royal Society of the Arts* 136 (1988): 749–54, 827–32. This last essay has been reprinted in *The Virtuoso Tribe of Arts and Sciences: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Work and Membership of the London Society of Arts*, ed. D. G. C. Allan and John L. Abbott (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 18–37, which also contains Abbott's "Dr. Johnson and the Society" (7–17).

511. "'As the last "Idler" . . . past'": *Idler* 103, Saturday, 5 April 1760 (*YW*, 2:316; *Works* [1787], 8:408–10). Twelve of the essays were written by others: Reynolds contributed numbers 76, 79, and 82; Thomas Warton 33, 93, and 96; Bennet Langton 67; Bonnell Thornton 15; William Emerson 98; the authorship of 9, 42, and 54 is unknown (*YW*, 2:xxi; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:735).

512. "'blotted out a thousand!'": Ben Jonson in his notebooks, called *Timber, or Discoveries*, written in 1619, says, "I *remember*, the Players have often mentioned it as an honour to *Shakespeare*, that in his writing, (whatsoever he penn'd) hee never blotted out a line. My answer hath beene, would he had blotted a thousand." See Ben Jonson, *Discoveries*, ed. Maurice Castelaine (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1906), 35–36.

513. "'The Feminead'": John Duncomb's *Feminead* (1754) later appeared in Francis Fawkes and William Woty's *The Poetical Calendar*, 2nd ed., in 1763 (7:17–33). To *The Poetical Calendar* SJ contributed his character of William Collins, later included in *Lives* (4:120–23; *Works* [1787], 4:204–9), and some poems (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1044).

514. "Ben Jonson's Morose": Morose is an old bachelor who "loves no noise" (*Epicoene*, 2.5.6–7).

515. "nervosity": The state or condition of being nervous or of experiencing disordered or heightened sensitivity; nervousness. Sometimes also: neuroticism (*OED*). The first illustrative quotation is this passage. The word does not appear in the *Dictionary*.

516. "bishop Burnet . . . eloquent": Although the Earl of Nottingham was known for his eloquence, the passage JH is quoting from memory says that he "was grave and vertuous in the course of his life. He . . . was a copious speaker, but too florid and tedious. He was much admired by many" (Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 1:764).

517. "*ana*": A collection of the memorable sayings or table-talk of any one (*OED*). JH has in mind such works as George Kearsley's *The Beauties of Johnson*, probably compiled by William Cooke, which was published in 1781 and went through numerous editions (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1539–57). JH reports SJ as saying, "He was a great friend to books like . . . *Beauties of Watts*, &c., &c., at which, said he, a man will often look and be tempted to go on, when he would have been frightened at books of a larger size and of a more erudite appearance" ("Apothegms," 2:2).

518. "acquiesces in an error . . . refuting it": The quotations in support of JH's view appear in *YW*, 3:7, 2:10–11; *Works* (1787), 5:5, 8:10.

519. "A friend of his . . . visit him": Unidentified. Davis (*Life*, 295n14) suggests Bennet Langton, citing SJ's comment to JB that Langton "has a great deal of learning; but it

never lies straight. There is never one idea by the side of another; 'tis all entangled: and then he drives it so aukwardly upon conversation" (*Life*, 4:225).

520. "'Let us seriously reflect. . . . pudding'": It is not known on what date JH may have written down his version of "Meditation on a Pudding," and any source remains untraced. JB wrote down a version on 24 October 1773 (*Life*, 5:352) and first published it in his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785), 440–41. The versions differ in many particulars, suggesting that they had different sources (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1152). SJ may have performed this piece on more than one occasion from memory, hence the differences. The Reverend James Hervey's *Meditations and Contemplations* (1746–47, rev. 1748) were extremely popular, with twenty-six editions by 1800 (Isabel Rivers, "James Hervey," in *ODNB*). Thomas Burnet compares the creation to an egg in *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1719), bk. 1, chaps. 4 and 6, pp. 71, 97.

521. "burlesque versification": *The Hermit of Warkworth. A Northumberland Ballad. In three fits or cantos* (1771) was an original poem by Thomas Percy written in the manner of the old ballads he had edited in his *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* (1765). For the parodies of this poem see *YW*, 6:268–70; *Poems*, 184–86; *Works* (1787), 11:377. JH could have found these verses published by George Steevens in the *St. James's Chronicle* for 13 January 1785.

522. "Dr. Madden . . . poem on archbishop Boulter": Samuel Madden's *Boulter's Monument* was published in London and Dublin in 1745. No later edition is known (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:127–31).

523. "Adams's book on the Use of the Globes": SJ wrote the dedication to the king for George Adams's *A Treatise Describing and Explaining the Construction and Use of New Celestial and Terrestrial Globes* (1766). See Hazen, 1–4; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1146–53.

524. "the year 1760": Although the effort to secure SJ a pension began in the autumn of 1761, he did not receive the pension until 19 July 1762. See SJ's letter of 20 July 1762 to John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, thanking him for "the future favours which his Majesty has by your Lordship's recommendation been induced to intend for me" (*Letters*, 1:207–8). See Clifford, *Dictionary Johnson*, chap. 16.

525. "Addison, who in one of his 'Spectators'": *Spectator* 106, Monday, 2 July 1711. Idoneus: Fit; proper; convenient; adequate (*Dictionary*).

526. "'77, Sept. 21. Concio pro Tayloro'": *YW*, 1:277. See 273 below.

527. "Pension in his 'Dictionary'": An allowance made to any one without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country (*Dictionary*). JH could have found the account of William Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's, in *BB*, 6:3680–81, and the account of Andrew Marvell, in the footnote below, in *BB*, 5:3057.

528. "Robert Levett": "Memoirs of Mr. Levet, with Dr. Johnson's Elegy on Him," *European Magazine* 7 (January 1785): 55–56, reprinted in *GM* 55, pt. 1 (February 1785): 101–2. SJ's letter to Dr. Lawrence of 17 January 1782, telling him of Levet's death, follows the "Memoirs" in *GM* (102). See *Letters*, 4:6. See Thomas Seccombe, rev. Robert DeMaria, Jr., "Robert Levet," in *ODNB*. SJ's reference to the Apocrypha is in the History and Destruction of Bel and the Dragon, where Daniel slays the dragon idol: "Then Daniel took pitch, and fat, and hair, and did seethe them together, and made lumps thereof: this he put in the dragon's mouth, and so the dragon burst in sunder" (v. 27). As

late as 26 April 1772 SJ writes in his diary that he had never read the Apocrypha through, although "when I was a boy I have read or heard Bel and the dragon" (*YW*, 1:151). Portia "fell distract / And, her attendants absent, swallowed fire," according to Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, 4.3.155, taken from Plutarch "Brutus" 53. See 334–36 below.

529. "Dr. Lawrence": Lawrence, a distinguished physician, remembered today chiefly as a friend of SJ, was introduced to SJ by Richard Bathurst. John Hunter, surgeon and anatomist, mentioned below, began practice in London in 1763 and began lectures on surgery in 1773. Lawrence's life of Frank Nicholls was privately published in 1780. See W. A. Greenhill, rev. Claire L. Nutt, "Thomas Lawrence," in *ODNB*. JH is referring to SJ's Latin ode "*To* T.L. M.D.," which was first published in *GM* 54, pt. 2 (December 1784): 934, and in *Works* (1787), 11:391–92. SJ wrote three Latin poems to Lawrence (*YW*, 6:275–77, 309; *Poems*, 190–91, 215–16, 231–32). See 334 below. JH could have found an account of Henry Pemberton in James Wilson's preface to Henry Pemberton, *A Course of Chemistry* (1771); Wilson says, however, he had a "fortune, which was considerable" (xxiv). See W. Johnson, "Henry Pemberton," in *ODNB*.

530. "one of his most intimate friends": JH's failure to understand SJ's objects of charity throughout the *Life* suggest that he is the intimate friend.

531. "cully": A man deceived or imposed upon; as by sharpers or a strumpet (*Dictionary*).

532. "Tom Hervey": The Honourable Thomas Hervey, son of John, first Earl of Bristol, and brother of SJ's early friend Henry Hervey, wrote *A Letter from the Honourable Thomas Hervey, to Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart.* (1742). SJ wrote a pamphlet for him that was never published. SJ told JB that Hervey, "though a vicious man, was one of the genteelest men that ever lived" (*Life*, 2:341).

533. "'Madam . . . found in his writings'": William Seward maintained the lady was Mrs. Cotterell (*Biographiana* [1799], 600). In *Rambler* 14, Saturday, 5 May 1750, SJ says, "It is not difficult to conceive, however, that for many reasons a man writes much better than he lives" (*YW*, 3:75). The two quotations are from the same number (*YW*, 3:76, 78; *Works* [1787], 5:90, 92–93).

534. "let our light . . . good works": Matthew 5:16: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

535. "Essay on Praise": Sir Francis Bacon's essay "Of Praise" (*Essays*, 161).

536. "hermetic science": [From *Hermes* or *Mercury*, the imagined inventor of chymistry. . . .] Chymical (*Dictionary*).

537. "a weekly club": The first meeting of the Club seems to have been Monday, 16 April 1764. See C. N. Fifer, "The Founding of Dr. Johnson's Literary Club," *Notes & Queries*, July 1956, 302–3. An account of the "Club" by James Sambrook appears in *ODNB*. (In the article "Samuel Johnson" by Pat Rogers, under "Themes" in the left margin, click on "Club.")

538. "memoirs of him extant": See, for example, Edmond Malone, "The Life of Goldsmith," in *Poems and Plays* (Dublin, 1777; London, 1780).

539. "'To kinder skies . . . noon-tide hour'": *The Traveller, or a Prospect of Society* (1764), lines 239–50. See *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Arthur Friedman, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 4:259. SJ contributed lines 429–38 to *The Traveller* and lines 427–30 to *The Deserted Village* (1770). See ibid., 4:303–4; *YW*, 6:355–56; *Poems*, 438–39. SJ reviewed the poem in the *Critical Review* 18 (December 1764): 458–62,

calling it "a production to which, since the death of Pope, it will not be easy to find anything equal." When SJ rescued Goldsmith, it was *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766) he sold for £60 or 60 guineas to John Newbery (Friedman, *Collected Works*, 4:4–7; *Life*, 1:415–16). Goldsmith died on 4 April 1774; his epitaph was written by SJ in 1776 (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1271–72).

540. "never to absent himself": But see SJ's letter to Bennet Langton of 8 March 1766: "Dyer is constant at the Club, Hawkins is remiss. I am not over diligent" (*Letters*, 1:265).

541. "'Esto perpetua'": This was not the motto but the dying words of Father Paolo Sarpi. The following passage appears near the end of SJ's "Life of Sarpi": "As his end evidently approached, the brethren of the convent came to pronounce the last prayers, with which he could only join in his thoughts, being able to pronounce no more than these words, *Esto perpetua, Mayst thou last for ever*; which was understood to be a prayer for the prosperity of his country" (*Works* [1787], 4:327; *Early Biographical Writings*, 23).

542. "A lady": Perhaps Elizabeth Vesey, who, according to Hannah More in 1783, had "a select society" that met "at her house every other Tuesday, . . . on the day on which the Turk's Head Club dine together" (William Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More*, 4 vols. [London: R. B. Seeley, 1834], 1:286; *Life*, 3:424n3).

543. "only seceder from this society": JH had withdrawn from the Club sometime before 15 February 1768 (Davis, *Proof*, 98). See Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins's explanation for why her father withdrew from the Club in *Memoirs* (1:98–101).

544. "Garrick. . . . ever admitted": Garrick was abroad when the Club began meeting in April 1764, and he was finally admitted in 1773, the same year as JB (*Life*, 1:481n3). HLP confirms that initially, at least, SJ did not wish for Garrick to become a member of the club ("Marginalia," 1:342).

545. "David and Jonathan": The story of the friendship between David and Jonathan is told in 1 Samuel 18–30, 2 Samuel 1. The specific allusion is to 2 Samuel 1:26: "Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women."

546. "envy": Pain felt and malignity conceived at the sight of excellence or happiness (sense 1 in *Dictionary*). SJ has numerous comments on envy and its ill effects in *Rambler*, *Idler*, *Rasselas*, and *Sermons* (see indices in respective volumes of *YW*, 2, 5, 14, 16). The entry for "envy" received heavy revision for the 1773 edition of the *Dictionary*.

547. "rags of Drugger": A character in Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*, one of Garrick's most famous roles.

548. "life of the lord-keeper Guildford": Roger North's *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis North, Baron of Guilford* (1742), 226; Thomas Vernon's *Cases Argued and Adjudged in the high Court of Chancery*, 2 vols. (1726–28), 1:227–30, "Phillips versus Duke of Bucks," Hillary Term, 1683.

549. "intension": The act of forcing or straining any thing; contrariety to remission or relaxation (*Dictionary*).

550. "Davies, in his 'Life of Garrick'": Among other acts of charity, Garrick founded in 1766 the Theatrical Fund to relieve actors in retirement and those with disabilities. Thomas Davies in *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, 2 vols. (1780), says, "Innumerable stories of humanity, generosity, and charity, could be told of him, enough to fill a volume. I have heard Dr. Johnson say, that he believed David Garrick gave away more money than any man in London" (2:394). Robert Hume reports that surviving evidence

suggests that JH's story of Garrick's substitution of George Lillo's *The London Merchant: or, The History of George Barnwell* (1731) for Edward Ravenscroft's *The London Cuckolds* (1681) is apocryphal. Both Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields theaters (Drury Lane and Covent Garden after 1732) performed *The London Cuckolds* occasionally from 1681. From 1722 Lincoln's Inn Fields performed it at least annually ca. 29 October, but it had not been performed for many years at Drury Lane when Garrick became manager in 1747, and it was not performed that autumn. But in 1748 both theaters performed *Cuckolds* on 29 October (Drury Lane advertising, inaccurately, that it had "never" been done there before). In other words, Garrick initiated the performance of *Cuckolds* on that occasion. Both theaters performed the play again on 30 October 1749 (and the king commanded a performance at Drury Lane on 1 November 1749) and again on 29 October 1750. The following year, 29 October 1751, Garrick substituted Ben Jonson's *Eastward Ho*, "in compliment to the city," but found that the play did not please. Covent Garden performed *Cuckolds* as usual. On 9 November 1752 Covent Garden performed the play again, but Garrick tried *Merchant of Venice*. Covent Garden continued to perform *Cuckolds* on Lord Mayor's Day; Garrick did not. Garrick may be said to have instituted the performance of *Cuckolds* on Lord Mayor's Day at Drury Lane, but he discontinued it after three years. *The London Merchant* does not seem to have been performed at Drury Lane on Lord Mayor's Day during Garrick's tenure there. Lord Mayor's Day is "the day on which the Lord Mayor goes in procession with the Aldermen and other city dignitaries to and from Westminster, where he receives from the Lord Chancellor the assent of the Crown to his election" (*OED*).

551. "'change time": The hours at which the Royal Exchange conducted business.

552. "Dr. Wilson": James Wilson, M.D., edited Benjamin Robins's *Mathematical Tracts*, 2 vols. (1761). See n. 529 above.

553. "That unfortunate divine . . . Dr. William Dodd": See 312–18 below.

554. "Cock-lane ghost": "An Account of the Detection of the Imposture in Cock-Lane" appeared in *GM* 32 (February 1762): 81–82, and various newspapers. JH is the first to attribute this essay to SJ, but he did not include it in the 1787 *Works*. See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1040.

555. "A reverend divine of the time": Charles Churchill satirized SJ as "Pomposo" in *The Ghost* (1762–63), bk. 2, lines 653–808. This anecdote had appeared earlier in "L" and Tyers (*Early Biographies*, 40, 74).

556. "Mr. Foote": This anecdote about Samuel Foote had appeared earlier in Tyers (*Early Biographies*, 67).

557. "poem above-mentioned . . . Shakespeare had long been due": "He for subscribers bates his hook, / And takes their cash; but where's the book?" (Churchill, *The Ghost*, bk. 3, lines 801–2).

558. "Coxeter": Since Thomas Coxeter, literary scholar and editor, died in 1747, SJ proposed a life of Shakespeare before this date. Perhaps it was an attempt to rescue some of the work he had done on the aborted edition of Shakespeare's works he had proposed in *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth* (1745). Nothing further is known of the proposed life. See Graham Parry, "Thomas Coxeter," in *ODNB*.

559. "scholiast": A writer of explanatory notes (*Dictionary*).

560. " 'Had he not . . . I had don't' ": *Macbeth*, 2.2.12–13.

561. " 'Having classed. . . . power to do' ": Preface to Shakespeare (*YW*, 7:105; *Works* [1787], 9:292).

562. "'ob egregiam . . . utilitatem'": For the distinguished elegance and usefulness of his writings.

563. "works of Politian": See n. 78 above.

564. "Domine": According to the *OED*, this obsolete word, in the sense of lord or master, was used as a respectful address to the clergy or members of the learned professions until late in the seventeenth century; thus, the word can refer to a school*master*, but not necessarily.

565. "Salmasius . . . profession": The debate between Milton and Claude de Saumaise was occasioned by the execution of Charles I. (See the "Life of Milton," in *Lives*, 1:254–5; *Works* [1787], 2:205–8; and for SJ's comments on Milton as a schoolmaster see also *Lives*, 1:248–49, 380–81; *Works* [1787], 2:94–97.) Among the books in SJ's personal library while he was at Oxford were editions of Salmasius's *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I*, published in 1649, and Milton's *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, published in 1651 (*Gleanings*, 5:215). At the university he also had a copy of Milton's *Pro Se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum* (1655) and a volume of Milton's poems (ibid., 5:215, 224), but nothing by Milton is listed in *Sale Catalogue*, although a copy or copies of Milton may have been taken by a friend as a memorial (see n. 751 below). The copy of *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I* may be one of the items in "Salmasii opera, 9 t." in SJ's library at his death, as no collected edition of his works is known (*Sale Catalogue*, lot 146). SJ also had copies of Salmasius's work on Roman military matters, *De re militari Romanorum* (1657), and his 1629 edition of the *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, known from the sixth century as the *Polyhistoria*, by Gaius Julius Solinus, a Roman writer from the first half of the third century (lots 526, 566).

566. "'Since the last. . . . divine worship'": This is a portion of his self-review on Easter Eve, Saturday, 29 March 1766 (*YW*, 1:106).

567 "controversy . . . about the year 1715": The "usages controversy. A dispute about proposed modifications to the Anglican liturgy that began among the Nonjurors in 1716 and ultimately precipitated a pamphlet war and schism among them." For the "usages controversy" and SJ's interest in it see Matthew M. Davis, "'Ask for the old paths': Johnson and the Usages Controversy," *Age of Johnson* 17 (2006): 17–68, esp. 17.

568. "Thomas Brett": Brett, a bishop of the nonjuring Church of England, published *A Collection of the Principal Liturgies Used by the Christian Church in the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist* (1720), but *Reasons for Restoring Some Prayers and Directions* (1717) was written by Jeremy Collier, also a bishop of the nonjuring Church of England, and was answered in 1718 by Nathaniel Spinckes, another bishop of the nonjuring Church of England, in *No Reasons for Restoring the Prayers and Directions of Edward VI's First Liturgy* (1717). Martin Bucer or Butzer reviewed the 1549 Prayer Book, and some of his suggestions are reflected in the 1552 Prayer Book. The prayer JH cites from the liturgy of King Edward VI (1549) can be found in Brett (132–33) and also in Collier. For an overview of the controversy see Eric Salmon, "Jeremy Collier," in *ODNB*. See also N. Scott Amos, "Martin Bucer," in ibid.

569. "'so far as it may be lawful'": "March 28, 1753. I kept this day as the anniversary of my Tetty's death with prayer & tears in the morning. In the evening I prayed for her conditionally if it were lawful" (*YW*, 1:50). "Jan. 23. 1759. . . . I commend, O Lord, so far as it may be lawful, into thy hands the soul of my departed Mother" (ibid., 1:66–67).

570. "reverend divine": For the Reverend George Strahan, see n. 273 above. After the death in 1730 of Thomas Bray, Church of England clergyman and a founder of the

Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Foreign Parts, a group founded Bray's Associates to continue his work of "furnishing clerical libraries and supporting Negro schools." The profits from the sale of *Prayers and Meditations* were to go to this charity.

571. "diaries . . . seat in the church": This portion of the diary is unlocated.

572. "sect of nonjurors": Sect: A body of men following some particular master, or united in some settled tenets. Often in a bad sense (*Dictionary*).

573. " 'The worst . . . patience' ": George Herbert's "The Church-Porch," lines 431–32: "The worst speak something good: if all want sense, / God takes a text, and preacheth patience." See *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 23.

574. "Messieurs of Port-Royal": Port-Royal, a Cistercian abbey founded in 1204, was associated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with Jansenism, a school or party in the Roman Catholic Church holding the doctrines of Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres in Flanders, who maintained after St. Augustine the perverseness and inability for good of the natural human will (*OED*). The Messieurs du Port Royal are Antoine Arnaud and Pierre Nicole. On how to profit by bad preaching, see, for example, *Moral Essays, Contain'd in Several Treatises on Many Important Duties. . . . by Messieurs du Port Royal*, 2 vols. (1677), 2:270–81.

575. "Mr. Thrale": In his diary SJ wrote, "9 Wedn. At Mr Trails. Mrs Macaulays present" (*YW*, 1:84). SJ was introduced to Henry Thrale, a wealthy brewer, and his wife, Hester, by Arthur Murphy in January 1765, and throughout the rest of the winter SJ dined with the Thrales at their house in Southwark every Thursday. On 23 September 1765 Henry Thrale announced that he would be a candidate for Parliament to represent Southwark. SJ assisted with his pen in Thrale's campaign and wrote the address thanking the constituents for their support. The work SJ did for Thrale proved to be instrumental in his becoming involved in political issues for years to come. In the winter of 1766 SJ became severely depressed and at some time was invited by the Thrales to stay at Streatham Park, their country house. From SJ's own account we know that he stayed with the Thrales from late June until 1 October (*YW*, 1:111). "This was a turning-point in his life. Friendship quickly ripened into intimacy, and for the next sixteen years Johnson spent the greater part of his time with the Thrales either at Streatham or in Southwark. He grew to think and speak of both these houses as 'home,' and constantly referred to his host and hostess as his 'Master' and 'Mistress.' To all intents and purposes Johnson became a member of the Thrale family" (Clifford, *Hester Lynch Piozzi*, 54–65, esp. 64–65). See Katharine C. Balderston, ed., *Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (Later Mrs. Piozzi) 1776–1809*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), 1:158–59; Piozzi, *Anecdotes*, 1:232–36; *YW*, 1:304–5, 337–39; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1080–81, 1167, 1171, 1203–4, 1254, 1531–32.

576. "resiant": Resident; present in a place (*Dictionary*).

577. "sombrous": Sombre; of a sombre character or aspect. Sombre: Gloomy, lowering, dark and sullen, dejected (*OED*). Neither word appears in the *Dictionary*.

578. " 'Adversaria' ": See 160–62 and nn. 413 and 416 above, and for *Rambler* 101 see *YW*, 4:178; *Works* (1787), 8:194–95.

579. "conversation with his majesty": The conversation took place in February 1767. Several versions of the conversation exist. See O M Brack, Jr., and Lawrence G. Blackmon, *Samuel Johnson's Private Interview with George III: The Strahan Minute*, a keepsake

for the annual dinner of the Friends of the Arizona State University Library (1993); Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1749–50.

580. "'Dr. Pope's Wish'": Walter Pope's *The Old Man's Wish* (1684) became *Doctor Pope's Wish* (1697), 11. SJ cites this work in the "Grammar of the English Tongue" in the *Dictionary* (*YW*, 18:358). For SJ's knowledge of the poem see *YW*, 18:358n8; *Life*, 4:19.

581. "'March 3. . . . Michaelmas'": 3 March 1766 in *YW*, 1:103.

582. "'For the night cometh'": "I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work" (John 9:4). See "EJACULATION. | *Imploring Dilligence.* | O God, make me to remember that *the night cometh when no man can work*" (*Prayers and Meditations* [1785], 227).

583. "characters of patriots": See n. 148 above.

584. "'The False Alarm'": *The False Alarm*, written on 10–11 January, was published on 6 February 1770 (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1172–74). The "business of Wilkes" is complex. In a few words, John Wilkes was accused of libeling George III in the *North Briton*, no. 45 (1763), and a general warrant was issued to arrest the writer, printers, booksellers, and publishers, altogether forty-nine people. Wilkes was released from the Tower of London on the grounds of parliamentary privilege; the others were released after suing the government for invasion of privacy and false arrest, which led to the court declaring general warrants illegal (see 305–7 below). After having been released from prison Wilkes had a dozen copies printed of his *Essay on Woman*, which he had written earlier with his late friend Thomas Potter. The government bribed a printer for a proof copy, doctored it to make it appear worse than it already was, and charged Wilkes with libeling Bishop William Warburton. He failed to answer the two charges of libel, was tried and convicted in absentia, and, having fled to the Continent, was declared an outlaw. On his return to England four years later, however, he was elected a member of Parliament for Middlesex on 26 March 1768 but was expelled and reelected twice more before his defeated opponent was declared the victor. What followed was a frenzy of petitioning and rioting. The reader should consult the judicious account not only of this episode but of the entire relationship between SJ and Wilkes in Arthur H. Cash's "Samuel Johnson and John Wilkes," *Age of Johnson* 18 (2007): 67–130, as well as Cash's biography, *John Wilkes: The Scandalous Father of Civil Liberty* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 204–66, esp. 255–56. See also Greene, 205–9; *YW*, 10:313–45. For JH's quotations from *The False Alarm* see *YW*, 10:324, 334, 339, 344; *Works* (1787), 10:10–11, 23, 28, 33. On page 339 JH has substituted "one county only" for SJ's "Middlesex," and on page 344 JH summarizes the first portion of a lengthy sentence and then inserts "They" before the passage he quotes to refer to "sectaries" and "tories."

585. "Of many answers . . . worthy of a reply": A reference to John Wilkes's *A Letter to Samuel Johnson LL.D.* (1770). SJ's pamphlet was given a favorable review by "X" in *GM* 40 (January 1770): 32–36, and the answer was reviewed unfavorably by "X" in *GM* 40 (February 1770): 78–80, stating that it is "generally imputed to Mr Wilkes" (78). JH was one of the friends who advised SJ not to respond (Hawkins, *Memoirs*, 1:90–92). For attacks in print on this pamphlet see Cash, "Samuel Johnson and John Wilkes," 88–89, and on this and other of SJ's political pamphlets see McGuffie.

586. "Falkland's islands": *Thoughts on the Late Transactions Respecting Falkland's Islands* was published on 16 March 1771 (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1179–83). See also Greene, 209–11; *YW*, 10:346–86. For JH's quotations from *Thoughts* see *YW*, 10:369, 353–55; *Works* (1787), 10:58, 38–40. In the last paragraph of the second quotation both

editions of the *Life* have "will" for "shall" in "pirates shall be safe." JH's account of the Falkland Islands is taken from SJ's pamphlet. The relator of George Anson, first Baron Anson's *A Voyage Around the World* (1748), was the Reverend Richard Walter, Anson's chaplain, with assistance from Benjamin Robins. See 91–92 for the account of the islands and Elizabeth Baigent, "Richard Walter," in *ODNB*.

587. "calends": The first day of every month among the Romans (*Dictionary*). The Greeks used no calends in their reckoning of time. "At the Greek calends" was humorous for, Never (*OED*).

588. "Mrs. Percy": Anne Percy was the wife of Thomas Percy, writer, Church of Ireland bishop of Dromore from 1782, and member of the Club. The Prince of Wales was the future George IV. Queen's house was Buckingham House on the site of the present Buckingham Palace. Ostervald is, presumably, Jean Frédéric Ostervald, the Swiss Protestant divine whose works were popular among French Protestants and known in Britain.

589. "'dissolution of religious houses'": In 1538.

590. "Jane Bell": JH is the authority for this attribution and for SJ's friendship with John Bell and his wife, Jane, who died in October 1771 (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1199–1200). HLP says, "They would have it in English, not Latin; which vex's him" ("Marginalia," 2:46).

591. "To appose. . . . 'so be dismissed'": The quotation from *Ingulphi historia* is in Stow, *Annales*, 946.

592. "seven": The trip to Scotland was completed in eleven weeks. Both editions of the *Life* have "seven."

593. "published an account of it": *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* was announced as published on 18 January 1775. See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1206–7; *YW*, vol. 15; *Works* (1787), 10:315–522; and *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. J. D. Fleeman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985). The information in the first sentence of the following paragraph appears on the first unnumbered page of Martin Martin's preface to his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (see the following note). Edmund Gibson, bishop of Lincoln, later bishop of London, published a new English edition of William Camden's *Britannia*, with the assistance of numerous scholars, in 1695, with a second, expanded edition in 1722. See *Britannia: or, a Chorographical Description of Great Britain and Ireland, Together with the Adjacent Islands*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (1753), 2:1462–66.

594. "Martin": Martin Martin, who is thought to have been born on the Isle of Skye, published his *Voyage to St. Kilda* in 1698 and his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* in 1703 (Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhar, "Martin Martin," in *ODNB*). As SJ told JB in 1763, it was a copy of Martin Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, given to him by his father, that first raised his curiosity about the Hebrides (*Life*, 1:450). JB's copy of the first edition of Martin—"This very Book accompanied Mr. Samuel Johnson and me, in our Tour to the Hebrides, in Autumn 1773"—is in the National Library of Scotland (ibid., 5:13n3). The quotation from Martin on "second sight" appears on the title page, and the description of the native of St. Kilda visiting Glasgow in the note is on 295–99.

595. "Mr. Pennant": See Pennant's "A Brief History of the Hebrides" in the 1772 *Tour*, 1:200–212. For Thomas Pennant see n. 443 above. SJ thought highly of Pennant's travels (Friday, 17 September 1773, in *Life*, 5:221).

596. "feudatory": One who holds his land by feudal tenure; a feudal vassal. The lands are held in feud or fee. Fee: In feudal law an estate in land (in England always an inheritable estate), held on condition of homage to a superior lord, by whom it is granted and in whom the ownership remains (*OED*).

597. "excision": Extirpation; destruction; ruin; the act of cutting off; the state of being cut off (*Dictionary*).

598. "Johnson's . . . account of Icolmkill": *YW*, 9:148–53; *Works* (1787), 10:501–7. For Martin's account see *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, 243, and for Pennant's see the 1772 *Tour*, 1:241–60. JH's history of Icolmkill or Iona is from Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* (2:1462). See n. 593 above.

599. " 'Maundrell's journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem' ": Henry Maundrell's *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A.D. 1697* (Oxford, 1703) describes a journey by him and fourteen others to Jerusalem and back "written in an economic but witty and informative style" (Robin A. Butlin, "Henry Maundrell," in *ODNB*).

600. "dissertation": A discourse; a disquisition; a treatise (*Dictionary*). In *A Journey to the Western Islands* SJ says of the inn at Glenelg, "Of the provisions the negative catalogue of particulars was very copious. Here was no meat, no milk, no bread, no eggs, no wine" (*YW*, 9:48; *Works* [1787], 10:371).

601. " 'to drop a seed . . . danger' ": *YW*, 15:10; *Works* (1787), 10:324. For the passage on Sir James Macdonald planting trees see *YW*, 15:140; *Works* (1787), 10:491.

602. "*corn*": The seed of the cereal or farinaceous plants as a produce of agriculture; grain. As a general term the word includes all the cereals, wheat, rye, barley, oats, maize, rice, etc., and, with qualification (as *black corn*, *pulse corn*), is extended to leguminous plants, as pease, beans, etc., cultivated for food. Locally, the word, when not otherwise qualified, is often understood to denote that kind of cereal which is the leading crop of the district; hence in the greater part of England "corn" = *wheat*, in North Britain and Ireland = *oats*; in the U.S. the word, as short for *Indian corn*, is restricted to *maize* (*OED*).

603. "inaccuracy he has been charged with": For the numerous attacks in print on SJ's *Journey* see Fleeman, *A Journey*, xxviii–xxxvii; McGuffie.

604. "non-juring episcopal chapel at Aberdeen": *YW*, 15:17; *Works* (1787), 10:332.

605. " 'To discover the nakedness of the land are ye come' ": The quotation from Genesis 42:9, 12 should read: "To see the nakedness of the land ye are come."

606. " 'scan our nature with a brother's eye' ": "Who scann'd his Nature with a Brother's Eye" (James Thomson's *The Seasons*, "Summer," line 1552).

607. " 'I look back to the North. . . . meridian' ": Pennant in the 1772 *Tour*, 2:277.

608. " 'I suppose my opinion of the poems of Ossian. . . . Patagons' ": *YW*, 15:118–19; *Works* (1787), 10:462–64. Ossian was a third-century Gaelic bard whose epics James Macpherson purported to have translated. Macpherson used "themes, plots, and names from Gaelic ballads" as well as "themes and references from classical and other sources, and added a great quantity of nature description and Romantic episodes." See Derick S. Thomson, "James Macpherson," in *ODNB*; and his *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian* (Edinburgh: Published for the University of Aberdeen [by] Oliver and Boyd, 1952). For SJ and the "Magellanick regions" and "Patagons" see his "Life of Drake" (*Works* [1787], 10:427; *Early Biographical Writings*, 54).

609. " 'I received your foolish and impudent letter. . . . what you shall say' ": The original of this letter to James Macpherson of Friday, 20 January 1775, is in the Hyde Collec-

tion (*Letters*, 2:168–69). A number of versions have survived. See Fleeman, *A Journey*, xxxn1. JH's version in both editions reads "imposition" instead of "imposture," the reading found in the original, William Shaw's 1781 *An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems Ascribed to Ossian* (11–12), Reed/Steevens, and Shaw's life (*Early Biographies*, 58, 173). This was the end of the dispute with Macpherson but not the end of SJ's involvement in arguments that Ossian was a forgery. Shaw published *An Enquiry* on 7 July 1781, and a rebuttal, *An Answer to Mr Shaw's Enquiry*, was published by John Clark late in 1781. The second edition of *An Enquiry*, published on 3 April 1782, has an appendix answering Clark. Evidence survives to suggest that SJ made revisions in the appendix. See Thomas M. Curley, "Samuel Johnson's Forgotten Friendship with William Shaw: Their Last Stand for Truth in the *Ossian* Controversy," *Age of Johnson* 18 (2007): 19–65; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1537–39.

610. "Phalaris's epistles. . . . Sybilline oracles": The *Epistles of Phalaris* (1695), attributed to a tyrant of Acragas in Sicily who lived in the sixth century BCE, were edited by Charles Boyle, fourth Earl of Orrery, praised by Sir William Temple, but proved by Richard Bentley to be spurious, dating probably from the second century AD. The controversy is part of the satire on learning in Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*. The information found here is in the entries for Boyle and Bentley in *BB*, 2:736–37, 934–35. Thomas Chatterton wrote a series of poems alleged to be by Thomas Rowley, a fifteenth-century Bristol monk, published in 1777 by Thomas Tyrwhitt, after Chatterton's suicide in 1770. Thomas Warton raised doubts about their authenticity, but, as in the case of the poems attributed to Ossian, controversy continued for years. Sybilline Oracles, collections of prophecies of sybils, divinely inspired female seers, that were widely circulated in antiquity, have had influence on pagan, Jewish, and Christian religion and are frequently cited by the church fathers. The prophetic Greek verses were thought to predict the coming of Christ, for example. The question of whether they were true prophecies or forgeries was examined by Isaac Vossius in *I. Vossii de sibyllinis aliisque quae Christi natalem praecessare oraculis* (1679). His "conclusion that they were of ancient Jewish origin met with great hostility" (Thomas Seccombe, rev. F. F. Blok, "Isaac Vossius," in *ODNB*). Sir John Floyer published *The Sibylline Oracles. Translated from the Greek* in 1713. During JH's lifetime the controversial William Whiston defended the oracles in his lectures and in print.

611. "revise . . . Shakespeare": Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1111–22.

612. "'The Patriot'": *The Patriot* was published on 12 October 1774 (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1200–1203). See Greene, 211–12; *YW*, 10:387–400. For JH's quotations from *The Patriot* see *YW*, 10:396–97, 398; *Works* (1787), 10:87–89, 90.

613. "'Taxation no Tyranny'": *Taxation No Tyranny* was published on 8 March 1775 (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1241–44). See Greene, 212–19; *YW*, 10:401–55. For the next three quoted passages by JH from *Taxation No Tyranny* see *YW*, 10:411–12, 417, 427–28 (part rearranged quotations, part paraphrase); *Works* (1787), 10:93–94, 100, 111–12.

614. "'A man. . . . possible'": This passage is part quotation, part paraphrase (*YW*, 10:429–30; *Works* [1787], 10:114–15). When SJ revised the pamphlet for inclusion in *Political Tracts*, published in April 1776 (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1268–69), he added an asterisk after "possible" and a footnote: "Of this reasoning, I owe part to a conversation with Sir John Hawkins" (210). The remainder of this passage is taken from the opening sentence of the following paragraph (*YW*, 10:430; *Works* [1787], 10:115).

615. "'To be prejudiced. . . . mischief'": *YW*, 10:412; *Works* (1787), 10:94–95.

616. "'Yet, before they quit. . . . hang himself'": In the third sentence of this passage "evil" should be substituted for "evils" (*YW*, 10:416–17; *Works* [1787], 10:99–100). The quotation is from Joseph Addison, *A Letter from Italy to . . . Lord Halifax* (1703), lines 119–20: "O Liberty, thou goddess heavenly bright, / Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight!" The quotation in the following paragraph is in *YW*, 10:425; *Works* (1787), 10:109.

617. "controversies, the Disciplinarian and Bangorian": The Disciplinarian Controversy of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries grew out of the Puritans' objection to the episcopacy of the established church. For the Bangorian controversy see n. 407 above.

618. "Il Penseroso": Milton's "Il Pensoroso," lines 47–48.

619. "In like manner. . . . Mr. Hogarth . . . rejected their offer": As Ronald Paulson points out, other satires on Sir Robert Walpole adopted Hogarth's form. Among these was *The Statesman's Progress; or, Memoirs of the Rise, Administration, and Fall of Houly Chan. Premier Minister to Abensadir, Emperor of China. In a Letter from a Spanish Father Missionary to his Friend in Madrid* (1733). This pamphlet is probably the source of the story, first told by Horace Walpole in the fourth volume of *Anecdotes of Painting* (imprint, 1771; advertisement dated 1 October 1780) and repeated here by JH, although JH may have heard it firsthand from Walpole, his neighbor in Twickenham. See Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1971), 1:290 and n. 30. Hogarth's *The Times, Plate I* (1762) is a political allegory defending George III and his minister, the Earl of Bute, and discrediting their enemies. The publication of the print created a paper war, most notably with John Wilkes and Charles Churchill. Plate 2 was not completed (ibid., 2:358–99).

620. "obligation which his pension implied . . . debate": The political pamphlets made SJ notorious, and he was the subject of numerous attacks accusing him of having sold his pen to the government for a pension during the remainder of his life and after. See McGuffie.

621. "'Taxation no Tyranny' . . . never received an answer": As McGuffie makes clear, refutations and attacks on the pamphlet began within days of its publication. JH, who shared SJ's political views on this question, means that none of the responses to the pamphlet had properly refuted SJ's arguments, and certainly not on legal grounds.

622. "'the supreme power . . . public prosperity'": For this quotation from the third paragraph of *Taxation No Tyranny* see *YW*, 10:411 and n. 2; *Works* (1787), 10:94. The passage is in italics in the pamphlet, suggesting its importance. If the italics were intended to indicate a quotation, it has not been traced.

623. "Mr. Locke's Essay on Government": John Locke published *Two Treatises on Government* in 1689. The first was an answer to Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha, or the Natural Power of Kings Asserted*, probably written shortly after its publication in 1680 (see n. 625 below). The second set out Locke's own political theory, in which he distinguished political from paternal power. "Private property can be acquired in the state of nature, and property rights are not extinguished by the transition to civil society. When entering into society men agree to give up some of the powers which they had exercised in the state of nature, such as the power to punish breaches of the law of nature, but their doing this is not irrevocable. If a government attempts to exceed its powers, it breaks its

trust, the government is dissolved, and its former subjects are at liberty to set up another in its place" (quoted from J. R. Milton, "John Locke," in *ODNB*).

624. "I once had a conversation. . . . failed of its effect": The nobleman is unidentified. For a brief account of George Grenville's offer to the American colonies see J. V. Beckett and Peter D. G. Thomas, "George Grenville," in *ODNB*.

625. "Sir Robert Filmer": In *Patriarcha* (written ca. 1630; published in 1680) Filmer argued that political authority did not originate with the consent of free people but began with the patriarchal authority of Adam. Hence, the power of monarchs has descended from Adam, instituted by God at the creation (Glen Burgess, "Sir Robert Filmer," in *ODNB*).

626. "submission to governors . . . Holy Scriptures": Perhaps a reference to a passage in Mark 12:17 and Luke 20:25: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's," or to 1 Peter 2:13–14: "Submit yourself to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; Or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well," or to 2 Peter 2:9–10: "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished: But chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness, and despise government. Presumptuous *are they*, selfwilled, they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities."

627. "sentiments of Hooker . . . explained by Hoadly": Benjamin Hoadley in *Original and Institution of Civil Government* (1710) argued, as he had earlier, that "government was instituted for the good of the people and that civil authority was vested in the magistrate by their agreement." He "adopted the pretence of defending Richard Hooker's views on civil government . . . as a way of legitimating his more radical ideas" in support of the Whigs (Stephen Taylor, "Benjamin Hoadley," in *ODNB*).

628. "president and fellows of Magdalen college . . . seven bishops": In 1687 James II twice tried to force the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, to elect a president of his choosing and was defied. In May 1688 the king ordered that a declaration of indulgence, which suspended all penal laws against nonconformists, be read in the churches by the clergy and distributed in the dioceses by the bishops. The archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops refused. After being accused of seditious libel and sent to the Tower, they were acquitted. See Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 1:699–701, 736–45.

629. "king William but in terms of reproach": See, for example, SJ's "Review of the *Memoirs of the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough*," in *GM* 12 (March 1742): 128–31: "Thus it is, that we are made acquainted with the disposition of King William, of whom it may be collected from various instances that he was arbitrary, insolent, gloomy, rapacious, and brutal, that he was at all times disposed to play the tyrant, *that he had neither in great things nor in small the manners of a gentleman*, that he was capable of gaining money by mean artifices, and that he only regarded his promise when it was his interest to keep it."

630. "English constitution": See 54 above.

631. "Sir Harbottle Grimston": Grimston was a barrister and active in politics from 1628 until his death in 1685. He wrote on political topics and is frequently mentioned in histories of the period. See Christopher Brooks, "Sir Harbottle Grimston," in *ODNB*.

632. "To party-opposition . . . aversion": SJ had supported the Opposition as a young man but became disenchanted after Sir Robert Walpole's resignation. See nn. 148, 197, 202, and 225 above.

633. "a minister": An allusion to William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, who supported the Americans and thus comes under attack in SJ's *Taxation No Tyranny*. The "experienced statesman" is unidentified.

634. "History . . . philosophy teaching by example": See Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ars Rhetorica* 11.2. After being twice quoted by Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, in his 1752 *Letters on the Study and Use of History* (14, 48), it becomes a commonplace maxim, usually citing Bolingbroke as the source, even though he credits Dionysius (14).

635. "Nullus liber . . . vel rectum": No Freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or be disseised of his Freehold, or Liberties, or free Customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land. We will sell to no man, we will not deny or defer to any man either Justice or Right (c. XXIX). Disseise: To put out of actual seisen or possession; to dispossess (a person) of his estates, etc., usually wrongfully or by force; to oust (*OED*).

636. "murmur against their rulers": There is much murmuring against God, Moses, and Aaron as the children of Israel wander in the wilderness after leaving Egypt. See, for example, "and the Lord spake with Moses and with Aaron, saying, How long *shall I bear with* this evil congregation, which murmur against me?" (Numbers 14:26–27); "And the whole congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron, in the wilderness" (Exodus 16:2).

637. "Scriptures . . . madness of the people": Although the phrase "madness of the people" is not to be found in the Authorized Version of the Bible, JH may be recalling a passage like that in Exodus 32, where the children of Israel fashion a golden calf and worship it while Moses is on Mount Sinai communing with God. Perhaps "foolish" should be substituted for "madness." See, for example, Jeremiah 4:22: "For my people *is* foolish, they have not known me; they *are* sottish children, and they have none understanding: they *are* wise to do evil, but to do good they have no knowledge," and Jeremiah 5:21: "Hear now this, O foolish people, and without understanding; which have eyes, and see not; which have ears, and hear not."

638. "general warrants": A warrant for the apprehension of the persons suspected of an offence, no individual being named or particularly described in special. According to Blackstone, the practice of issuing general warrants, founded on some clauses in the Acts (of Charles II) for regulating the press, was inadvertently continued after those Acts expired in 1694, and (except during the last four years of Queen Anne) remained down to 1763. In that year the arrest of John Wilkes on a general warrant raised the question of the legality of such warrants. In 1765 the Court of King's Bench decided that they were illegal, and in 1766 this was affirmed by a vote of the House of Commons (*OED*). See n. 584 above.

639. "late king of Spain": John Ellicott, clockmaker to George III, supplied clocks and watches to the royal court of Spain, including King Ferdinand VI (David Thompson, "John Ellicott," in *ODNB*).

640. "Mr. Thrale . . . Johnson into parliament": JH seems to be the authority for this statement (Clifford, *Hester Lynch Piozzi*, 74). In 1771 William Strahan also tried to find SJ a seat in Parliament (*Life*, 2:136–39).

641. "lord North . . . asperity": Even though SJ supported some of Lord North's poli-

cies and wrote pamphlets for him, JB reports his saying, for example, that "such a bunch of imbecility never disgraced a country" (*Life*, 4:139).

642. "Mr. Grenville . . . mean opinion": In the first edition of *Thoughts on Falkland's Islands* SJ had originally said of Grenville: "He had powers not universally possessed; if he could have got the money [for the Manila ransom], he could have counted it." The ministry softened the expression (*YW*, 10:383 and n. 6; *Works* [1787], 10:75). A British fleet landed in Manila on 25 September 1762 and agreed that the inhabitants could ransom their property for four million pesetas (one million pounds). A substantial portion of the payment was in Spanish treasury bills that Madrid refused to honor. How to collect the money was for a long time a source of political debate (*YW*, 10:379 and n. 4; *Works* [1787], 10:70–71).

643. "Sir Robert Walpole . . . high opinion": SJ told William Seward that "he was the best minister this country ever had; [and] if *we* would have let him (he speaks of his own violent faction) he would have kept the country in perpetual peace" (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 2:309).

644. "This all who knew him. . . . 'I have done myself' ": Among the more persistent myths about SJ, to which he was an abettor, is his ability to write quickly without the necessity of revision. Stories of SJ's prowess with the pen began in his lifetime and were perpetuated by the early biographers as well as by JH and JB and by later scholars, largely without critical examination. See, for example, JH's observations on SJ's composition of the *Debates* above (64). Although he may have written a work down quickly (having been composing it in his head for an unknown length of time), he was a compulsive reviser, carefully revising his works once they were in print, as a glance at almost any volume of the Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson demonstrates. Surviving manuscripts for the *Lives of the Poets* reveal SJ struggling with passages in an attempt to get them right. See *Lives*, 1:175–84, and passim; O M Brack, Jr.'s review of *Lives* in the *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*, n.s. 21, no. 2 (May 2007): 28–31.

645. "unquestionable authority . . . 'keep it a secret' ": The source may be Sir Robert Walpole's son Horace, JH's neighbor in Twickenham.

646. " 'Night Thoughts, Narcissa' ": Edward Young, *The Complaint:, or, Night Thoughts. Night the Third. Narcissa* (1742), lines 226–27.

647. "In the year 1775 . . . creating him a doctor in the faculty of law": "Let it be known that the illustrious man Samuel Johnson, learned in every field of humane letters, most happy in his mastery of all areas of knowledge, whose works have been composed with the greatest elegance of style and seriousness of thought for the purpose of shaping the morals of the people, has now gained such reputation that he seems worthy to have some distinguished award bestowed on him by his university and to be brought into the venerable order of teachers with the highest dignity. Seeing as how so many and such great efforts so felicitously expended, especially in adorning and stabilizing his native tongue, have so distinguished this same famous man that he may now rightly be considered the first citizen and leading figure of the republic of letters, We, the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of Oxford University. . . ." JB, who had the degree in his possession at the time he wrote the *Life*, gives a fuller version of the text (2:332). There is different punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing between the two texts, and there are two substantive variants: JH "deferrentur," *Life* "deferentur"; JH "in venerabilem," *Life* "[in] venerabilem." The diploma is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. See

L. F. Powell, "Johnson's DCL Diploma," *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 8 (Winter 1937–38): 458.

648. "Dean Tucker": Josiah Tucker, economist, political writer, and dean of Gloucester from 1758, discusses Walpole in his *Elements of Commerce and Theory of Taxes* ([Bristol?], 1755).

649. "a tour to Paris": SJ and the Thrales left Streatham on 15 September 1775, reached Paris on 28 September, and left on 1 November, arriving at Streatham on 13 November. SJ returned home on 14 November. A diary in a leather-bound notebook has survived with "France 2" on the cover; it includes an account of the trip from 10 October to 5 November. It was published by JB in *Life* (2:389–401, 522) and has been reprinted in *YW*, 1:229–56 (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1252). The portion of the diary stating that he spent thirty pounds for clothes is unlocated. See also Mary Hyde, *The Thrales of Streatham Park* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), 131–43.

650. " 'The Good-natured Man,' and acted in 1769": Both editions of *Life* have "1769"; it was first acted on 29 January 1768.

651. "Dr. Thomas Smith, in his life of Camden": *V. Cl. Gulielmi Camdeni, et illustrium virorum ad G. Camdenum Epistolae. Cum appendice varii argumenti. Accesserunt annalium regni Regis Jacobi I. apparatus, et commentarius de antiquitate, dignitate, & officio comitis marescalli Angliae. Praemittitur G. Camdeni vita. Scriptore Thoma Smitho S.T.D. ecclesiae Anglicanae presbytero* (1691). Anthony Wood, in his entry for Camden in *Athenae Oxonienses*, says it was defaced in 1646 (1:485). For an account of the seduction see William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England*, 4th ed. (1688), 499–500.

652. " 'This night presents a play. . . . an humbler name' ": *YW*, 6:290–91; *Poems*, 209–11. Both editions of the *Life* have 1769 for the date of Kelly's death; he died in 1777.

653. "Dr. William Dodd": The Reverend William Dodd, LL.D., prebendary of Brecon, rector of Hockliffe, Chalgrove, and Winge, former reader at the Magdalen Hospital Chapel, former chaplain to King George III, popular preacher, and writer, was hanged for forgery on 27 June 1777. Dodd may be remembered as the subject of one of SJ's most famous remarks ("Depend upon it, Sir, when a man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight, it concentrates his mind wonderfully" [*Life*, 3:167]) and for SJ's writings on Dodd's behalf in an attempt to have his sentence of death by hanging commuted to transportation.

Dodd, who habitually lived beyond his means, became desperate for money and on Saturday, 1 February 1777 forged a bond to obtain £4,200 in the name of his former pupil, the fifth Earl of Chesterfield. He was arrested, and on Wednesday, 19 February, the grand jury for Middlesex prisoners examined the evidence and decided there was a case against him. The chairman was JH. After a trial of six and a half hours on Saturday, 22 February, it took the jury ten minutes to return a verdict of guilty. On 16 May Dodd returned to the court to receive sentence.

SJ told JB that Dodd "was very little acquainted with him, having been but once in his company, many years previous" (*Life*, 3:140–41). In the description by Dodd of his first meeting SJ is described as "the celebrated author of *The Rambler*," and since the *Rambler* began publication on 20 March 1750, the meeting probably took place late that year or in early 1751. Apart from this early meeting the two were never again in each other's company. Then, sometime before Dodd's sentencing on 16 May, SJ and Dodd's lives again intersected. Although it is not known exactly when SJ became involved in

trying to save Dodd and have his sentence commuted from hanging to transportation, it is known how. The printer Edmund Allen, SJ's landlord, neighbor, and friend, had become acquainted with Dodd and visited him several times in prison. Dodd, who up to this point had not done well defending himself and knew he would have to make a public statement before the sentencing that was likely to be widely reported, asked Caroline, Countess of Harrington, to write a letter to implore SJ to use his "persuasive power of writing" in his favor. Allen was the intermediary and took the letter to SJ. As JB reports, "Johnson read it, walking up and down the chamber, and seemed much agitated, after which he said, 'I will do what I can' " (*Life*, 3:141). SJ's efforts to save Dodd from death and have his sentence commuted to transportation failed. Dodd was executed at Tyburn just after 11:00 a.m. on 27 June.

Edmund Allen, the intermediary between Johnson and Dodd, assembled the group of manuscripts that provide much of the surviving information on Johnson's writings for Dodd. Sometimes Allen kept Johnson's original and sent copies to Dodd; other times he seems to have sent Johnson's original directly to Dodd and made a copy for himself. The manuscripts are now part of the Hyde Collection (Houghton *2003JM-121). Johnson's writings for Dodd were edited as a keepsake for the Johnsonians and the Samuel Johnson Society of Southern California by O M Brack, Jr., in *The Macaroni Parson and the Concentrated Mind: Samuel Johnson's Writings for the Reverend William Dodd* (2004). The Dodd manuscripts will be included in volume 20 of *YW*, forthcoming.

654. "humanity is the fashion": Humanity: Disposition to treat human beings and animals with consideration and compassion, and to relieve distress; kindness, benevolence (*OED*).

655. "Mr. Selwin": George Augustus Selwyn, politician, was celebrated in his lifetime for his wit, although, as Philip Carter notes of his witticisms, "the majority . . . have not stood the test of time," suggesting that his "wit owed more to its performance than to its content" ("George Augustus Selwyn," in *ODNB*). Selwyn knew Dodd and asked Anthony Morris Storer to send him an account of Dodd's execution, which he did. See John Heneage Jesse, *George Selwyn and His Contemporaries*, new ed., 4 vols. (London: Bickers & Son, 1882), 3:197–99.

656. "most energetic compositions . . . seen": For the two petitions see Brack, *The Macaroni Parson*, 23–24, 60, 63, and for the others see passim.

657. "parable in the Gospel . . . forgave his debtor": This is a reference to Luke 7:41–50.

658. " 'Occasional papers by the late William Dodd, L.L.D.' ": See Brack, *The Macaroni Parson*, 18, 36–38. *Occasional Papers* finally made their appearance in 1785 as a postscript to Cooke's *Life*.

659. " 'The Convict's Address' ": This was not the last office performed by SJ. This sermon was delivered by Dodd on 6 June 1777. Before Dodd was hanged on 27 June 1777 SJ wrote a number of letters and petitions in an attempt to have his sentence commuted to transportation. JH may be confusing "The Convict's Address" with Dodd's "Last Solemn Declaration" of 25 June. After Dodd's death SJ wrote an introduction and conclusion to the *Occasional Papers* (1777). See Brack, *The Macaroni Parson*, 21–23, 47–55; *YW*, 14:301–13.

660. "Johnson . . . in his life": SJ and Dodd met once. See n. 653 above. JH seems to be the sole witness for Dodd's wife having met SJ. For SJ's concern about the failure of the petitions see Brack, *The Macaroni Parson*, 33–35, 65; *Letters*, 3:33–35. The petition

of 14 June that was signed by twenty-three thousand subjects is in Brack, *The Macaroni Parson*, 23, 61.

661. "pardoning Dodd . . . called in question": Daniel and Robert Perreau, with Margaret Caroline Rudd, Daniel's common-law wife, became involved in an elaborate scheme of forging bonds, some details of which remain a mystery. The twin brothers were tried in June 1775 and convicted; Rudd was tried in December and found not guilty. The brothers were hanged with their hands joined on 17 January 1776, having been labeled "the unfortunate Perreaus" in the swirl of newspaper coverage of the case. As he was to do later in the case of Dodd, George III followed the advice of his Privy Council and allowed justice to take its course. See Donna T. Andrew and Randall McGowen, *The Perreaus and Mrs. Rudd: Forgery and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), esp. 257–61. For a brief overview of the case see Donna T. Andrew, "Robert Perreau," in *ODNB*.

662. "Compton": The first mention of the Reverend James Compton, former librarian of the Benedictine convent, is in SJ's diary for 7 September 1782 (*YW*, 1:329–35 and passim; *Letters*, 4:77–78, 82, 85, 131). Robert Lowth was the bishop of London.

663. "In the year 1774 . . . literary property . . . existed only in imagination": For a detailed discussion of this case and the *Lives of the Poets* see Lonsdale's introduction to *Lives*, 1:4–9. JH refers to Sir John Dodderidge, *English Lawyer* (1631). Christopher Saint German, *Doctor and Student; or Dialogues Between a Doctor of Divinity, and a Student in the Laws of England*, first published in Latin in 1528 and in English in 1531, went through numerous editions and was still being published at the end of the eighteenth century.

664. "projected an edition of the English poets": The ruling by the House of Lords had little effect on how the London booksellers did business. They continued to purchase and trade shares in works on the basis, as JH states, that Jacob Tonson and his nephew Jacob II had bought the copyrights from the authors and that these copyrights had passed through intermediates ("mesne assignments") to the current booksellers. The most serious threat to the rights the London booksellers believed they had was the announcement in early 1777 by John Bell, a Scottish bookseller, of plans to publish *The Poets of Great Britain Complete from Chaucer to Churchill* (1776–82). No time was to be wasted, and SJ was approached on 29 March 1777 by a deputation of three members of the London Trade, representing forty-two booksellers and six printers, who asked him to write a biographical and critical preface for each of the poets included in their collection. SJ agreed, and eleven days later this notice appeared: "In the Press, and speedily will be published, *The English Poets, with a Preface, Biographical and Critical to each Author, By Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*" The *Recueils des plus belles pièces des poëtes François*, suggested by an unidentified "literary lady" and now attributed to Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle rather than to Marie-Catherine, comtesse d'Aulnoy, as well as Gerard Langbaine's *Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691), William Winstanley's *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687), and Giles Jacob's *The Poetical Register* (1719), are among a number of possible sources for the form of the lives. The first four volumes of SJ's work were published in 1779 and the last six in 1781. The composition, publication, and reception have been canvassed by Roger Lonsdale in his introduction to his edition of *Lives*. See also Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1351 ff.

665. " 'The poet's eye . . . and a name' ": Shakespeare, *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream*, 5.1.12–17.

666. " 'Such sights as youthful poets dream' ": Milton's *L'Allegro*, line 129.

667. "pulsatile instruments": Played by striking or percussion, percussive (*OED*). For SJ's appreciation of music see n. 452 above.

668. "friendship of a lady": Elizabeth Montagu, who published *An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare* (1769).

669. "To the life of Pope . . . sentiments": SJ's "Dissertation on the Epitaphs Written by Pope" had first been published the *Universal Visitor*, no. 5 (May 1756): 207–19, and reprinted a number of time before being included in the "Life of Pope" (*Lives*, 4:81–93 and nn.; *Works* [1787], 4:140–62; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 1:660–63). For SJ's comments on the inscription on James Craggs's monument see *Lives*, 4:85–86. For the criticism of the inscription by Matthew Concanen see his essay "Of Motto's," in *The Speculatist: A Collection of Letters and Essays, Moral and Political, Serious and Humourous: Upon Various Subjects* (1730): "Is this an Inscription for the Orb of a Medal, or a Millstone?" (14). SJ's "Essay on Epitaphs" is in *Works* (1787), 9:436–46.

670. "productive of a singular event . . . Raphael": The fourth couplet of the epitaph for Sir Godfrey Kneller, which Pope admitted was indebted to Cardinal Pietro Bembo's epitaph on Raphael, reads: "Living, great Nature fear'd he might outvie / Her works; and dying, fears herself may die." SJ comments that the couplet "is not only borrowed from the epitaph on Raphael, but of very harsh construction" (*Lives*, 4:88; *Works* [1787], 4:152). JH is mistaken in claiming that SJ's criticism caused the epitaph to be removed. See Lonsdale's notes in *Lives*, 4:355–56. JH could have found the two lines of the epitaph by Cardinal Bembo in the account of Raphael in *NGBD* (1784), 10:101.

671. "work of Thuanus": Jacques Auguste de Thou, French historian of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, was the author of *Historia sui Temporis* (1604–8).

672. "nearly completed the age of man": This is a reference to Psalms 90:10: "The days of our years *are* threescore years and ten."

673. "Sallust of the 'Bellum Catilinarium' ": The manuscript, now in the Hyde Collection, has been published as *Samuel Johnson's Translation of Sallust: A Facsimile and Transcription of the Hyde Manuscript*, ed. David L. Vander Muelen and G. Thomas Tanselle (New York: Johnsonians; Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1993).

674. "Savoy-conference": A failed attempt in 1661 to reach a compromise between the Anglicans and Presbyterians in order to have a unified national church. Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 1:179–82; Edmund Calamy, *An Abridgement of Mr Baxter's History of his Life and Times*, 2 vols. (1713), 1:139–82. The liturgy is on eighty-two separately numbered pages at the end of volume 1.

675. "Howell in one of his letters": See James Howell's *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: Familiar Letters Domestic and Foreign*, 10th ed. (1737), 322, 270. The concluding part of the sentence, "he must have . . . a Protestant," is a direct quotation. The second quotation is in bk. 1, sec. 6, letter 32.

676. "bishop Taylor's . . . suiting his circumstances": Jeremy Taylor, Church of Ireland bishop of Down and Connor, published *Rules and Exercises of Holy Living* in 1650 and *Rules and Exercises of Holy Dying* in 1651; they went through many editions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His *Ductor Dubitatem, or The Rule of Conscience in All Her General Measures; Serving as a Great Instrument for the Determination of Cases of Conscience* was published in 1660. "Rule of Conscience 1676" was in SJ's library (*Sale*

*Catalogue*, lot 213). According to JH in the "Apothegms," SJ "had read much in the works of Bishop Taylor; in his Dutch Thomas à Kempis he has quoted him occasionally in the margin" (2:13). "In the latter part of his life, in order to satisfy himself whether his mental faculties were impaired, he resolved he would try to learn a new language, and fixed upon the Low Dutch, for that purpose, and this he continued till he had read one half of *Thomas à Kempis*" (*Life*, 4:21). See 339 below.

677. "Gataker . . . Dod": JH could have found an entry for Thomas Gataker (formerly Gatacre), Church of England clergyman and scholar, in *BB*, 4:2155–77. See Brett Usher, "Thomas Gataker," in *ODNB*, and for John Dod, Church of England clergyman, see J. Fielding's account in ibid. Thomas Fuller's *The Church History of Great Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year 1648* was published in 1655, and the *History of the Worthies of England* was edited and published by his son John in 1632 (W. B. Patterson, "Thomas Fuller," in *ODNB*). SJ had a copy of Fuller's *Church History* in his library (*Sale Catalogue*, lot 595).

678. "'It is no great matter. . . . victory'": Jeremy Taylor's 1657 *Symbolon ēthiko-polemikon. Or the Collection of Polemical and Moral Discourses* (25–26). After the first edition it had a slightly different title. SJ had two(?) copies of the enlarged third edition (1674) and one other copy of this edition (or another) of *Symbolon theologikon: or a Collection of Polemical Discourses* (*Sale Catalogue*, lots 213, 351, 477).

679. "specimen has lately been given to the public": For *Prayers and Meditations* see n. 273 above.

680. "saying of John Valdesso": JH earlier told this anecdote of Juan de Valdés's observation to the Holy Roman emperor, Charles V, in the fourth edition of *The Compleat Angler* (1784), identifying his source as *The Hundred and Ten Considerations of Signior John Valdesso*, trans. Nicholas Farrar, with notes by George Herbert (Oxford, 1638). SJ included the anecdote in *Rambler* 28, Saturday, 23 June 1750 (*YW*, 3:156; *Works* [1787], 5:186–87). The anecdote also appears in Izaak Walton's "Life of Herbert" (George Herbert, *The Temple. Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations* [1678], 50–51). SJ had "10. Life of Dr. Sanderson, &c." in his library at his death (*Sale Catalogue*, lot 244). See n. 738 below.

681. "George Psalmanaazar": For the account of George Psalmanazar see *NGBD* (1784), 10:486–89. See also Robert DeMaria, Jr., "George Psalmanazar," in *ODNB*; and Michael Keevak, "Johnson's Psalmanazar," *Age of Johnson* 14 (2004): 97–120. In "Apothegms" JH says, "He was very well acquainted with Psalmanaazar, the pretended Formosan, and said, he had never seen the close of the life of any one that he wished so much his own to resemble, as that of him, for its purity and devotion. He told many anecdotes of him; and said he was supposed by his accent to have been a Gascon. He said, that Psalmanaazar spoke English with the city accent, and coarsely enough. He for some years spent his evenings at a publick house near Old-Street, where many persons went to talk to him; Johnson was asked whether he ever contradicted Psalmanaazar;—'I should as soon,' said he, 'have thought of contradicting a bishop'; so high did he hold his character in the latter part of his life. When he was asked whether he had ever mentioned Formosa before him, he said, he was afraid to mention China" (2:12–13).

682. "mere moralist": Mere: That or this only; such and nothing else; this only. Moralist: One who teaches the duties of life (*Dictionary*). Moralist: One who lives by or teaches a natural system of ethics; a mere moral man (sense 3 in *OED*). On Sunday,

21 November 1784, SJ, after admonishing his friend John Hoole for not taking the sacrament, reading the Bible, or praying in private, made the distinction between being moral and being religious: "'I believe your life to have been a very moral one, let it henceforth be a religious one'" (*Journal*).

683. "a certain female sceptic": Unidentified.

684. "year 1781, death . . . Mr. Thrale": "He attended Mr. Thrale in his last moments, and stayed in the room praying, as is imagined, till he had drawn his last breath.—His servants, said he, would have waited upon him in this awful period, and why not his friend?" (Hawkins, "Apothegms," 2:8; Clifford, *Hester Lynch Piozzi*, 198–99). For the complex relationship between SJ and Henry Thrale see Lee Morgan, *Dr. Johnson's "Own Dear Master": The Life of Henry Thrale* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1998), 252–57.

685. "Mr. Pope to appoint Mr. Murray . . . executors of his will": Alexander Pope's *The Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace* (1737) was addressed to William Murray, a successful barrister who had gained fame and popularity from a speech he had given in the House of Commons on behalf of the merchants in 1738. In 1742 he became solicitor-general and a member of Parliament, later becoming attorney general (1754–56) and lord chief justice (1756–88). He became the first Earl of Mansfield in 1776. See James Oldham, "William Murray," in *ODNB*; and Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life* (New York: Norton, 1985), 686–88.

686. "saying of Themistocles": See Plutarch "Life of Themistocles" 3.

687. "sale of Pitt's diamond": The Regent or Pitt diamond was bought by Thomas Pitt, the governor of Madras, in 1702 for £20,400 and was subsequently sold to the duke of Orléans, regent of France, for £125,000. See Perry Gauci, "Thomas Pitt," in *ODNB*.

688. "Hic conditur quod reliquum. . . . Eternitatem cogita":

> Here is buried what remains of Henry Thrale, who handled both his civic duties and his domestic affairs in such a way that many wished him a longer life, and his sacred duties in such a way that he seemed aware of how short a life he would have. He was ingenuous, open, always the same; in appearance he made no ostentatious display, either through vain art or excessive care.
>
> In Parliament he devoted himself faithfully to king and country, with a spirited contempt for the clamoring mob. At home, amidst the thousand demands of business, he found time for literary refinement; to his friends, in whatever manner they might be struggling, he was present with advice, influence, and support. Among family, associates, companions, and guests, the easy sweetness of his manners drew all men's hearts to him; such was the happy freedom of his conversation that, though he flattered none, he pleased all.
>
> Born 1724 Died 1781
>
> He shares this tomb with his father, Ralph, a vigorous and strong man, and with his only son, Henry, whom an unexpected death at the age of 10 snatched away from the hopes of his parents. Thus a happy and wealthy house, founded by the grandfather and increased by the father, fell with the grandson.
>
> Pass on, traveler; and having surveyed the reversals of human affairs, think on eternity.

The epitaph for Henry Thrale was probably composed in June 1781, and the marble monument by John Flaxman was erected on 20 September 1782 in St. Leonard's,

Streatham. JH derives his text from HLP's *Anecdotes* (1:238). For the complex relationship of the surviving texts see Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1533–35.

689. "It seems between him and the widow. . . . 'have been heard!' ": This brief entry for 5 April 1783 is from a diary now unlocated (*YW*, 1:358–59).

690. "sarcocele": A fleshy excrescence of the testicles, which sometimes grows so large as to stretch the scrotum much beyond its natural size. *Quincy* (*Dictionary*).

691. " 'Our old friend Mr. Levett . . . Sam. Johnson' ": For this letter of Thursday, 17 January 1782, to Thomas Lawrence see *Letters*, 4:6. See also n. 528 above.

692. " 'January 20, Sunday. . . . mercy on me!' ": *YW*, 1:31.

693. " 'Condemn'd to hope's delusive mine. . . . nearest way' ": *YW*, 6:313–15; *Poems*, 232–35. Both editions of *Life* have "ignorance" instead of "arrogance" at line 11.

694. " 'It hath pleased Almighty God. . . . S. Johnson' ": For this letter to Edmund Allen of Tuesday, 17 June 1783 see *Letters*, 4:148.

695. "Dr. Heberden and Dr. Brocklesby": William Heberden, the elder, M.D., and Richard Brocklesby, M.D., were prominent physicians who cared for SJ throughout his last illness without fees. Brocklesby was cofounder with SJ of the Essex-Head Club and supplied information on SJ's last illness and death to JH, Cooke, and JB. See nn. 721, 747 below.

696. " 'Almighty God. . . . Amen' ": The prayer was probably written between 15 and 28 August (*YW*, 1:362–63).

697. "Of his being seized. . . . 'Dr. Heberden took leave' ": For these passages from SJ's diary for June 1783 see *YW*, 1:359.

698. " 'As Mr. Ryland was talking. . . . Nov. 22, 1783' ": For this letter to JH see *Letters*, 4:246–47.

699. " 'In perambulating Ivy lane. . . . Sam. Johnson' ": For this letter of Wednesday, 3 December 1783 to JH see *Letters*, 4:256.

700. " 'Senile Colloquium' of Erasmus": "The old Mens Dialogue," in *All the Familiar Colloquies of Desiderius Earasmus*, 228–41.

701. "dropsy": A morbid condition characterized by the accumulation of watery fluid in the serous cavities or the connective tissue of the body (*OED*). In the *Dictionary* SJ gives the etymology, followed by a quotation from John Quincy: "A collection of water in the body, from too lax a tone of the solids, whereby digestion is weakened, and all the parts stuffed," and another from Samuel Sharp.

702. "idle reports, that he dreaded annihilation": After word about SJ's last days became public there must have been considerable gossip. Properly speaking, it was not death SJ feared but judgment. See, for example, *Rambler* 110, Saturday, 6 April 1751 (*YW*, 4:220–26); *Life*, 4:298; *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 2:399; O M Brack, Jr., "The Death of Samuel Johnson and the Ars Moriendi Tradition," *Cithara* 20 (1980): 3–15; *Early Biographies*, 181–82, 189; McGuffie.

703. " 'myself be a castaway' ": An allusion to St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 9: "24 Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain. 25 And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now they *do it* to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible. 26 I therefore so run, not as uncertainty; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air: 27 But I keep under my body, and bring *it* into subjection: lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away."

704. "asked me what I thought of it": SJ told Lucy Porter in a letter of 23 February

1784 that this event took place on Thursday, 19 February. For the letter and a possible explanation for this sudden remission see *Letters*, 4:290 and n. 1.

705. "Law's Serious call to a devout and holy life": "When at Oxford, I took up 'Law's Serious Call to a Holy Life,' expecting to find it a dull book, (as such books generally are,) and perhaps to laugh at it. But I found Law quite an overmatch for me; and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion, after I became capable of rational inquiry" (*Life*, 1:69).

706. "enemies of his memory . . . superstition": See, for example, Tyers, Cooke, and Joseph Towers in *Early Biographies*, 39, 129, 190, 221; McGuffie.

707. "club . . . Essex-street": This club, cofounded by SJ and Dr. Brocklesby, had a respectable membership. Laetitia-Mathilda Hawkins states in her *Memoirs* (1:104), "Boswell was well justified in his resentment of my father's designation of this Essex-Head Club, as a six-penny club, meeting at an ale-house. . . . Honestly speaking, I dare say he did not like being passed over" (1:103). See *Life*, 4:253–54, 436–39. For the "Nightly Rules of the Essex-head Club" and a list of the members see Cooke in *Early Biographies*, 117–19. See also Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1563; an account of the Essex-Head Club by James Sambrook appears in *ODNB*. (In the article "Samuel Johnson" by Pat Rogers, under "Themes" in the left margin, click on "Essex-Head Club.")

708. "Annet": Peter Annet wrote widely against Christianity, attacking the resurrection, miracles, and biblical figures. He was prosecuted before the King's Bench for blasphemy in 1762 and convicted. See James A. Herrick, "Peter Annet," in *ODNB*. For Andrew Jackson, bookseller, Clare Court, Drury Lane see Nichols, 3:625–26.

709. "to run up . . . Royal Academy . . . dinner there": He wrote to Hester Thrale on Sunday, 26 April 1784: "I went up all the stairs to the Pictures without stopping to rest or to breathe" (*Letters*, 4:321).

710. "Opie for his picture . . . was never finished": Michael Lort in a letter to Thomas Percy on 7 August 1783 says: "Dr Johnson is recovered, and gone to Mr Langton's at Rochester. Before he went he sat to Opie, the famous self-taught Cornish painter, for his picture, and who I am told has given a just but no flattering likeness of the Doctor" (John Bowyer Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth-Century*, 8 vols. [London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1817–58], 7:459). Two copies of the portrait by James Opie exist, one at Houghton Library, Harvard University, and the other in a private collection. See *Samuel Johnson 1909–84: A Bicentenary Exhibition* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1984), 131–32. The friend in Ashbourne in Derbyshire was John Taylor.

711. "wrote to her . . . a letter": The first paragraph of this letter of Friday, 2 July 1784, to Hester Thrale reads: "If I interpret your letter right, You are ignominiously married, if it is yet undone, let us once talk together. If You have abandoned your children and your religion, God forgive your wickedness; if you have forfeited your Fame, and your country, may your folly do no further mischief" (*Letters*, 4:338; *GM* 54, pt. 2 [December 1784]: 893). This is SJ's response to Hester Thrale's letter of 30 June sent to him, three other guardians of her daughters, and her daughters. To SJ's copy Hester Thrale added a note begging: "Pardon for concealing from you a Connection which you must have heard of by many People, but I suppose never believed. . . . I could not have borne to reject that Counsel it would have killed me to take; and I only tell it you now, because all is *irrevocably settled*" (*The Piozzi Letters*, ed. Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom,

6 vols. [Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989], 1:72–73). Hester Thrale married Gabriel Piozzi on 25 July 1784: "At Bath, Mrs. Thrale, relict of the late Henry Thrale, esq; to Gabriel Piozzi of Venice" (*GM* 54, pt. 2 [July 1784]: 556). Although JH says earlier that "a friendly connection and correspondence . . . continued . . . between Johnson and the widow" (338), in fact, their relationship had been deteriorating over the years since Henry's death (Clifford, *Hester Lynch Piozzi*, 203–27). SJ, in failing health, with the attendant increasing irritation that illness often brings, felt that he was losing his "home" at a time when he most needed its comforts. Hester Thrale, now in her early forties and freed from Henry, the man her mother wished her to marry, must have felt that as a wealthy widow she could finally have a life that she wished and even marry for love. On Piozzi's death in 1809 HLP wrote that their love "made twenty years passed in Piozzi's enchanting society seem like a happy dream of twenty hours" (ibid., 425).

712. "The answer to this I have seen": This is a reference to Hester Thrale's letter of 4 July 1784, in which, in a dignified manner, she vigorously defended herself against SJ's accusations: "I have this Morning received from You so rough a Letter, in reply to one which was both tenderly and respectfully written, that I am forced to desire the conclusion of a Correspondence which I can bear to continue no longer. The Birth of my second Husband is not meaner than my first, his sentiments are not meaner, his Profession is not meaner." The letter concluded: "Till you have changed your Opinion of Mr. Piozzi—let us converse no more. God bless you!" (*Piozzi Letters*, 1:81–82; Clifford, *Hester Lynch Piozzi*, 227–29). Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins, who "was deeply occupied with my father in the examination and selection of Dr. Johnson's papers," says, "It was I who discovered the letter: I carried it to my father: he enclosed it and sent it to her, there never having been any intercourse between them" (*Memoirs*, 1:66). SJ sent a conciliatory letter on 8 July to which Hester Thrale responded on 15 July. SJ did not respond, concluding their correspondence (*Letters*, 4:343–44; *Piozzi Letters*, 1:93–94).

713. "Ephesian Matron, related by Petronius": A widow weeping over the tomb of her husband falls in love and marries a soldier who shows compassion toward her (Titus Petronius Arbiter, *Satyricon* 111–12).

714. "hedge in the cuckow": Something impossible to do, thus foolish to attempt. The popular jest book, *The Merry Tales of the Wise Men of Gotham*, has the following tale: "On a time the men of Gotham fain would have pinn'd in the cuckow, that she might sing all the year; and in the midst of the town they had a hedge made round in compass, and got a cuckow and put her into it, and said, Sing here, and you shall lack neither meat nor drink all the year.—The cuckow, when she perceived herself encompassed within the hedge, flew away.—A vengeance on her, said these wise men, we did not make our hedge high enough" (Newcastle upon Tyne? [1785?], 4–5, available at Eighteenth-Century Collections Online).

715. "'One argument . . . past recalling'": Swift, "Phyllis or, The Progress of Love," lines 67–68 (Rogers, *Jonathan Swift*, 191).

716. "'Poor Thrale! . . . forget or pity'": For this letter of summer 1784 to JH see *Letters*, 4:351.

717. "a lady then resident at Rome": Unidentified.

718. "'After a long and not inattentive observation of mankind. . . . Sam. Johnson'": For this letter of Thursday, 9 September 1784, to Lord Thurlow see *Letters*, 4:399–400. As Redford points out, "mihi carior" means "dearer to myself" (ibid., 4:400). The let-

ter was published in Cooke, Shaw, and an anonymous life prefacing a 1786 edition of the *Dictionary* (*Early Biographies*, 120, 181, 239). See also *GM* 54, pt. 2 (December 1784): 892–93, where the letter is published with a note stating that Reynolds showed the letter to Margaret Bingham, Countess of Lucan, who "put the whole to paper when she went home, with only the mistake of a single word, 'rested' for 'rioted.'" She is the "lady of quality" mentioned in the following paragraph.

719. "'The snow, dissolv'd. . . . hold his friend'": For SJ's translation of Horace *Odes* 4.7 see *YW*, 6:343–44; *Poems*, 264–65; *Works* (1787), 11:372–73.

720. "'I am relapsing into the dropsy . . . company'": For this letter of Sunday, 7 November 1784, to JH see *Letters*, 4:436. L. F. Powell suggests that SJ probably left Lichfield on about 8 November (*Life*, 3:455). After visiting Birmingham and Oxford, he arrived in London on 16 November (*Letters*, 4:437).

721. "'Canst thou not minister . . .' MACBETH": SJ quotes from Macbeth's speech at 5.3.42–47 and Dr. Brocklesby from the Doctor's speech at 5.3.47–48. The anecdote was first published in Cooke (first edition, 27 December 1784; second edition, 22 February 1785). See *Early Biographies*, 121. Cooke probably heard the anecdote directly from Brocklesby, as both were members of the Essex-Head Club (ibid., 118). Brocklesby reported the anecdote to JB in letters of 11 and 27 December 1784 (Waingrow, 22, 25, 29), and it appears in *Life*, 4:400.

722. "'Aegri Ephemeris'": On 6 July 1784 he began his "Sick Man's Journal" and continued it until 8 November. See *YW*, 1:371–407, 415–16.

723. "Erasmus . . . Dr. Clarke's sermons": Desiderius Erasmus published a critical edition of the Greek New Testament, with his own Latin translation and commentary, in 1516. SJ had the Basel 1527 fourth edition in his library at his death (*Sale Catalogue*, lot 571); he also had four volumes of the nine-volume Basel 1540 edition of Erasmus's works (lot 258). SJ recommended John Clarke's edition of *Erasmi Colloquia Selecta: or The Select Colloquies of Erasmus* in his scheme of education (24 above). A number of sermons by Samuel Clarke were also in his library (lots 242, 251). William Seward says, "A friend of Dr. Johnson asked him one day, whose sermons were the best in the English language. 'Why, Sir, bating a little heresy those of Dr. Samuel Clarke.' . . . In his [SJ's] opinion Clarke was the most complete literary character that England ever produced." See "Anecdotes by William Seward, F.R.S.," in *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 2:305.

724. "persons concerned . . . 'Universal History'": *GM* 54, pt. 2 (December 1784): 891–92.

725. "memorial of his deceased parents and his brother": The epitaphs were given to John Hoole to copy on Wednesday, 1 December 1784, and he gave the copy to SJ the following day (*Journal*).

> Here lies Michael Johnson, a man fearless, constant, courageous, unconcerned with danger, able to endure the greatest toil, strong and fervent in his Christian faith, especially vigorous as a husband and father. A very skilled bookseller, he had a mind trained in books and in business; his spirit was so firm that, although long harassed by unfavorable circumstances, he never failed himself or his family; and his tongue was so controlled that neither pain nor pleasure ever forced from him anything that might injure either chaste or pious ears.
>
> He was born at Cubley in Derbyshire in 1656; he died in 1731.

> Next to him lies Sara, his wife, of the ancient family of the Fords; a diligent housekeeper, she was known to few outside the home; troublesome to no one, she excelled in acuity of mind and firmness of judgment; she greatly indulged others, but herself little; as she always had eternity in her thoughts, nearly every kind of virtue recommended her.
>
> She was born at King's Norton in Warwickshire in 1669; she died in 1759.
>
> With them is their son Nathanael, born in 1712. His powers of mind and body offered great promise, but his brief life ended with a pious death in the year 1737.

They were printed in *GM* 55, pt. 1 (January 1785): 9. See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1567–68.

726. "epitaph for Mr. Garrick": It is worthy of note that for all the alleged animosity of SJ toward Garrick reported by JH, JB, and others, SJ remembered him on his deathbed. Eva Maria Garrick included on her husband's monument in Lichfield Cathedral SJ's comments in his "Life of Smith": "His death eclipsed the gaiety of nations, and impoverished the publick stock of harmless pleasure" (*Lives*, 2:179; *Works* [1787], 2:473; *Letters*, 3:150n1).

727. "Latin metre, from the Greek Anthologia": *YW*, 6:315–40; *Poems*, 241–59. JH means that the poems have been made more widely accessible by translating them into Latin. Fabricius is almost certainly Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, 14 vols. (1708–21), a sprawling, poorly organized bibliography of ancient Greek literature.

728. "Reverend Mr. Strahan": The Reverend George Strahan, vicar of Islington, edited SJ's *Prayers and Meditations*, published on 13 August 1785. See 101 above, n. 273 above, and n. 737 below; Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1600–1601. For another account of the visit to Islington and SJ's will see *Journal* for Saturday, 27 November 1784.

729. "inops consilii": Latin, "without counsel."

730. "explicit declaration of his belief . . . Christian": See also *Journal* for Saturday, 27 November 1784. The reference in the footnote is to *The English Works of Sir Henry Spelman, Kt., Published in his Lifetime; Together with his Posthumous Works, . . . 1695, . . . Now Revised*, 2nd ed. (1727), 233–56.

731. "'I humbly commit . . . Jesus Christ'": See 360 below. This manuscript is unlocated.

732. "devise of his house at Lichfield": Devise: The act of giving or bequeathing by will (sense 1 in *Dictionary*). Mortmain: Such a state of possession as makes it unalienable; whence it is said to be a *dead hand*, in a hand that cannot shift the property (*Dictionary*).

733. "dissolution was very terrible to him": "To his censure of fear in general, he made however one exception, with respect to the fear of death, *timorum maximus*; he thought the best of us were but unprofitable servants, and had much reason to fear" (Hawkins, "Apothegms," 2:16). This is an allusion to Luke 17:10: "We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do," and to Matthew 25:30: "And cast ye out the unprofitable servant into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth."

734. "'labour to do good'": This is an allusion to St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians 3:8: "Every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour."

735. "'fruits meet for repentance'": "Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance" (Matthew 3:8); "Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance" (Luke 3:8).

736. "He was busied in destroying papers": Perhaps John Desmoulins, grandson of SJ's godfather, Dr. Samuel Swynsen, was the person assisting Bennet Langton in making fair copies of some translations of the Greek epigrams. See also *Journal* for Wednesday, 1 December 1784, where Hoole mentions having tea and coffee with "Mr. De Moulins."

737. " 'Almighty and most merciful Father. . . . Amen' ": For the prayer on 5 December 1784 see *YW*, 1:417–18. The clause "forgive and accept my late conversion" was omitted by the Reverend George Strahan when he published *Prayers and Meditations* in August 1785. Conversion: Change from reprobation to grace, from bad to a holy life (sense 2 in *Dictionary*). See Michael Bundock, "The Making of Johnson Prayers and Meditations," *Age of Johnson* 14 (2003): 77–97. See *Journal* for an account of this day.

738. " 'That little . . . purpose in sickness' ": Jeremy Taylor says that "whatsoever must be done in Sickness, ought to be done in Health" (*Rules and Exercises of Holy Dying*, chap. 3, sec. 9, par. 5, p. 153). The quotation in the footnotes is from the conclusion of the revised second edition of Izaak Walton's "Life of Sanderson," which prefaces *XXV Sermons*, 2nd ed. (1681), 45–46. When JH revised the "Life of Izaac Walton" for the fourth edition of *The Compleat Angler* (1784), he added a paragraph on the "Life of Sanderson" ending, "for the nervous sentiments and the pious simplicity therein displayed, let the concluding paragraph thereof, pointed out to me by an eminent writer, . . . serve as a specimen" (xlvii). A dagger follows "writer," sending the reader to a footnote: "Dr. *Samuel Johnson*." Laetitia-Mathilda Hawkins remembered, "When Johnson spoke with tenderness, uncouth as were his gesticulations, and distorted as were his features, the interest he expressed was affecting. Particularly I recollect hearing him repeat the lines concluding Izaac Walton's Life of Bishop Sanderson, with a fervour that impressed them at once on my memory" (*Memoirs*, 1:103). See n. 680 above.

739. "book, I put it . . . into my pocket": For a detailed discussion of this incident see Michael Bundock, "Did John Hawkins Steal Johnson's Diary?" forthcoming. In the first edition, which carries no account of this incident, JH says he again visited SJ on 6 December; the second edition gives the date as 7 December (Davis, *Proof*, 327 and n. 48). Both JH and Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins believed that the paper had been stolen by George Steevens, who owned a share in the *St. James's Chronicle* (ibid., 258–60; Hawkins, *Memoirs*, 1:266). Steevens had assisted SJ with his 1765 edition of Shakespeare and revised the 1773 and 1778 editions of the Johnson-Steevens Shakespeare. He was elected to the Club in February 1774, sponsored by SJ. See Arthur Sherbo, "George Steevens," in *ODNB*. He visited SJ on the day of his death (*Journal*).

740. " 'Othello did for his handkerchief . . . run mad' ": An allusion to Shakespeare's *Othello*, 3.4, 4.1.34–43, 5.2.210–31.

741. "published": To discover to mankind; to make generally and openly known; to proclaim; to divulge (sense 1 in *Dictionary*).

742. " 'Jam morituras' ": "Now I am about to die" may echo "morituri te salutamus," the salutation of the dying gladiators to Caesar. These last words are certainly in keeping with the image of the heroic SJ, depicted by JB and several of the early biographers, although a reader of SJ's diaries and prayers during the last month of his life might be justifiably skeptical that SJ was thinking of gladiators rather than Jesus Christ in his last moments. Francesco Sastres, an Italian teacher and translator and a member of the Essex-Head Club who had met SJ by 1776, was not in the room at the time of SJ's death, as he reported to JB on 22 February 1786: "This truly great man breathed his last

Monday the 13th Decr. 1784, about half an hour after seven in the evening whilest I was alone in the dining room waiting to see Franc in order to ask him how his master was" (Waingrow, 108). Hoole reports on Monday, 13 December 1784: "Went to Bolt Court at eleven o'clock met a young Lady coming from him which upon enquiry I found to be Miss Morris (a sister to Miss Morris formerly on the stage). Mrs. De Moulins told me that she had seen the Doctor, that by her desire he had been told that she came to ask his blessing and that he said, 'God bless you!' . . . While Mrs. Gardiner & I were there before the rest came he took a little warm milk in a cup when he said something upon its not being properly given into his hand and I believe this was the last time he spoke" (*Journal*). JH reports in "Apothegms" that "two days before he died, he said, with some pleasantry,—Poor Johnson is dying; **** will say, he dies of taking a few grains more of squills than were ordered him; **** will say, he dies of the scarifications made by the surgeon in his leg. His last act of understanding is said to have been exerted in giving his blessing to a young lady that requested it of him" (2:7). The speakers were Brocklesby and Heberden. JH may have received the anecdote from Brocklesby or perhaps William Windham. See the account in Windham's diary in *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 2:386. For various deathbed statements attributed to SJ see Brack, "The Death of Samuel Johnson," 9–10, 14–15.

743. "a young man that sat up with him": The man may have been Cawston, servant to William Windham (*Life*, 4:418).

744: "righteous": Just; honest; virtuous; uncorrupt (sense 1 in *Dictionary*).

745. "salvation with fear and trembling": The apostle is St. Paul, who in his epistle to the Philippians admonishes them to "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling" (2:12).

746. "patient continuance in well-doing": An allusion to St. Paul's epistle to the Romans: "To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life" (2:7).

747. "body might be opened": The autopsy report appears in the obituary for SJ in *GM* 54 (December 1784): 957–58. The source for the autopsy report was probably Dr. Richard Brocklesby, who supplied information on SJ's last illness and death to JH, Cooke, and JB (*Early Biographies*, 122; Waingrow, 21–24, 28–31).

748. "dean of Westminster": John Thomas was bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster in 1784.

749. "Copy of Dr. JOHNSON's WILL": The probate copy of the will is in Dr. Johnson's House, London, and a manuscript copy is in the British Library (MS Egerton 24476, fol. 56). The will and the codicil were first published in several London newspapers and the *GM* 54, pt. 2 (December 1784): 946–47. See Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1568–70.

750. "messuage": The house and ground set apart for household use (*Dictionary*).

751. "each a book . . . as a token of remembrance": Since it is unknown in most cases which book some of the legatees chose, many items from SJ's library are unrecorded. For those books that have been traced see Fleeman, *Copies*.

752. "anonymous letter": Unlocated.

753. "allowance . . . coals at Christmas": Chaldron: A dry English measure of coals, consisting of thirty six bushels heaped up, according to the sealed bushel kept at Guildhall, London. The *chauldron* should weigh two thousand pounds. *Chambers* (*Dictio-*

*nary*). A night nurse, paid to watch SJ during the last few days of his life, received "half a crown a night" (357 above).

754. "private memoranda in my possession": A number of documents about SJ's charities survive. See the index to volume 1 of *YW*, "JOHNSON, SAMUEL, II. Charities" (439).

755. "ostentatious bounty": JH was deeply touched by the plight of the Heelys. See Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins's account of the Heely episode in *Memoirs*, 1:221–26. Francis Barber and his wife, Elizabeth (née Ball), had five children. After SJ's death they moved to Lichfield but through extravagance fell into poverty. During Francis's last years he ran a small school in nearby Burntwood and died in the Stafford Infirmary on 13 January 1801; his wife died in 1816 (*Gleanings*, 2:1–109, 8:73–82; William R. Jones, "Francis Barber," in *ODNB*).

756. "manuscript Latin poems": Bennet Langton edited the Latin poems, in whole or in part, for JH's 1787 *Works* (11:383–406); these are followed by the translations from the *Greek Anthology* (407–27). See *Poems*, xix–xx. See also the advertisement to the 1787 *Works*, 479–80 below.

# TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

The printing and publication of Sir John Hawkins's *Life of Samuel Johnson* is explained in detail by J. D. Fleeman (*Bibliography*, 2:1623–36). Initially, the *Life* was issued as the first volume of an eleven-volume edition of *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* on Tuesday, 20 March 1787. John Nichols printed volumes 2–4, and Andrew Strahan printed volumes 5–11; volume 1, containing the *Life*, was probably printed by Henry Hughes and supervised by Hawkins (see xxviii–xxix above). Then on 22 March 1787 the *Life* was issued separately with a new title page, and the portrait of Johnson, the dedication, and the advertisement were omitted (see 479–82 below). A second edition, containing Hawkins's final revisions, was hastily printed by Henry Hughes and was published on 7 June 1787.

## EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

As is the case with many eighteenth-century writings, the autograph manuscript of *The Life of Samuel Johnson* has disappeared. Choosing a copy-text on historical grounds best resolves the problems presented by the texts of the *Life*. The 1787 second edition of the *Life*, printed from an unlocated marked copy of the 1787 first edition and containing Hawkins's final revisions, has therefore been chosen as copy-text for this edition, with only errors corrected.

Compositors, paid according to the amount of type they set, in general were not interested in emendation and improvement. They normally followed their copy with some care, since they knew they would be penalized for failing to do so. Hence, the normal assumption is that substantive revisions are authorial. Most changes in the second edition are beyond the reach of a compositor and only could have been made by someone familiar with the *Life*. The historical collation includes all the readings believed to have originated with Hawkins as well as readings that may be by Hawkins or by a compositor.

In the present edition no attempt has been made to achieve a general consistency in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization, because in the absence of the original manuscript from which the 1787 first edition was printed and the marked copy of the first edition from which the 1787 second edition was set one cannot determine whether Hawkins or the compositor was responsible for their variations. Hence, the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of the 1787 second edition have been retained except when they are clearly in error or when they obscure meaning or distract the attention of the reader. All emendations to the copy-text have been made on the authority of the editor. Hyphenated words at a line-end have been adjusted according to the usual practice of the second edition insofar as that practice could be ascertained from other appearances or parallels. Only the following changes have been made silently: all turned letters or wrong fonts have been corrected, the long *ſ* has been replaced by the modern letter *s*, and *ae* and *oe* have not been treated as digraphs. To avoid confusion in all refer-

ences to the English pound, *l* has been replaced by £ and placed before instead of after the numerals. Display capitals have not been exactly reproduced. Titles of books and periodicals, inconsistently indicated by being enclosed in quotation marks, are here made consistent. Quotation marks and the punctuation in relation to the quotation marks have been normalized according to modern practice. The lengths of dashes and the spaces around them have been standardized. The form of complimentary closings in quoted letters has also been normalized.

### APPARATUS

A basic note in the list of emendations provides the page-line reference and the emended reading in the present text. Except for the silent alterations described above, every editorial change in the second edition copy-text has been recorded. Following the square bracket is the earliest source of the emendation and the history of the copy-text reading up to the point of emendation. All emendations marked "W" are the responsibility of the present edition. A wavy dash (~) is substituted for a repeated word associated with pointing, and a caret (^) indicates pointing absent from the present text. The form to the right and left of the bracket conforms to the system of silent alterations, and there is no record of any variations except for the instance being recorded. When the matter in question is pointing, for example, the wavy dash to the right of the bracket signifies only the substantive form of the variant, and any variation in spelling or capitalization has been ignored. A vertical stroke (|) indicates a line-end.

All hyphenated compounds or possible compounds appearing at line-ends in the copy-text are recorded in the word-division list. The reader should assume that any word that is hyphenated at a line-end in the present text but that does not appear in this list was broken by the modern typesetter.

### COLLATION

The present edition has been printed from a photocopy of the 1787 second edition in the Yale University Library (Im J637 W787). This copy was bibliographically collated with the following copies: C (Keynes G.1.2); Ca Toronto (D-10 7292 cop. 1); CsmH (612536); CtY (Tinker 1402); ICU (PR3533 H3 1787); IU (xB J63ha 1787); InU-Li (PR3533 H3 1787); L (633.k.2); NIC (PR3533 H39 1787); O (2695 e.152); Loren and Frances Rothschild Collection. This photocopy of the 1787 second edition in the Yale University Library was sight-collated against the photocopy of the 1787 first edition in the British Library (10861.h.7). This copy of the 1787 first edition was bibliographically collated with the following copies: volume 1 of the 1787 *Works*: C (93.e.1; Nn.46.1); CSmH (223545); CtY (Im J637 B787 vol. 1); ICN (CASE Y 12 J6275); IU (Nickell x824 J63 1787a v.1; x824 J63 1787 v.1); InU-Li (PR3521 H39 1787); MH (Hyde Collection, with notes of Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins); NIC (PR3520 D87 v.1); O (2699.e.123); Loren and Frances Rothschild Collection (copy 1, Y1 in both states; copy 2); ViU (PR3521 1787 v.1). Separate issue: C (Nn.46.20); CtY (Osborn Collection, pc238, Edmond Malone's copy; Im J637 W787); E (Claud.2.1.a); IU (xB J63ha); InU-Li (PR3533 H3 1787); KU-S (C4697); NIC (PR3533 H39); MH (Hyde Collection, with cancelled leaves in place); NjP (Ex3804.3.716; Ex3804.3.716.11); O (Douce HH.77; 2695 e.53); Loren and Frances Rothschild Collection; ViU (PR3533 H3 1787).

# LIST OF EMENDATIONS

[The following sigla appear in the textual apparatus of the present edition: 1 (the first edition, London, 1787), 2 (the second edition, London, 1787), W (the present edition).]

3.5 county]1 country 2
3.17 Here]1 Her 2
5.35 statutes]1 statues 2
12.38–39 “Adornatâ . . . sumere.”]W ^~ . . . ~.^ 1–2
18.18 correspondence]1 correspondece 2
19.11 “The Historical]W ^ the Historical 1–2
19.14 “The Historical]W ^the Historical 1–2
23.19 county]1 country 2
24.3–24.27 “When. . . . Doric.”]W ^~. . . . ~.^ 1–2
30.16 became]1 Became 2
30.30 Favoni^”;]W ~,’^ 1–2
35.6 me with great]1 me great 2
37.17 lose]1 loose 2
38.31 ours]W our’s 1–2
39.17 diploma]1 deploma 2
39.36 August^]1 ~, 2
43.6 yours]W your’s 1–2
52.2 below.]W ~: 1–2
84.19 Raisonnée]*errata* 1 Raisonée 1–2
88.5 in]1 is 2
101.34 27th,’ [1734^]]1 ~.’ (~.) 2
102.39 “Prayers”]W ^prayers^ 1–2
104.16 deficiencies]W deficiences 1–2
112.4 we must]1 he must 2
112.26 lordship]1 Lordship 2
113.6 honnête]1 honnêtte 2
113.32 character.^]1 ~.’ 2
122.3 yours]W your’s 1–2
128.26 St.]1 ~^ 2
133.37 “Works”]W ^works^ 2
134.39 ministry]1 mimistry 2
135.14 article for him in]1 article for | in 2
137.39 title]1 ti- | title 2
146.23 seemed]1 seemd 2
146.37–38 allegations]1 alligations 2
148.16 villa]1 viila 2

149.12 part]1 parts 2
153.14 keen]1 kneen 2
153.40 believer,]1 ~; 2
158.12 wig]1 whig 2
160.30 diverting]1 divirting 2
165.27 Agonistes]1 Agonestes 2
168.37 [Benson]]1 (Benson) 2
170.15 differing from each]1 differing each 2
170.31 (for]1 ^~ 2
172.36 creaking]1 creeking 2
173.3 affected]1 effected 2
175.8–9 grammatical purity]W grammar and purity 1–2
177.10 Johnson's]1 Jonhson's 2
177.28 opponents,]1 ~^ 2
179.29 verity]1 variety 2
180.21 volume,]*cw* ~^ 2
180.28 1810]W 810 1–2
180.35 javanetes]1 javanettes 2
181.1 ^who]W (~ 1–2
182.4 tongue]1 tongues 2
182.7 armes,]1 ~^ 2
187.30 cohabitation]1 cohabition 2
188.15 hers]W her's 1–2
189.18 Johnson^]1 ~, 2
189.26 happiness.]1 ~^ 2
197.39 invitations]1 invitation 2
198.10 hundred]W hun- | dred]1; hun- | dread 2
199.10 dedications of]1 dedications to 2
200.1 a few]W afew 2; *om.* 1
200.28–40 * Johnson has remarked . . . waste paper.] *om.* 1
200.36–38 "Five hundred!" (said the author). "Why . . . disposed of."]
W 'Five hundred!' (said the author)^ ^Why . . . disposed of.^ 2
200.36 author).]W ~)^ 2
201.21 B—— P——]W P—— B—— 1–2
206.36 Warton]1 Wharton 2
209.33 victus]1 victis 2
213.31 Flesch]W Flesch 1; Flesh 2
219.22 translations]1 tranasltions 2
219.31 improperly]1 impoperly 2
227.34 sesquilateral]W sesquialteral 1–2
231.14 different]1 indifferent 2
234.21 excellence]1 execllence 2
244.37 but few]1 but a few 2
256.40 commandment.]1 ~, 2
259.6 interest, nor]1 ~^ ~ 2

260.21 shilling." ¶After all]1 ~." ^~ ~ 2
260.30 and^ a few]1 ~, ~ ~ 2
267.36 decease]1 disease 2
270.24 pe- | tition]1 pe- | tion 2
283.31 worldly]1 wordly 2
283.33 "Annals"]W ^annals^ 1–2
293.38 King's . . . Marischel]W king's . . . marischel 1–2
299.38 "Letter]W ^letter 1–2
300.36 "The Rake's Progress"]W ^the Rake's Progress^ 1–2
303.38–304.39 "Nullus . . . rectum."]W ^~ . . . ~.^ 1–2
305.28 ours]W our's 1–2
312.2 its]W it's 1–2
314.26 says he,]1 ~ ~^ 2
319.21 Olave's Silver]W Olave | Silver 2
321.13 availed]1 aviled 2
321.27 seems to be a truly]1 seems to a be truly 2
322.36 be numbered]W be to be numbered 1–2
330.32 1784]W 1774 1–2
333.26 former^] W ~, 1–2
336.29 Yours]W Your's 1–2
341.38 Call]W call 1–2

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# WORD-DIVISION

## 1. LINE-END HYPHENATION IN THE GEORGIA EDITION

[The following compounds, hyphenated at a line-end in the Georgia Edition, are hyphenated within the line in the 1787 second edition.]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15.36 | sun\|-rising | 361.20 | god\|-children |
| 83.33 | common\|-places | 365.19 | mad\|-house |
| 96.9 | quick\|-sands | | |

## 2. LINE-END HYPHENATION IN THE 1787 SECOND EDITION

[The following compounds or possible compounds are hyphenated at a line-end in the second edition. The form in which each has been given in the present edition, as listed below, represents the usual practice of the 1787 second edition copy-text insofar as it may be ascertained from other appearances or parallels.]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 13.24 | well-known | 262.2 | midday |
| 25.17 | tragedy-writer | 275.11 | horseback |
| 30.12 | alehouse | 296.17 | misapply |
| 47.23, 47.30 | playhouse | 302.4 | freeholders |
| 197.11 | man-servant | 318.4 | banknotes |
| 219.4 | copy-right | 324.11 | mill-stone |
| 234.6 | milk-maid | 347.36 | christian-like |
| 258.31 | after-piece | | |

## 3. SPECIAL CASES

[The following compounds or possible compounds are hyphenated at a line-end in both the present edition and the 1787 second edition.]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 127.36 | water\|-works | 228.9 | news\|-papers |

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# HISTORICAL COLLATION

1.1 mankind^] ~, 1
1.24 ver. 1, &] Verse 1 et 1
2.4 Lichfield,] ~^ 1
3.5 county] country 2
3.17 Here] Her 2
5.35 statutes] statues 2
5.39 this office is] this is 1
6.5 cousin] uncle 1
6.8 that discovering] that the uncle, discovering 1
6.9 parts, he was] parts, was 1
9.28–30 Johnson . . . gave him a guinea.] *om.* 1
9.33–34 Newbery the bookseller some time after, returned] Newbery the publisher of it returned 1
12.31 cousin] uncle 1
12.36 cousin] uncle 1
12.38–39 "Adornatâ . . . sumere."] ^~ . . . ~.^ 1–2
13.23 whereof had been] whereof was 1
13.24–25 classics, but was now a Mr. Crompton, a man of far inferior abilities. The patron] classics. The patron 1
17.2 compleatly] completely 1
18.18 correspondence] correspondece 2
19.6 Great-Britain] Great Britain 1
19.11 "The Historical] ^ the Historical 1–2
19.14 "The Historical] ^the Historical 1–2
20.4 the Grub-street] The Grub-street 1
20.19 grammar-school] grammar school 1
20.41 Society] society 1
23.19 county] country 2
23.28 year^] ~,
24.3–27 "When. . . . Doric."] ^~. . . . ~.^ 1–2
24.23 *om.*] * Johnson had through his life a propensity to Latin composition: he shewed it very early at school, and while there made some Latin verses, for which the Earl of Berkshire, who was a good scholar, and had always a Horace in his pocket, gave him a guinea. 1
30.16 became] Became 2
30.30 Favoni^";] ~,'^ 1–2
31.12–32.1 whom, in respect of his mental endowments he considered as his inferior, he disdained] whom, for many reasons, he could not but hold cheap, he disdained 1

31.42 and^ that industrious] ~, ~ ~ 1
33.8 culture;] ~, 1
33.27 poverty^] ~, 1
34.10–14 measures; they might . . . whatever." But] measures; but 1
34.26 demeanour] example 1
34.38–39 * Of this contract . . . adventurer.] *om.* 1
35.2 that^ pressed] ~, ~ 1
35.6 me with great] me great 2
35.28 characters^] ~, 1
35.35 Donne,] ~^ 1
36.2 Exeter-street] Exeter street 1
37.17 lose] loose 2
37.22 patron. It came] patron. It is pretty certain that in his offer of the poem to Dodsley, Cave stipulated for the printing of it, for it came 1
38.31 children^] ~, 1
38.31 ours] our's 1–2
38.33 fame^] ~, 1
39.17 diploma] deploma 2
39.36 August^] ~, 2
40.37 Historical,] ~^ 1
43.6 yours] your's 1–2
43.26 circumstances] accident 1
44.7–25 controversy. ¶It appears . . . obtained it. ¶The means . . . Meditation.* ¶This transaction . . . bishopric. ¶The fruit] controversy. As there was nothing congenial in the minds of him and Pope, they neither of them sought the acquaintance of the other, but mere chance brought them together, a chance so propitious to Warburton's fortunes that it became an epoch in his life, and was the leading circumstance to his becoming the owner of a fair estate, and his promotion to a bishopric. ¶The friendship of these two persons had its commencement in that bookseller's shop which is situate on the West side of the gate-way leading down the Inner Temple-lane. Warburton had some dealings with Jacob Robinson the publisher, to whom the shop belonged, and may be supposed to have been drawn there on business; Pope might have a call of the like kind: however that be, there they met, and entering into a conversation which was not soon ended, conceived a mutual liking, and as we may suppose, plighted their faith to each other. ¶The fruit 1
45.7 Bacon:] ~; 1
46.8 Lambeth-marsh] Lambeth marsh 1
46.16 but^ as the love] ~, ~ ~ ~ 1
46.23 Drury-lane] Drury lane 1
46.23 Lincoln's-inn-fields] Lincoln's-inn fields 1
46.25 Ayliffe-street] Ayliffe street 1
46.25 Goodman's-fields] Goodman's fields 1
46.33–40 woman, who appeared . . . impression on her.] woman, a stiff quaker, and was strangely puzzled to reconcile in my mind such a solecism in manners as the profession of purity with the practice of lewdness. She appeared

in court in the plain and neat garb of the people of that persuasion, and was the wife of a seafaring man, who being abroad, had left her to pursue this lawless occupation. I reproved her for her course of life, but could not make her sensible that it was scandalous. 1

47.38 Great-Britain] Great Britain 1
52.2 below.] ~: 1–2
52.39 Ethicks] Ethics 1
55.31 ver.] v. 1
55.36 Henry] Hen. 1
56.21 Fleet-street] Fleet street 1
58.34 Magazine] magazine 1
59.3 improving^] ~, 1
61.10 Magazine] magazine 1
61.38 spelling,] ~^ 1
62.15 day,] ~^ 1
62.18 read] red 1
62.24 diction,] ~^ 1
62.28 Magazine] magazine 1
62.35 1740–1,] ~^ 1
62.39 who, in his former] ~^ ~ ~ ~ 1
62.39 favourable] favorable 1
63.2 Hales^] ~, 1
63.11 censure;] ~: 1
63.23 Magazine] magazine 1
63.31 letters,] ~^ 1
63.35 Magazine] magazine 1
66.3 miseries,] ~^ 1
66.24 see^] ~, 1
68.32 another,] ~^ 1
78.9 might not incur] might avoid 1
78.9–10 disclosed] displayed 1
78.20 would never] could never 1
78.36 read] red 1
79.2 stile] style 1
83.24 voyages^] ~, 1
84.19 Raisonnée] Raisonée 1–2
86.7 year, Sir.] year, viz. Sir 1
86.33 96,] ~. 1
87.39 that cardinal] thar cardinal 1
88.3 ancient] antient 1
88.5 in] is 2
88.32 Thames:] ~; 1
92.11 circumstance,] ~; 1
93.24 paper,] ~^ 1
101.34 27th," [1734^]] ~.' (~.) 2
102.39 "Prayers"] ^prayers^ 1–2
103.33 early] earlier 1

103.41 84,] ~. 1
104.16 deficiencies] deficiences 1–2
106.34 only] oneie 1
107.23 used] vsed 1
107.25 sometime] some time 1
107.30 Majestie] Maiestie 1
108.1 schoolmaster] school-master 1
109.33–34 (professor Saunderson)] [~ ~] 1
110.38 (the lords)] [~ ~] 1
112.4 we must] he must 2
112.26 lordship] Lordship 2
113.6 honnête] honnêtte 2
113.12 bed chamber] bed-chamber 1
113.13 Mentor] Metnor 1; corr. *errata*
113.32 character.^] ~.' 2
115.38 Sydney Papers] Sydney papers 1
116.6 Maecenas] Mecaenas 1
118.32 the earl of Burlington] the late duke of Newcastle 1
118.32 lordship] Grace 1
118.34 earl] duke 1
118.38 lordship] Grace 1
122.3 yours] your's 1–2
127.27 antient] ancient 1
128.1 Norfolk-street] Norfolk street 1
128.26 St.] ~^ 2
128.27 Millbank,] ~^ 1
128.28 Norfolk-street] Norfolk street 1
128.30 twenty-miles] twenty miles 1
128.31 encreased] increased 1
130.32 death, he had received] death, he had, as he gave out, received 1
133.34 considerably.*] ~.^ 1
133.36–40 Of his conversation . . . even in a brothel.] *om.* 1
133.37 "Works"] ^works^ 2; *om.* 1
134.11 twenty-six] forty 1
134.39 ministry] mimistry 2
135.14 article for him | in] article for | in 2
137.39 title] ti-|title 2
139.1 particulars,] ~^ 1
145.21 kennel coal] kennel-|coal 1
146.23 seemed] seemd 2
146.37 allegations] alligations 2
148.16 villa] viila 2
149.9 Charing-cross] Charing cross 1
149.12 part] parts 2
149.34 way leading from Broad-street to the green] way from the outer court to the green 1; corr. *errata*
150.24 and of procuring to] and procure to 1; corr. *errata*

153.9 professions;] ~: 1
153.14 keen] kneen 2
153.17–18 sentiments^] ~, 1
153.40 believer,] ~; 2
155.13 *the* shall-bees] *the* shall-bes 1
155.14 *come*:] ~; 1
157.14 antients] ancients 1
157.37 kind,] ~; 1
158.12 wig] whig 2
160.30 diverting] divirting 2
165.27 censure on] censure of 1
165.27 Agonistes] Agonestes 2
165.36 exemplars] examplers 1; corr. *errata*
168.37 [Benson]] (Benson) 2
169.8 read] red 1
170.15 differing from each] differing each 2
170.31 (for] ^~ 2
172.36 creaking] creeking 2
173.3 affected] effected 2
175.8–9 grammatical purity] grammar and purity 1–2
175.37 This was told . . . questionable.] *om.* 1
176.10 Johnson,] ~^ 1
176.17 person;] ~: 1
176.32 Lear,] ~^ 1
177.10 Johnson's] Jonhson's 2
177.28 opponents,] ~^ 2
179.29 verity] variety 2
180.21 volume,] ~^ 2
180.28 1810] 810 1–2
180.35 javanetes] javanettes 2
181.1 ^who] (~ 1–2
182.4 tongue] tongues 2
182.7 armes,] ~^ 2
182.11–12 lawn-sleeves;] ~: 1
183.17 call] cal 1
183.21 suitable] sutable 1
183.32 charms] charmes 1
183.33 powerful] powerfull 1
183.34 vehemencies] vehemencie 1
184.3 ladies] ladie 1
184.6 life | in] life into 1
184.40 public^] ~, 1
185.2 above related] above-related 1
185.17 write it,] ~ ~^ 1
185.36 he | furnished] he | had finished 1
186.20 well grounded] well-grounded 1
186.33 livings;] ~, 1

187.1–2 he entertained . . . pleader] he made an effort to be admitted a pleader 1
187.2–8 jurisdiction . . . he bent] jurisdiction, but met with such an opposition as obliged him to desist. Upon this, he bent 1
187.28 calamity, that] calamity, which 1
187.29 dreaded;] ~: 1
187.30 cohabitation] cohabition 2
188.15 hers] her's 1–2
188.17 practise] practice 1
188.18 one,] ~^ 1
188.18 antient] ancient 1
188.26–27 interment . . . himself] interment, which, probably he would have written himself 1
188.29 Tothill- | fields] Tothill fields 1
189.6 informed, that^] ~^ ~, 1
189.8–9 but proofs . . . declaration. In his intercourse] but proofs are wanting that Johnson was, at any period of his life, susceptible of amorous emotions. In his intercourse 1
189.10 conversation;] ~, 1
189.18 Johnson^] ~, 2
189.26 happiness.] ~^ 2
190.10 latter] later 1
190.10–11 above-mentioned^] ~, 1
190.14 the organs] his organs 1
190.26 proportions,] ~^ 1
190.36 first] fair 1
190.39 For^ while the charmer] ~, ~ ~ ~ 1
191.2 unroll it;] ~ ~: 1
193.15 years;] ~: 1
193.17 such^ | was resorted] ~, | ~ ~ 1
193.24 Ivy-lane] Ivy lane 1
194.33 that, in the year] ~^ ~ ~ ~ 1
194.34 intituled] intitled 1
195.19 and, | upon the failure] ~^ | ~ ~ ~ 1
195.22 Fleet-street] Fleet street 1
195.23 Bolt-court] Bolt court 1
195.27 translated,] ~^ 1
195.27 Bleterie] Bletrie 1
195.27 Life] life 1
195.32 that, under] ~^ ~ 1
195.37 others;] ~, 1
195.39 Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 185.] Nichols's Life of Bowyer. 1
197.15 Barton] Burton 1
197.26 Cape] cape 1
197.34 sloven,] ~^ 1
197.39 invitations] invitation 2
198.6 despite] despight 1

198.10 hun- | dred] hun- | dread 2
198.12 Dictionary] dictionary 1
198.18 literature;] ~, 1
198.31 invitation,] ~^ 1
198.39 pounds!] ~. 1
199.10 dedications of] dedications to 2
199.11 also^ in the exordium] ~, ~ ~ ~ 1
199.12 editions] edition 1
199.31–200.2 Of this libel . . . guinea.*] *om.* 1
200.1 a few] afew 2
200.27 Temple] temple 1
200.28–40 * Johnson has remarked . . . waste paper.] *om.* 1
200.36–38 "Five hundred!" (said the author). "Why . . . disposed of."] 'Five hundred!' (said the author)^ ^Why . . . disposed of.^ 2; *om.* 1
201.5 commend,] ~^ 1
201.8–9 lord-chancellor. But of his moral] lord-chancellor; but of whose moral 1
201.12 epistle^] ~, 1
201.21 B—— P——] P—— B—— 1–2
201.22 charmer;] ~, 1
201.26 and, when] ~^ ~ 1
201.28 *ne plus ultra*] ne plus ultra 1
202.4 theirs] their's 1
202.4 returned] return'd 1
202.9 received] receiv'd 1
202.24 satires;] ~, 1
202.35 Lambert^] ~, 1
203.6 Strand^] ~, 1
203.6–7 persons,] ~^ 1
203.12–19 The talent for writing . . . acquittal.] *om.* 1
203.20 enumerating his] enumerating these his 1
203.26 3000l.] ~; 1
203.35–41 Of this woman . . . happiness.] *om.* 1
204.3 Twickenham- | common] ~^ | ~
204.14 Wycomb*.] ~^. 1
204.18 Pope,] ~^ 1
204.38–39 It is reported . . . church] *om.* 1
205.5 and^ stepping] ~, ~ 1
205.5 Bedford-street] Bedford street 1
205.20 man,] ~^ 1
205.38 and, by the help] ~^ ~ ~ ~ 1
206.7 that^ to a friend] ~, ~ ~ ~ 1
206.12 Dictionary] dictionary 1
206.36 Warton] Wharton 2
207.2 Dictionary] dictionary 1
207.24 Dictionary] dictionary 1

208.2 Dictionary] dictionary 1
208.4 France:] ~; 1
208.13 cope.] ~, 1
208.14 Pope:] ~; 1
208.21 Dictionary] dictionary 1
208.30 creditors:] ~; 1
208.31 spirit^] ~, 1
208.35 Academy] academy 1
208.38 Dodsley,] ~^ 1
209.7 Academy] academy 1
209.12 Dictionary] dictionary 1
209.13 Dictionary] dictionary 1
209.19 tranquillity] tranquility 1
209.20–23 One and only . . . attempted] One and only one writer, excited by that envy and malice which had been long rankling in his breast, attempted 1
209.24–25 writings: This . . . in a small volume] writings: this was a Dr. Kenrick, the author of many scurrilous publications now deservedly forgotten, who, in a small volume 1
209.26 Dictionary] dictionary 1
209.27 ridicule:] ~; 1
209.33 victus] victis 2
210.17 scribblers] scriblers 1
210.21 tranquillity] tranquility 1
210.23–24 Lincoln's-inn-fields] Lincoln's-inn fields 1
210.26 out: ^but,'] ~:' ~,^ 1
212.28 intituled] intitled 1
213.23 James] Ja. 1
213.31 Flesch] Flesch 1; Flesh 2
213.32 Lady] lady 1
215.6 VII*;] ~*, 1
215.29 bore it;] ~ ~: 1
215.39 April,] ~^ 1
216.10 1757;] ~, 1
216.14 Hospital] hospital 1
217.3 letter,] ~^ 1
218.35 antient] ancient 1
219.15 Dictionary] dictionary 1
219.16 *con amore*] con amore 1
219.17 Dictionary] dictionary 1
219.22 translations] tranasltions 2
219.28 found] find 1
219.31 improperly] impoperly 2
219.39 James,] ~^ 1
220.16 Dictionary] dictionary 1
220.37 much beloved] much-beloved 1

222.3 paralleled;] ~: 1
222.35 read] red 1
223.35 solitude;] ~, 1
224.11–12 not, indeed, wish] ~^ ~^ ~ 1
224.25 wishes,] ~^ 1
224.34 felicity:] ~, 1
224.36 so, in a future] ~^ ~ ~ ~ 1
224.36 publication,] ~^ 1
225.13–14 that, in order] ~^ ~ ~ 1
225.21 that, at a period] ~^ ~ ~ ~ 1
225.28 latter,] ~^ 1
225.28 hour,] ~^ 1
225.29 churches;] ~, 1
225.33–34 alter piece] alter-piece 1
226.2 Westminister-abbey] Westminster abbey 1
226.5 December, 1759;] ~^ ~, 1
226.7 published;] ~, 1
226.8 form:] ~, 1
226.14 bridge^] ~, 1
226.15 arch;] ~, 1
226.18 notice^] | in the edifice] ~, | ~ ~ ~ 1
226.23 diameters^] ~, 1
226.24 and, according] ~^ ~ 1
226.38 admiralty office] admiralty-office 1
226.39 Wood-street] Wood street 1
227.15 assert,] ~^ 1
227.22 weight,] ~^ 1
227.29 glory,] ~^ 1
227.34 sesquilateral] sesquialteral 1–2
227.37 Chatham-place] Chatham place 1
227.37–40 Thirty years . . . to a toll.] *om.* 1
228.9 entituled] entitled 1
228.38 which^ almost] ~, ~ 1
229.5 purposes;] ~, 1
229.17 or^ rather] ~, ~ 1
229.25 publications^ | might] ~, | ~ 1
229.26 that, | in this latter] ~^ | ~ ~ ~ 1
229.38 joint adventurers] joint-adventurers 1
230.9 thousand!] ~. 1
231.14 different] indifferent 2
231.26 and humour] or humour 1
231.33 Calendar] calendar 1
231.37 toward] towards 1
232.4 inculcate;] ~, 1
232.16 might perhaps have] might have 1
232.20 trifles;] ~: 1

232.33 judgement] judgment 1
232.35 ask us in;] ~ ~ ~, 1
233.14 that, | though certain] ~^ | ~ ~ 1
234.21 excellence] execllence 2
234.22–23 and^ upon occasion] ~, ~ ~ 1
234.34 rhyming thus:] ~ ~, 1
235.7 canst] can'st 1
235.24 turn;] ~: 1
235.31 well^ | known] well- | known 1
235.32 working schools] working-schools 1
236.1 Majesty] majesty 1
236.1 Use . . . Globes] use . . . globes 1
236.7 two guineas] a guinea 1
236.30 Margaret,] ~^ 1
236.37–42 As a contrast . . . to near nineteen hundred.] *om.* 1
237.3 Majesty's] majesty's 1
237.11 was, by Johnson] ~^ ~ ~ 1
237.11 friends,] ~^ 1
237.25 Dictionary] dictionary 1
237.27 Revolution] revolution 1
237.35 criminal;] ~, 1
238.33 Charles] Cha. 1
238.36 practise] practice 1
239.6 steward,] ~^ 1
239.6–7 Cardigan [or Cadogan]; and] Cardigan, [or Cadogan]^ and 1
239.17–20 I nevertheless give . . . occasion. ¶"Mr Levett] I nevertheless insert it verbatim, together with a letter of Johnson's to Dr. Lawrence notifying his death. ¶'Mr. Levett 1
239.35 improvement,] ~^ 1
240.6 Fetter-lane] Fetter lane 1
240.23 supposing^] ~, 1
241.35 Westminster] Hampshire 1
241.36 1734] 1737 1
242.6 and, moreover] ~^ ~ 1
242.28 these^ obstruct] ~, ~ 1
242.36 Gracechurch-street] Gracechurch street 1
243.4 published;] ~: 1
243.5 Life] life 1
243.8 friendship^] ~, 1
243.31 others^] ~, 1
244.15 friends was^ Mr.] ~ ~, ~ 1
244.22 depression of] 1; corr. *errata*
244.32 necessities;] ~, 1
244.37 but few] but a few 2
245.4 to-bed] to bed 1
245.14 good breeding] good-breeding 1

245.16–7 that politeness] that | that politeness 1
245.23 integrity;] ~, 1
245.28 shifting;] ~, 1
245.33 debts^] ~, 1
245.34 suspect, if they ever could . . . pay.] suspect, they neither could nor ever would pay 1
245.36 enough;] ~, 1
246.11 them;] ~, 1
246.19 above noted] above-noted 1
246.27 dignity^] ~, 1
246.28 and^ by an irresistible] ~, ~ ~ ~ 1
246.28 power^] ~, 1
246.31 say, what] ~^ ~ 1
247.27 other;] ~, 1
247.33 life, and, in] ~, ~^ ~ 1
248.17–18 world. ¶The history] world; and lastly, they shew his method of accounting for that manifest and striking contrariety which, as he says, has been often observed, between the life of an author and his writings. ¶The history 1
248.20 lives;] ~: 1
248.20 lord chancellor] lord-chancellor 1
249.3 those^ who] ~, ~ 1
249.5 riches;] ~, 1
249.11 that, in the course] ~^ ~ ~ ~ 1
249.37 Turk's-head . . . Gerrard-street:] Turk's head . . . Gerrard street; 1
250.20 fortunes,] ~^ 1
251.24 said, it was very correct] ~^ ~ ~ ~ ~ 1
251.31 stage gestures] stage-gestures 1
251.36–39 In a large company . . . apology.] *om.* 1
252.7 earl^] ~, 1
252.23 idiot,] ~^ 1
253.6–14 Pope. ¶Of the booksellers . . . forty pounds. ¶Of a man named Griffin . . . debt. ¶His poems] Pope. ¶The favourable reception which this essay of his poetical talent met with, soon after tempted Goldsmith to the publication of his 'Deserted Village,' the merits whereof, consisting in local particularities and beautiful descriptions of rural manners, are sufficiently known. ¶His poems 1
253.20–21 booksellers . . . author does not remember. In this distress] booksellers his 'Vicar of Wakefield.' In this distress 1
253.31 buried in the Temple Church-yard.] buried in the poets' corner in Westminster abbey. 1
253.31–32 erected for him . . . subscription] erected for him by a subscription 1
253.36–39 That this beautiful poem . . . fire.] *om.* 1
254.3–4 was the son . . . St. Alban's] was allied to the St. Alban's 1
254.8 Rome,] ~^ 1
254.10 sculpture^ | his taste] ~, ~ ~ 1

254.10 accurate;] ~, 1
254.17 Protestant] protestant 1
254.24 life,] ~^ 1
254.27 money dealers] money-dealers 1
254.36 Majesty's] majesty's 1
254.37 Dictionary] dictionary 1
254.38 Journal] journal 1
255.2 country;] ~, 1
255.4 Weymouth] Hilsborough 1
255.4–6 state, took . . . death.] state^ the last time, took him for his under-secretary, in which station he died. 1
255.8 nine;] ~, 1
255.8 Ivy-lane,] Ivy lane^ 1
255.17 true,] ~^ 1
255.21 two successive years] twice 1
255.21 house. Curiosity] house, which I alone was hindered from accepting. Curiosity 1
255.25 Literary Club] literary club 1
255.38 nine:] ~; 1
256.31 Johnson,] ~^ 1
256.31 night,] ~^ 1
256.35–36 family, . . . I chose] family, I chose 1
256.40 commandment.] ~, 2
257.4 time,] ~^ 1
258.16 Philips] Phillips 1
258.20 law language] law-language 1
258.20–21 Chancery Reports] chancery reports 1
258.31 Majesty] majesty 1
258.34 book;] ~, 1
259.6 interest, nor] ~^ ~ 2
259.6–7 nor, indeed, by] ~^ ~^ ~ 1
259.8 acute;] ~, 1
259.8 kinds,] ~^ 1
259.26 true;] ~, 1
259.33 Life of Garrick] life of Mr. Garrick 1
259.36 England:] ~; 1
260.14 Covent-garden] Covent garden 1
260.17 his house] the house 1
260.21 shilling." ¶After all] ~." ^~ ~ 2
260.22 allow] own 1
260.25 appearing^ . . . winter^] ~, . . . ~, 1
260.29 city solicitor] city-solicitor 1
260.30 and^ a few] ~, ~ ~ 2
260.31 and, in order] ~^ ~ ~ 1
260.39 volumes,] ~^ 1
261.10 Garrick;] ~, 1

261.12 city friend] city-friend 1
261.17 seeing^ that, almost] ~, ~^ ~ 1
261.26–27 Hounslow-heath] Hounslow heath 1
261.35 known;] ~, 1
262.5 hours^] ~, 1
262.27 Cock-lane] Cock lane 1
262.31 pretended^] ~, 1
262.40 person,] ~^ 1
262.40 vault;] ~, 1
263.2–3 promise, and most of the company, went] promise, and one more, went 1
263.3 required the signal] required to hear the signal. 1
263.8 interpositions] agency 1
263.32 theatre^] ~, 1
263.35 drama, | written] ~^ | ~ 1
263.39 licence,] ~^ 1
264.1 that, if he persisted] ~^ ~ ~ ~ 1
264.11 that, having taken] ~^ ~ ~ 1
264.16 Shakespeare;] ~, 1
264.23 the theatre] a theatre 1
264.26 take it;] ~ ~, 1
264.29 seemed] seeming 1
264.29 situation:] ~, 1
264.30 but, finding] ~^ ~ 1
265.25 beauties,] ~^ 1
265.25 defects,] ~^ 1
265.28 and, indeed, unfitness] ~^ ~^ ~ 1
266.25 of the county] for the county 1
266.27 case:] ~. 1
266.27 hawser,] ~^ 1
266.30 hawser,] ~^ 1
266.33 attempt;] ~, 1
266.36 deck;] ~, 1
266.36 and he,] ~ ~^ 1
266.39 down too^] ~ ~. 1
267.17 Jonson;] ~, 1
267.27 Dublin were moved . . . his merits; and] Dublin thought him worthy of the highest academical honour that it was in their power to confer, and 1
267.30 valued,] ~^ 1
267.36 decease] disease 2
268.37 Bible] bible 1
268.38 Life] life 1
268.38 Lives] lives 1
270.24 pe- | tition] pe- | tion 2
270.36 that,] ~^ 1
270.37 Sixth] sixth 1

270.38 communion-office] ~^~ 1
271.3 church;] ~, 1
271.13 church,] ~^ 1
271.14 prayers;] ~^ 1
271.27 nonjurors;] ~: 1
272.2 prevailed^] ~, 1
272.17 Fleet-street] ~^~ 1
272.21 Here^] ~, 1
272.30 church;] ~: 1
273.37 Bible] bible 1
274.35 and, lastly] ~^ ~ 1
275.28 Those that excel] That excel 1
275.40 sometimes] some time 1
276.4 years,] ~; 1
276.22 Johnson^ if] ~, ~ 1
276.24 yet^ some] ~, ~ 1
276.26 ventilation:] ~; 1
276.36 new-braced] ~^~ 1
276.39 Midsummer] midsummer 1
278.10 intituled] intitled 1
278.21 Wilkes;] ~: 1
279.23 South Seas] South seas 1
279.32 South Sea] South sea 1
283.31 worldly] wordly 2 293.38
283.33 "Annals"] ^annals^ 1–2
285.36 yet^] ~, 1
287.35 stands.] ~, 1
290.6 obtain but little knowledge] obtain a very inadequate knowledge 1
291.5 excited;] ~, 1
291.20 hospitable] useful 1
292.20 Thomson] Thompson 1; corr. *errata*
293.38 King's . . . Marischel] king's . . . marischel 1–2
296.8 which^ of itself] ~, ~ ~ 1
296.33 suppose^] ~, 1
297.27 *subjects*^] ~, 1
299.25 subjection?] ~. 1
299.25 evils] wills 1
299.38 "Letter] ^letter 1–2
300.36 "The Rake's Progress"] ^the Rake's Progress^ 1–2
301.25 princes,] ~^ 1
301.30 observe,] ~^ 1
303.15 right^] ~^ 1
303.38–304.39 "Nullus . . . rectum."] ^~ . . . ~.^ 1–2
304.27–29 obscurity; and . . . never been born.] obscurity. 1
305.28 ours] our's 1–2
309.21 sight,] ~^ 1

311.21 1777,] ~; 1
312.2 its] it's 1–2
313.13–14 The speech . . . but the evidence on] The evidence on 1
313.29 offender^] ~ , 1
314.26 says he,] ~ ~^ 2
314.31 requested^] ~, 1
314.37–38 strange a motion . . . account for it, asked] strange an application, and, to account for it, asked 1
318.35–319.22 question. ¶Of his great . . . knowledge. ¶While he was at Paris. . . . London. ¶About this time] question. ¶About this time 1
319.21 Olave's Silver] Olave | Silver 2
320.15 design,] ~^ 1
320.17 attempt^] ~, 1
320.26 principle] principles 1
321.13 availed] aviled 2
321.27 seems to be a truly] seems to a be truly 2
322.26 be numbered] be to be numbered 1–2
324.38 * It is lately restored.] *om.* 1
327.3 Kempis's tract] Kempis's, or rather John Gerson's tract 1
330.32 1784] 1774 1–2
330.32–39 Johnson was used. . . . teaching him.] *om.* 1
333.26 former^] ~, 1–2
335.28 pride;] ~: 1
336.29 Yours] Your's 1–2
336.32–33 who^ immediately . . . so far] who, in a few days, so far 1
340.13 left us^] ~ ~, 1
340.37–38 This, and other . . . annhilation] *om.* 1
341.17–18 to employ . . . fasting] to devote the whole of the next day to fasting 1
341.38 Call] call 1–2
342.29 oftener] oftner 1
345.16–17 style . . . letter] style of the letter 1
345.25 youth^] ~, 1
346.13–14 male-servant; which . . . Italy. The only] male-servant. The only 1
347.19 these^] ~, 1
348.5 redeunt,] ~^ 1
349.25 town^ | he] ~, | ~ 1
352.14 few lines, I told him, that^ he being] few lines, I told him, that the ancient form of wills contained a profession of the faith of the testator; and that, he being 1
352.37 Amen] amen 1
353.8 Then^] ~, 1
353.18 him to Bolt-court] him home] 1
354.22 and^ with] ~, ~ 1
355.3–356.9 sickness."* ¶While he was. . . . news-papers."* ¶At the mention . . . run mad." ¶I gave him time . . . savage." ¶7th. I again visited] sickness."* ¶6th. I again visited 1

355.38–40 As I take . . . at the time.] *om.* 1
357.26 words,] ~^ 2
357.35–36 by presenting him with a daughter] by presenting him first with one, and afterwards with another daughter 1
357.38 wife and her two children] wife and both the children 1
357.40 near fifteen] full fifteen 1
358.17 this^] ~, 1
363.10 was^--] ~,-- 1
363.18 August 1786] August last 1
365.16 exemplar] examplar 1; corr. *errata*
365.35–36 and insisted . . . legacy] and endeavoured to prevail on the keeper thereof to charge it on the legacy 1
365.37–38 consequence, payable] consequence, was payable 1
366.10 Johnson,] ~^ 1
366.12 *favour to negroes*] favour to negroes 1
366.14–15 *there was no . . . for him*] there was no . . . for him 1
366.18 out,] ~^ 1
366.29–31 measures have been taken . . . life.] measures are taking to compel the father to maintain him, and eventually to settle him with the parish, upon which he has ultimately a legal claim for relief and maintenance.

## CANCELLATIONS IN 1787 FIRST EDITION

[Nineteen leaves were cancelled before the publication of the 1787 first edition (Fleeman, *Bibliography*, 2:1629, 1631). One leaf was cancelled twice, and one leaf was cancelled but received no corrections. The original leaves are preserved in a copy in the Hyde Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University, and their readings are given in the table below. A basic note in the list of cancellations provides the page-line reference to the present text, followed in brackets by the page and line number in the 1787 first edition. To the left of the square bracket is the corrected reading of the 1787 first edition, and to the right is the original reading on the uncancelled leaf. Variations between the 1787 first edition and the 1787 second edition are reported in the Historical Collation above.]

| | |
|---|---|
| 6.7 [8.16] | on a living] in a living |
| 12.33–34 [19.13] | receive him. ¶ He brought] receive him, though his brother Nathanael had made room for him by his death. ¶ He brought |
| 12.35–13.12 [19.16] | though he had been a witness to the profligacy of his uncle Ford. . . . race was nearly extinct] though he had the example of his Uncle Ford before his eyes, whose profligacy was enough to have effaced all such impressions from a young mind. Having not then seen, as we now do, ecclesiastical benefices advertised for sale, and considered by the purchasers as lay-fees, nor beheld the beneficed clergy abandoning the duties of the clerical function to the lowest of their order, themselves becoming gentlemen at large, meeting in card assemblies and in all public recreations and amusements, affecting, as well in the colour as in other particulars of their dress, the garb of the laity, and exclaiming, as one is known to have done, against that canon, which prohibits the clergy from wearing white stockings*: I say, not having been a witness to these late refinements . . . race was extinct. |
| 14.24 [22.12] | subjects] objects |
| 21.2 [33.4] | mercer] brewer |
| 104.32–34 [169.5–7] | language, till it was shewn to him . . . had seen it sooner.] till the re-publication of them by Mr. Whalley in 1753. |
| 162.5 [269.3] | March] April |
| 166.18 [275.20–21] | taken from] taken verbatim from |
| 186.23 [311.10–11] | and informed himself of] made himself acquainted with |
| 194.36–39 [321n] | This story. . . conclude that she had it.] After what has been said of his defect of sight, it may perhaps be questioned how he could discern beauty; but his method was, as he has been heard to describe it, by examining the features singly, for his eye would not take in the whole countenance. |

198.36–37 [328n] was very attentive to the conduct of this his favourite] kept a strict eye over his favourite

200.27–201.1 [332.6–7] temple, who wrote] Temple, the author of

235.38–236.11 [391.16–22] Such casual emoluments. . . . construction. ¶About this time. . . . enquire about them.'*]

[First Cancel:] This was the first intimation I ever received, that any such casual emoluments were to be derived from the profession of author; but others have since occurred to me which shewed, that this was not the only instance of the kind; and I reckon his introduction to the London Chronicle, and the World Displayed, his Prefaces to the Preceptor and to Rolt's Dictionary of Commerce, as also, his dedications of Kennedy's Scripture chronology, Payne's Introduction to the Game of Draughts and many other books, in the number. For the dedication to his present majesty of Adams's book on the use of the globes, one of the most elegant compositions of the sort in any language, he was,

236.30–36 [392n] Myself have heard. . . . Tayloro.']

[Note to the First Cancel:] Some of these have been preached in St. James's chapel, and many I myself have heard in another place, one in particular which Johnson also heard, he being in the same church at the time it was preached. By the method and style of it, I judged it to be of his composition; I told him so, and he did not deny it. In his diary I find the name of one clergyman, whom he assisted.

[In the First Cancel the above passage was deleted and this substituted:] This was the first intimation I ever received, that any such casual emoluments were to be derived from the profession of an author; but others have since occurred to me which shewed, that this was not the only instance of the kind; and for the dedication to his present majesty, of Adams's book on the use of the globes, he was, as himself informed me,

[In the Note to the First Cancel the above passage was revised to read:] Some of them I myself have heard in the church of St. Margaret Westminster, one in particular that Johnson also heard, he being present at the time it was preached. By the sentiments and the style of it, I judged it to be of his composition; I afterwards told him so, and he was silent. In his diary I find this note: '77, Sept. 21. Concio pro Tayloro.'

277.20–278.35 [461–62] [No changes]

307.14–15 [511.24–26] cambrick . . . manual arts.] cambrick and paper and in printing, in sculpture and other arts of design.

| | |
|---|---|
| 308.12–13 [513.10–11] | and might probably . . . great number] he might probably have introduced therein a style of debate more weighty and less declamatory than that which then prevailed, and banished from it a great number |
| 308.38–39 [513n] | others equally . . . singular.] others which occur in the printed speeches. |
| 316.30 [527.1] | To the first of these petitions] To this petition |
| 331.31–332.1 [549.25–26] | of things . . . estimate] of manors, of lands, and other things exposed to sale, an estimate |
| 350.15–16 [577.3–4] | 'AEgri Ephemris' . . . Nox insomnis. This] 'Aegris Ephemris,' in which the words, Nox insomnis occur more frequently than any other. This |

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# PRELIMINARIES TO VOLUME I OF *THE WORKS OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.* (1787)

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*The Author of the several pieces contained in the ensuing Volumes, had meditated a complete edition of his Works, but had made small progress in his design even a few months before his decease, when his infirmities obliged him to abandon it. By certain papers, however, that came to my hands, he had so far ascertained the particulars of his intended publication as to enable me to carry his purpose into execution.*

*Thus informed, I have, at the request of some of his friends, taken upon myself the office of his Editor, and accordingly here present to view as complete a collection of the various writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson as I was able to form, and the directions he left behind him would permit me to publish.*

*As I stood engaged, by a promise made to him a short time before his decease, to be as well the guardian of his fame as an executor of his will, I thought I could no way better discharge the former of these obligations than by giving to the world a succinct narration of the principal events of his life, interspersed with such particulars as best served to delineate and illustrate his character; in the performance of which task, having endeavoured with equal care to avoid the extremes of praise and blame, I trust to the charity, the gratitude, and the justice of impartial posterity, that the failings of a man whose whole life was a conflict with pain and adversity, will either be forgiven or forgotten, and that the remembrance of his virtues, and a reverence for the wonderful endowments of his mind, and his zeal in employment of them to the best purposes, will be coeval with those excellent lessons of religion, morality, and oeconomical wisdom, which he has left behind him.*

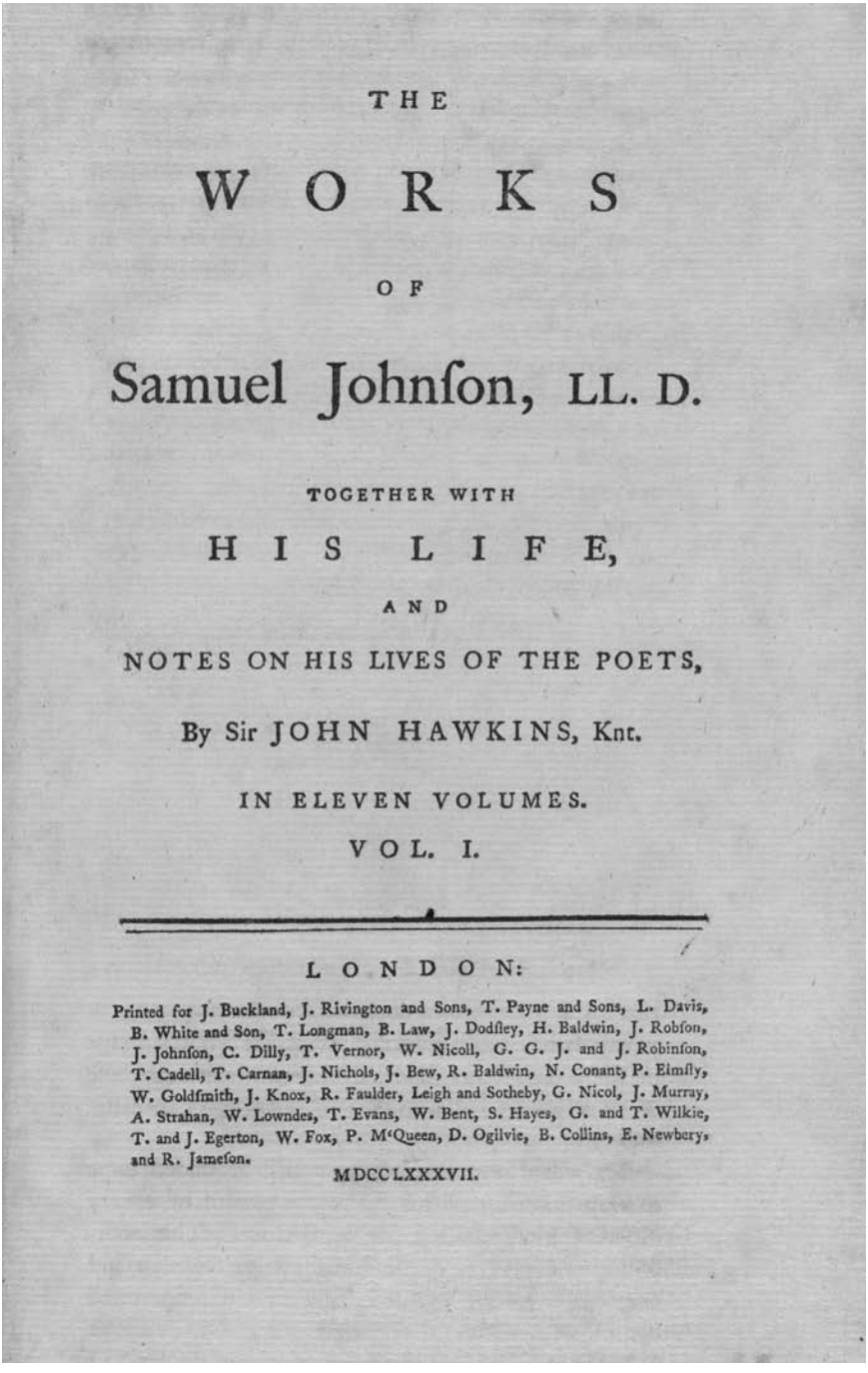
*In the Lives of the Poets I have inserted notes that contain other additional facts, or that tend to explain particular passages. The paucity of anecdotes in this part of the Author's writings, it is presumed, will justify this liberty, it being a known part of his character, that he was more ingenious in critical disquisition than industrious in collecting memoirs; so that, in many instances, what he calls the life of the poet may more properly be termed an examen of his works.*

*Of the Latin pieces in the last of these volumes, many were composed in those intervals of ease, which during his last illness he at times experienced: others, and those the greater number, were the employment of his thoughts, when, being retired to rest, the powers of sleep failed him, when the remission of pain became to him positive pleasure, and having no outward objects present to his view, his ever-active imagination had liberty to wander through the boundless regions of fancy, and his reason to investigate the most important and sublime truths. The originals, as they were from time to time committed to writing, were by him delivered to Mr. Langton, with directions to publish them; and it is to that gentleman that we owe the pleasure of perusing, in this form, those most recent forms of effusion of genius, and latest evidence of his piety.*

*Besides the Pieces contained in the ensuing Volumes, there is extant, of Dr. Johnson's writing, a small volume, entitled "Prayers and Meditations," the profits whereof he directed to be employed for charitable purposes, mentioned in the preface thereto. That they are not included in this edition of his Works, will therefore need no apology.*

J.H.

Samuel Johnson, in an engraving of the 1775 Sir Joshua Reynolds portrait by John Hall for the frontispiece to the first volume of *Works of Samuel Johnson* (1787). (Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, 2003J-SJ806)



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OF

# Samuel Johnſon, LL. D.

TOGETHER WITH

## HIS LIFE,

AND

NOTES ON HIS LIVES OF THE POETS,

By Sir JOHN HAWKINS, Knt.

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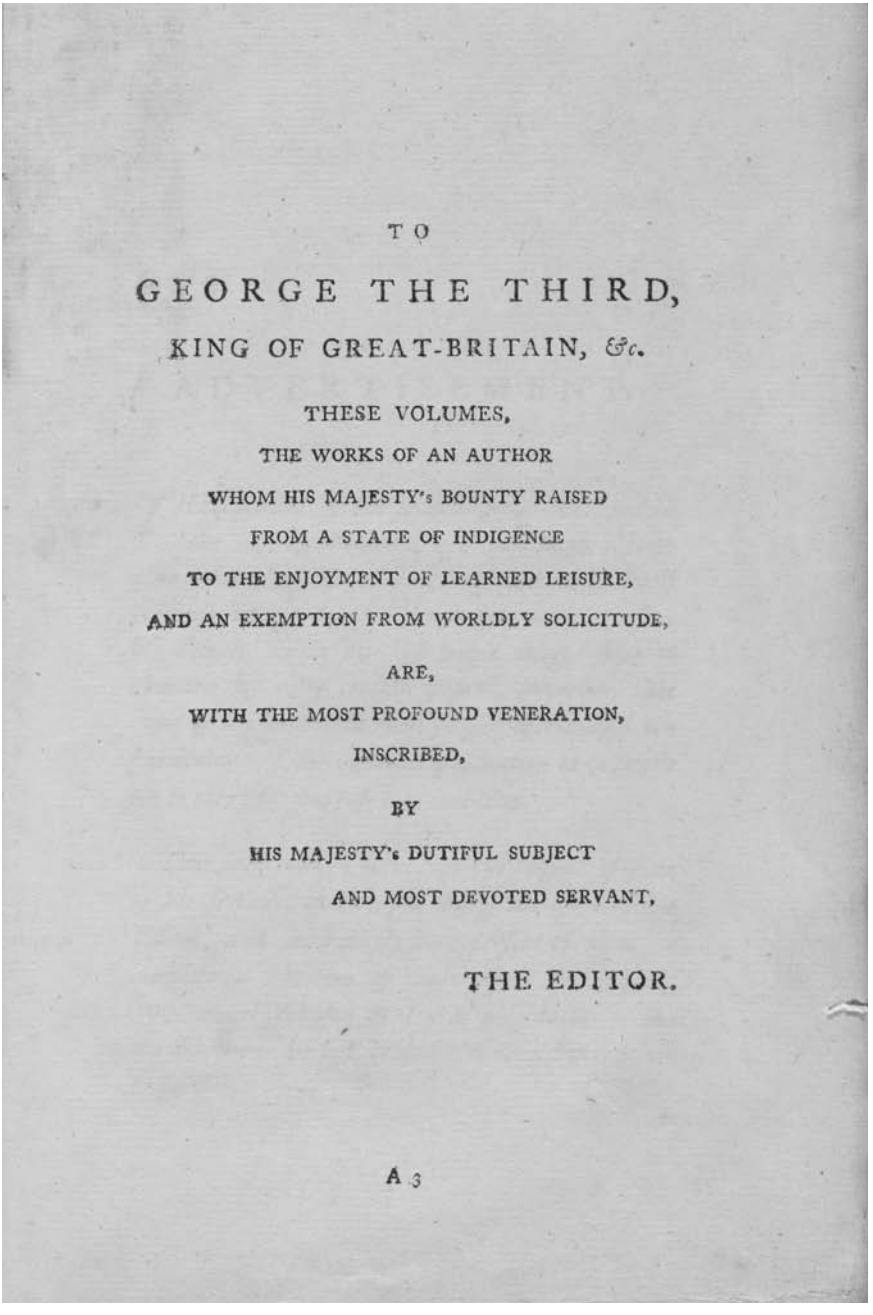

TO

GEORGE THE THIRD,

KING OF GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

THESE VOLUMES,

THE WORKS OF AN AUTHOR

WHOM HIS MAJESTY's BOUNTY RAISED

FROM A STATE OF INDIGENCE

TO THE ENJOYMENT OF LEARNED LEISURE,

AND AN EXEMPTION FROM WORLDLY SOLICITUDE,

ARE,

WITH THE MOST PROFOUND VENERATION,

INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS MAJESTY's DUTIFUL SUBJECT

AND MOST DEVOTED SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

A 3

Dedication to the first edition of the first volume of *Works of Samuel Johnson* (1787). (Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, 2003J-SJ806)

# INDEX


Abbott, John L.: 383–84n167, 390n219, 392nn247–48, 412n445, 422n510
Abingdon, earl of. *See* Bertie
Abney, family of: 274
Abney, Sir Thomas (1639/40–1722), merchant and mayor of London: 274
Abyssinia: 14–17, 224, 373–74n66
Academia della Crusca: 105, 209
Académie Française: 105, 209
Academy of Ancient Music: 127; JH as member of, xxii
Accomplished: 33; defined by SJ, 380n144
Ackers, Charles (1702?–59), printer: 391n236
Act for licensing plays (10 Geo. II. c. 8): 47–48, 386n191, 386n194, 399n319
Adams, George, Sr. (bap. 1709–d. 1772), maker of scientific instruments and globes: SJ's dedication to *Treatise on the Globes* by, 236, 423n523
Adams, William (1706–89), Church of England clergyman and master of Pembroke College: kind reception of SJ by, 333; as nominal tutor of SJ, 8, 333, 371n36, 371n43
Addison, Joseph (1672–1719), writer and politician: 43, 98; and Child's Coffeehouse, 404–5n365; countenance of, to clergy preaching sermons of others, 236; defense of religion by, 160; description of, 160; and encomium of Blackmore's *Creation*, 211; as friend of government, 302; *A Letter from Italy* by, 299, 433n616; Mandeville's view of, 160, 409n414; method of, of collecting intelligence, 160; Pope's "Epistle to," 324; SJ's life of, 160, 221, 409n414, 410n420; style of, 163
Adventurer: 32; defined by SJ, 380n141
*Adventurer, The*. *See under* Hawkesworth; Johnson, Samuel, writings of
Aelian (Claudius Alienist; ca. 170–235), Greek rhetorician: used in SJ's school, 24; volume of select stories by, with perhaps others, proposed by SJ, 53
Agriculture: and letter wrongly attributed to SJ, 419n492; SJ's letter on, 212; understanding of, 282
Ailred (Aered, Aethelred; ca.1104–66), religious writer and abbot of Rievaulx: *Vita et Miracula S. Edwardi Regis et Confessoris* by, 3–5, 368–69n14
Ainsworth, Michael: received patronage from the third earl of Shaftesbury, 154
Akenside, Mark (1721–70), poet and physician: account of, 147–50; and Ballow, altercation with, 149; and belief that ridicule is test of truth, 155, 407n394; as contributor to *GM*, 31; conversation of, 148, 150; discretion of, lack of, 147; and governments, notions respecting, 148; JH recalls dinner with, 150; and Leyden, studies in, 142; *Pleasures of Imagination* by, attacked by Campbell, 209–10, 418n484; as poet, fine, 150; and political controversy, love of, 148; practice, failure of, to establish, 147, 150; and republican principles, 149; and Saxby, relationship with, 149–50; as Shaftesbury follower, 142, 155; SJ's life of, 404n364, 404n373; virtue of, 150
Akerman, Richard (ca. 1722–92), keeper of Newgate: attempted bribe of, by friends of Dodd, 318
Aldus Manutius (Teobaldo Mannucci/Manuzio; 1450–1515), Italian printer and classical scholar: 177, 185

Alexander the Great (356–23 BCE), Alexander III of Macedon: 156
Allen, Edmund (1726–84), printer, landlord, and friend of SJ: as intermediary between SJ and Dodd, 438n653; SJ begins friendship with, 319; SJ borrows money from, to send to dying mother, 221; SJ repays money borrowed from, 420n502; SJ requests help of, after stroke, 336
Allen, Ralph (bap. 1693–d. 1764), postal entrepreneur and philanthropist: and Warburton, 44
Allowance: defined by SJ, 370n29
Alured Rivallensis. *See* Ailred
Ambrose, St. (ca. 340–97), bishop of Milan: 271
Amelot de la Houssaye, Abraham Nicolas (1634–1706), French historical writer and translator, ambassador to Venice: translation of Sarpi into French by, 383n165
Amherst. *See* Amhurst
Amhurst, Nicholas (1697–1742), satirist and political writer: account of, 98; edits *Craftsman*, 97, 98, 200, 382n161
Amiable: 3; defined by SJ, 368n12
Amours: defined by SJ, 398n296
Anagram: defined by SJ, 390n219
Anagrammatize: defined by SJ, 390n219
Anne (1665–1714), queen of England: controversial books and pamphlets during reign of, 7; death of, and effects on government, 51, 385n184; and general warrants, 435n638; SJ touched by, 3, 368n14
Annet, Peter (1693–1769), religious controversialist: 342, 444n708
Anson, George, Baron Anson (1697–1762), naval officer and politician: *A Voyage around the World* by, 279, 309, 430n586
Antiquarian Society: 127
Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius (121–80), Roman emperor and Stoic philosopher: 325–26
Apologue: defined by SJ, 399n318
"Apotheosis of Milton": by William Guthrie, incorrectly attributed to SJ, 212, 419n491
Appleby School, Leicestershire: SJ applies for mastership of, 38–40, 382nn162–63, 388n208
Arbuthnot, Charles (ca. 1705–31), of Christ Church, Oxford, son of John: shows SJ's Latin translation of *Messiah* to Pope, 9, 371n43
Arbuthnot, George (ca. 1703–79), a clerk (later first secretary) in the office of king's remembrancer, son of John: 9, 371n43
Arbuthnot, John (bap. 1667–d. 1735), physician and satirist: 9, 371n43, 389n218
Argyll, duke of. *See* Campbell, Archibald, third duke
Aristophanes (ca. 445–ca. 385 BCE), Athenian comic dramatist: 263
Aristotle (384–322 BCE), Greek philosopher: 112, 178; criticism of, to be included in proposed history by SJ, 52; *Rhetoric* and *Nichomachean Ethics* by, SJ proposes new translations of, 52
Arlington, first earl of. *See* Bennet
Arnaud, Antoine (1612–94), one of the Messieurs du Port Royal: 428n574
Ascetics: defined by SJ, 395n272; and works in SJ's library, 395n272; and works read by SJ, 101
Ascham, Roger (1514/15–68), author and royal tutor: and edition of *English Works* for James Bennet, 310; as possible influence on SJ's style, 63; SJ's life of, 310
Ashbourne (Ashbourn), Derbyshire: and SJ's visits to John Taylor, 343, 345, 348
Askew, Anthony (bap. 1722–d. 1774), physician and book collector: 142
Aston, Magdalen. *See* Walmesley
Aston, Mary (Molly), later Brodie (1706–ca.1765): portrait of, 191; SJ's epigram on, 189–90; SJ's fondness for, 189, 413n448

Attorneys. *See* Lawyers
Aubrey, John (1626–97), antiquary and biographer: 166
Augustine, St. (354–430), church father, bishop of Hippo: 271; SJ's perusal of, 101; works of, in SJ's library, 395n271
Aulnoy (D'Aunois), Marie Catherine La Mothe, countess d' (1650–1705), French writer: 321, 439n664
Avery, Benjamin (bap. 1684?–d. 1764), Presbyterian minister and physician: as treasurer of Guy's Hospital, 142

Bacon, Francis, first baron Verulam and viscount St. Albans (1561–1626), lord chancellor, politician, and philosopher: 89, 127; conversation of, 103
—works of: *Essays*, 45, 113, 157, 211, 248, 385n182, 398–99n307; *Nova Atlantis*, 78
Bailey, Nathan (bap. 1691–d. 1742), lexicographer and schoolmaster: *Dictionarium Britannicum* by, 108; SJ's use of in *Dictionary*, 108, 397n288, 397n290
Baker, Henry (1698–1774), natural philosopher and teacher of deaf people: 129, 130
Balicourt, ——, flautist: 242
Ballow (Bellewe), Henry (1704?–82), legal writer: account of, 148–50, 405n375; SJ learned from, 405n375
Bangorian Controversy: 159, 300, 408n407, 433n617
Banks (Bancks), John (1709–51), poet and biographer: as contributor to *GM*, 31
Barbadoes (Barbados): Lauder settles there, 171
Barber (née Bell), Elizabeth (1755–1816), wife of Francis: 357, 450n755
Barber, Francis (ca. 1745–1801), SJ's servant: xxiv; and complaints of Anna Williams, 198, 245–46; early service of, with SJ, 197–98; education of, 197, 198; JH's view of, xxiv, 197–98, 356–57, 362–66; made residuary legatee, 360, 362; and money, demands for, 363; ordered to admit no one, 341; and search for SJ's paper, 355; SJ's annuity for, 349, 353, 356; and SJ's self-inflicted wound, 358
Barclay, Robert (ca. 1740–1828), brewer: holds money for SJ, 360, 363
Baret (Barrett), John (d. 1578), lexicographer: *An Algerie, or Triple Dictionarie, in Englysche, Latin and French* (1574) by, 106, 396n286; quoted, 106–7
Baretti, Guiseppe Marc' Antonio (1719–89), writer and friend of SJ: sells *Rasselas* for SJ, 221; translates into Italian *An Account of an Attempt to Ascertain the Longitude at Sea* (1755), written by SJ for Zachariah Williams, 194–95
Barker, Anthony D.: 374n79, 375n81, 379n129, 379n137, 380n138, 380n139, 382n156, 382n159
Barker, Edmond (Edmund; b. 1720/21), physician: account of, 142, 218; as member of Ivy Lane Club, 135; often snubbed by SJ, 142
Barlaeus, Caspar (1584–1648), Dutch polymath, humanist theologian, poet, and historian: 166
Barnard, Sir John (ca.1685–1764), politician: JH's view of, 47, 62; licensing act motion by, for clause limiting dramas to Westminster, 47; manner of speaking of, 62, 81; opposition of, to playhouses, 47; Walpole's replies to, 62
Baronius, Caesar (1538–1607), cardinal and chronicler: *Annales Ecclesiastici* by, a bequest to JH, 361
Barretier (Baretier), Philip (1721–40), linguist: SJ's life of, 57, 94, 192–93, 212, 414n452
Barrington, Daines (1728–1800), judge, antiquary, and naturalist: 5, 369n14
Barrow, Isaac (1630–77), mathematician and theologian: SJ's view of, 164
Barry, Spranger (1717–77), actor and impresario: acts in *Irene*, 122
Bates, ——, master of the Queen's-arms tavern: 244
Bath, earl of. *See* Pulteney

Bathurst, Richard (d. ca. 1755), colonel, father of Richard (b. 1722/23): brings Barber to England, 197
Bathurst, Richard (1722/23–62), physician and writer: account of, 142–43; death of, 143, 404n362; introduced Thomas Lawrence to SJ, 424n529; as member of Ivy Lane Club, 135; practice, fails to establish, 143; SJ obtains Barber from, 197; tries to relieve JH's toothache, 172–73; wrongly stated to have contributed to the *Adventurer*, 143, 176, 404n361, 412n529
Batson's Coffee House: 130, 144, 151, 244, 260–61, 401n337, 405n365
Battestin, Martin C.: 386n190, 394n262, 402n339, 402n340
Battestin, Ruthe R.: 386n190, 394n262, 402n339
Baudrand, Michel-Antoine (1633–1700), abbé and geographer: *Dictionnaire géographique universel, contenant une description exacte des etats, royaumes, villes, forteresses, montagnes, caps, isles, presqu'iles, lacs, mers, golfes, détroits, &c. de l'univers* (1701) by, SJ proposes translation of, 52
Baxter, Richard (1615–91), ejected minister and religious writer: 292; SJ's high opinion of, 325
Bayle, Pierre (1647–1706), French philosopher: 127
Beauclerk, Lady Diana (Spencer; 1734–1808), wife of Topham: benevolence of, toward SJ's relations, 366
Beauclerk, Sidney (1703–44), father of Topham: 254
Beauclerk, the Hon. Topham (1739–80), friend of SJ: account of, 254; as member of the Club, 249, 250; SJ dies indebted to estate of, 366; SJ's letter to, about death of Bathurst, 404n362
Bede (Baeda; 673–735), historian and scholar: 288
Belchier, William (d. 1772), banker and MP: assists Dyer, 255
Bell, Jane (ca. 1710–71), wife of John: SJ's epitaph for, 283–84, 430n590
Bell, John (d. 1772?), husband of Jane: asks SJ to write epitaph for his wife, 283–84, 430n590
Bell, John (1745–1831), printer and bookseller: 141, 439n664
Bembo, Pietro (1470–1547), cardinal and humanist: 324
Bennet, Henry, first earl of Arlington (bap.1618–d. 1685), politician: 213
Benoist, Anthony (Antoine; 1721–70), draftsman and engraver: 203
Bentley, Richard (1662–1742), philologist and classical scholar: 153–54; answers Collins, 159, 408n408; and epistles to Phalaris, 432n610; on replying to critics, 210; sermon of, 409n415
Benzoni (Benzo), Girolamo (1519–ca. 1572), Italian sailor: *Historia del mondo nuovo* (1565) by, SJ proposes translation of, 53
Berkshire, earl of. *See* Howard
Bernard, Edward (1638–97), mathematician and Arabist: *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum, Angliae et Hiberniae* by, 83, 393n251
Bernard, John Peter (d. 1750), compiler of histories and biographer: as contributor to *General Dictionary*, 127
Bertie, Willoughby, third earl of Abingdon (1692–1760), politician: 71
Bethlehem (Bedlam) Hospital, St. Mary of, Moorfields, 144, 145, 389n218
Bèze (Beza), Theodore de (1519–1605), Genevan humanist: revision of Estienne's Greek Testament by, a bequest to George Strahan, 361
Bible: Canne's 1664 edition of, 126; inculcates submission to governors, 303; Puritan's skill in, 325–26; sapiential books of, 157; SJ reads Greek testament, 273, 326; SJ resolves to read, 268, 273; study of, 101, 268
—quoted: 1 Corinthians 3:8, 353, 447n734; 1 Corinthians 9:24–27, 341, 443n703; 1 Corinthians 13:5–7, 35,

381n153; Ecclesiasticus 38:1ff., 143, 404n363; Ecclesiasticus 44:1ff., 1, 367n1; Genesis 42:9, 292, 431n605; Jeremiah 4:22 and 5:21, 305, 435n637; John 9:4, 277, 429n582; Luke 3:8, 353, 447n735; Luke 15:13–14, 27, 378n121; Luke 17:10, 353, 447n733; Luke 20:25, 303, 434n626; Mark 12:17, 303, 434n626; Matthew 5:16, 247, 424n534; Matthew 6:25, 214, 420n497; Matthew 6:31, 214, 420n497; Matthew 25:30, 353, 447n733; Numbers 14:26–27, 305, 435n636; Numbers 16:3, 54, 387n203; 1 Peter 2:13–14, 303, 434n626; 2 Peter 2:9–10, 303, 434n626; Philippians 2:12, 359, 449n745; Proverbs 23:31, 55, 388n207; Proverbs 31:27, 140, 404n357; Psalms 90:10, 324, 440n672; Romans 2:17, 359, 449n746; Romans 12:18, 150, 406n380; 2 Samuel 1:26, 256, 425n546; 1 Thessalonians 4:11, 152, 406n385

Bigot: 16; defined by SJ, 374n73

Bill of rights: 304

Bingham, Margaret, countess of Lucan (ca. 1740–1814), miniature painter: gives SJ's letter to the newspapers, 347, 446n718

*Biographia Dramatica*: 27, 29, 379n130

Birch, Thomas (1705–66), compiler of histories and biographer: account of, 127–29; as contributor to *General Dictionary*, 127, 401n332; as contributor to *GM*, 31, 379n137; encourages SJ to translate Sarpi, 40; prose style of, SJ's view of, 128; thinks contract for patent of Wood's halfpence fair, 34; walk of, around London, 127–28; writings of, numerous, 127, 401n333

Birmingham: SJ meets wife in, 20–21; SJ's final visit to, 446n720; SJ's residence in, 14–17, 373n65

Blackfriars Bridge: SJ's argument for the design of, 225–26, 228, 421n507

Blackmore, Richard (1654–1729), physician and writer: *Creation* by, lives in the esteem of every judicious reader, 211; defies attacks, 211; praised by Addison and Dennis, 211; SJ's life of, 211, 419n488; wits in confederacy against, 210–11

Blackwall, Anthony (bap. 1672–d. 1730), classical scholar and schoolmaster: as headmaster of the grammar school, Market Bosworth, 13, 20, 373n63

Blackwell, Thomas (1701–57), Church of Scotland minister and principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen: *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus* by, reviewed by SJ, 212

Blake, Robert (1599–1657), naval and army officer: SJ's life of, 57, 212

Blaney, Mrs. Elizabeth (d. 1694), maidservant of Lichfield: apocryphal story of passion of, for Michael Johnson, 3, 368n13; gravestone of, 3

Blount, Thomas (1618–79), antiquary and lexicographer: *Glossographia* (1656) by, 107, 396–97nn287–88; *Nomolexikon* (1670) by, 107, 396n287, 397n289

Blunt: defined by SJ, 392n243

Boar's Head in Eastcheap, 55

Boccaccio (Boccace), Giovanni (1313–75), Italian poet and fiction writer: 52

Boerhaave, Herman (1668–1738), Dutch physician: SJ's life of, 57, 94, 212, 403–4n349

Boethius (Boece), Hector (ca. 1465–1536), historian and college head: *Scotorum Historiae* by, 284

Bolingbroke, viscount. *See* St. John

Bolt Court, Fleet Street, 195, 319, 353

Bond, Mrs. (fl. 1784), tenant of SJ's Lichfield house: 361

Booby: defined by SJ, 398n299

Book of Common Prayer: SJ projects dictionary of, 53. *See also* Liturgy

Booksellers: 330, 355, 366, 370n30, 403n342, 411n431, 429n584; anecdote on, 200; attacks of, on Cave, 57–61, 388–89nn216–17; and *Dictionary*, 105, 206, 208, 396n285; and Lauder, 167, 411nn426–27; liberality of, 208–9, 320; and literary property, 319–20, 439n664; as SJ's best friends, 218; and state of the trade, 7

Boswell, James (1740–95), lawyer, diarist, and biographer of SJ: xxvi, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii; assistance of, from Brocklesby, 443n695, 446n721, 449n747; assistance of, from Hector, Edmund, 369n18; on Ballow, 405n375; on Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 377n112; claim of, that no warrant was issued for SJ after publication of *Marmor*, 46, 385–86n185; and the Club, admission to, 425n544; descriptions by, of SJ eating, 399n315; on Dodd, William, 437–38n653; and "Epitaph on a Duckling," 369n15; Essex Head Club comments of JH warrant resentment of, 444n707; on Harris's "Hermes," 407n392; Hebrides tour of, with SJ, 284, 430n594; on Hervey, Thomas, 424n532; *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* by, xxxi, 423n520; on Langton, 422–23n519; on *London* carried to Pope by Lyttelton, 382n160; Martin Martin copy of, 430n594; "Meditation on a Pudding" version of, 423n520; on North, Lord, 435–36n641; publishes SJ's account of journey to France, 437n649; on SJ and Savage, 380n143; and SJ's "Adversaria," 409n413, 409n416; on SJ's death, 448n742, 449n74; on SJ's friendship with Richardson, 403n342; and SJ's Oxford LL.D. diploma, 436n6477; on SJ's speed of writing, 436n644; on SJ's translation of Pope's *Messiah*, 371n44; on Williams's *Longitude*, 415n457

Boswell, James, Jr. (1778–1822), barrister and literary scholar, second surviving son of James (b. 1740): 381n154

Boulter, Hugh (1672–1742), Church of Ireland archbishop of Armagh: 235

Boyce, William (bap. 1711–d. 1779), composer, organist, and music editor: sets verses by JH to music, xxii

Boyer, Abel (1667–1729), lexicographer and journalist: *Political State of Great Britain* by, 19, 375n82

Boyle, Charles, fourth earl of Orrery and first Baron Marston (1676–1731), antagonist of Bentley: 432n610

Boyle, John, fifth earl of Cork, fifth earl of Orrery, and second baron Marston (1707–62), biographer: Mead requests loan from, 145; Mead's request told to SJ, 145; presents Accademia della Crusca's *Vocabulario* to SJ, 209; presents *Dictionary* to Accademia della Crusca, 209

Boyle, Robert (1627–91), natural philosopher: 127, 208

Boyse, Samuel (1702/3?–49), poet: account of, 97, 98–100, 394n265, 395n269

Brack, Matthew Rice: xxxiiin11

Bray's Associates, a charity: SJ's bequest to, 272, 428n570

Brent, Sir Nathaniel (1573/74–1652), ecclesiastical lawyer and warden of Merton College: translation of Sarpi by, 40, 383n165

Brerewood, Staffordshire: SJ rejected for position in grammar school at, 20, 375n87

Brett (née Mason), Anne (*other married name* Anne Gerard, countess of Macclesfield; 1667/68–1753), courtier: confession of adultery by, 96; disowns Savage, 96; as reputed mother of Savage, 96, 394n260;

Brett, Thomas (1667–1744), nonjuring bishop of the Church of England: SJ's view of, 51, 270, 271, 387n198, 427n568

Brocklesby, Richard (1722–97), physician: accepts no fees for attending SJ, 359; asked about annuity for Barber, 353; called to SJ, 336, 337; dialogue of, with Heberden, 449n742; discourages SJ from visiting Continent, 347; as founder with SJ of Essex Head Club, 443n695, 444n707, 446n721; generous offer of, to SJ, 347; provides information to JB for *Life*, 443n695, 446n721, 449n747; provides information to JH for *Life*, 443n695, 449n742, 449n747; requests autopsy, 359; Shakespeare

exchange of, with SJ, 349–50, 446n721; SJ complains of, 356; SJ's bequest to, 361
Brooke, Henry (ca.1703–83), writer and playwright: account of *Gustavus Vasa* by, 46, 48–50; and SJ's *Compleat Vindication*, xxvii, 49–51
Broughton, Thomas (1704–74), Church of England clergyman and author: 132, 402n341
Brown, ——: fights with "Sir" John Hill, 130, 401n336
Brown, Thomas (bap. 1663–d. 1704), writer: 210
Browne, Moses (1704–87), poet and Church of England clergyman: account of, 29, 30, 379n130; attack of, on JH over their rival editions of *The Compleat Angler*, 379n130; Cave gives SJ chance to see, 30–31; as contributor to *GM*, 29; offended by Cave, 29, 379n130; SJ's remark on "Sunday Thoughts" by, 29; wins poetry prize from *GM*, 29
Browne, Sir Thomas (1605–82), physician and author: *Christian Morals* (1756) by, 310; as possible influence on SJ's style, 164; SJ's admiration for, 164
Brownell, Morris: 414nn451–52, 421n507
Bruyère. *See* La Bruyère
Buccarelli, Francisco P. (fl. 1770), governor of Buenos Aires: 280
Bucer (Butzer), Martin (1491–1551), theologian divine: 271, 427n568
Buchanan, George (1506–82), poet, historian, and administrator: 185, 284, 351
Buckinghamshire, duke of. *See* Sheffield
Budworth, William (1699/1700–1745), headmaster of Rugeley, then Brerewood Grammar School: rejects SJ's application to teach at Brerewood, 20, 375n87
Bunyan, John (bap. 1628–d. 1688), author: ; JH compares style of *A Voyage to Abyssinia* to, 15
—*The Pilgrim's Progress*: as a favorite book of SJ, 374n69, 400n322; Garrick would turn, into drama if town required, 122
Burke, Edmund (1729–97), politician, author, and friend of SJ: friendship of, with SJ, 249, 250; as member of the Club, 249, 250
Burmann, Pieter (Peter Burman; 1668–1741), Dutch classicist, professor at Leyden: 53
Burmann, Pieter, the second (1714–78), Dutch philologist, nephew of the above: 409n415
Burnet, Gilbert (1643–1715), bishop of Salisbury and historian: 232, 254; character of Waller by, 77, 391n234; tea drinking of, 214, 420n496
Burnet, Thomas (ca. 1635–1715), natural philosopher and headmaster: 234, 423n520
Burney (married name D'Arblay), Frances (Fanny; 1752–1849), writer: schedule of daily meals for, 406n383; SJ's scheme of education for, refused by father, 376n102
Burton, Robert (1577–1640), writer: *Anatomy of Melancholy* by, as a favorite book of SJ, 377n112; SJ reads *Anatomy* of, for exhilaration, 25, 377n112
Business: defined by SJ, 400n324
Bute, third earl of. *See* Stuart
Butler, Joseph (1692–1752), bishop of Durham, moral philosopher, and theologian: 151, 387n198; SJ's view of, 51
Butler, Samuel (1613–80), poet: SJ's life of, 396n281
—*Hudibras*: 104, 395–96n281; SJ owned copy of, 396n281
Butt: defined by SJ, 388n211
Butt, Carey (bap. 1708–d. 1781), Lichfield apothecary and surgeon: 369n17
Butt, George (1741–95), Church of England clergyman and poet: as King's Chaplain, 4, 369n17

Butt, William (1677–ca. 1741), innkeeper: predicts SJ's future greatness, 4, 369n17
Butter, William (bap. 1726–d. 1805), physician: accepts no fees for attending SJ, 359; SJ's bequest to, 361
Byng, John (bap. 1704–d. 1757), naval officer: 203, 417n475

Cadell, Thomas (1742–1802), bookseller: xxvi
Cadogan (Cardigan), Charles, baron Cadogan of Oakley (1684/85–1776), army officer: Levett as steward to, 239
Caesar, Gaius Julius (100–44 BCE), Roman general, statesman, and dictator: 156; *Commentaries* by, used in SJ's school, 24
Calamy, Adam (b. ca. 1717), son of Edmund: contributor to *GM*, 31
Calamy, Edmund (1671–1732), Presbyterian minister and historian: *Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times* (1702) by, 31, 325, 440n674
Calamy, Edmund (1698–1755), Presbyterian minister, son of Edmund, brother of Adam: 31
Calmet, Augustin (1672–1757), French scholar: *Dictionnaire historique, critique, choronologique, géographique, et littéral de la Bible* (1722–25) by, SJ proposes dictionary in imitation of, 53
Cambridge University: 20, 24, 106, 135, 144, 166, 201, 326, 372nn46, 372n56, 416–17n473; Chesterfield matriculated at, 109–10; resents SJ's stricture in his life of Gray, 323
Camden, William (1551–1663), historian and herald: 284; *Britannia* by, edited by Gibson, 430n593, 431n598; mutilation of monument of, in Westminster Abbey, 311–12, 437n651
Campbell, Archibald, third duke of Argyll (1682–1761), politician: style of speeches of, 80–81
Campbell, Archibald (bap. 1724–d. 1780), satirist: attack of, on Akenside, 209–10, 418n484; attack of, on SJ, 209–10, 418n484
—writings of: *Lexiphanes*, 209, 418n484; *The Sale of Authors*, 418n484
Campbell, Colin (d. 1729), architect: 225
Campbell, Hugh Hume, third earl of Marchmont (1708–94), politician: meeting of, with SJ to discuss Pope, 381n150
Campbell, John (1708–75), historian: account of, 129; as contributor to *Universal History*, 129, 134
Canne, John (d. 1667?), independent minister and printer: 1664 edition of the Bible by, 126
Canon law. *See* Law
Canton, John (bap. 1718–d. 1772), experimental philosopher and schoolmaster: as contributor to *GM*, 30
Cape of Good Hope: 15, 197, 374n71
Caporale, Andrea (d. 1756), cellist: 242
Cardigan, Charles. *See* Cadogan
Carey, Esquire (fl.1750), surgeon to the prince of Wales: 203
Caroline (1683–1737), queen of Great Britain and Ireland, electress of Hanover, and consort of George II: Le Courayer's French translation of Sarpi dedicated to, 383n165; pension of, to Savage, 35
Carte, Thomas (bap. 1686–d. 1754), historian: 5, 369n14
Carter, Elizabeth (1717–1806), poet, translator, and writer: contributes essays 44 and 100 to *Rambler*, 164; as contributor to *GM*, xxxi, 31, 379–80n138; JH's view of, 164; portrait of, 60, 389n217; praise of, for JH's *Life of Johnson*, xxx; translates *All the Works of Epictetus*, 380n138; translates Crousaz's *Examen*, 380n138, 384n169
Carteret, John, second Earl Granville (1690–1763), politician: 65, 77; *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae* dedicated to, by Maittaire, 84, 89, 392n249; style of speeches of, 80
Caslon, Henry (ca. 1755–88), grandson

of William, the elder: 208–9. *See also* Caslon, William (1754–1833)
Caslon, William, the elder (1692–1766), type founder: encourages SJ to translate Sarpi, 40
Caslon, William (1754–1833), grandson of William, the elder: 208–9. *See also* Caslon, Henry (ca. 1755–88)
Castalion (Castalio), Sébastien (1515–63), French Protestant theologian: 52
*Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum, Angliae et Hiberniae*: 83, 393n251
Catholic Church: 248, 385n184, 413n445, 428n574; in Abyssinia, 14–17; Compton renounces popery and, 318–19, 439n662; prayers for the dead not remains of popery and, 271–72
Cavaliers: 56
Cave, Edward (1691–1754), printer and magazine proprietor: xxi; "Ad Urbanum" written for, by SJ, 57–58; adversaries of, 57, 59–61; Boyse, solicited by, 99–100; characterized, 28, 29–32; and Collins's poem, 30, 379n131; comment of, to JH, 29, 378–79n128; correspondents of, 29–31; death of, 196, 212, 415n463; and Du Halde's *Description of the Empire of China and Chinese Tartary*, 36, 379n130, 382n156; and eloquence, no knowledge of the powers of, 77; founds *GM*, 20; friendship of, with SJ, 196–97; Garrick asked to perform by, 28–29; introduces SJ and JH, 379n129, 379n135; letter to, from SJ saying he wanted a dinner (*impransus*), 57; and *London Magazine*, rivalry with, 7, 59–61, 64, 388–89n217; and mirth, no great relish for, 28; portrait of, 60, 389n217; and post office, connection with, 61; and printer for Dyers's translation of *Les Moeurs*, 138; and profits, concern with, 61, 77; publishes mathematical problems, 59; recompense of, to SJ, 78; SJ not introduced to, by Savage, 18, 375n81; SJ's ability to discover good and amiable qualities in, 31; SJ's life of Cave, 31, 196–97, 378n127, 380n135, 415n463; and SJ's *London*, 36–38, 382n159; Sylvanius Urban name assumed by, 29, 378n127. See also *Gentleman's Magazine*
—and Browne, Moses: 29, 30, 31, 379n30; introduced to SJ, 30–31; offended, 29, 379n130
—coach of: purchased, 78; St. John's Gate painted on door, 78
—and Crousaz: SJ asked to translate, 40–43, 384n169; SJ's letter on, 42–43
—and *Debates in Parliament*: 61–83; fictitious names in, 63–64; method for collecting intelligence, 61–62; not part of original design for *GM*, 61; SJ asked to write, 52
—early contacts of, with SJ: approach of SJ, 17–18, 20; response to SJ's approach, 18; SJ's earliest work, 378n123
—and Hawkins, Sir John: Cave's comment to, 29, 378–79n128; view of Cave, 28, 29–32
—and SJ's "Life of Sarpi" translation: 40, 57, 383n165, 383n167; letter on Sarpi signed by Cave written by SJ, 383n165; money advanced for, 40, 383n165; proposal of SJ for, 27–28, 383n165; sheets printed, 40, 383n165
Cavendish, earls of Devonshire, family of: 12, 274
Cavendish, George (b. 1494–d. in or before 1562?), biographer and poet: as gentleman-usher to Cardinal Wolsey: 12
Cawston, servant to William Wyndham: assists SJ during final illness, 449n743
Cebes (fourth century BCE?), Greek writer: used in SJ's school, 24, 377n107
*Censor*: essays by Theobald in, 157
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de (1547–1616), Spanish author: 132, 133, 400n322, 402nn340–41; JH's view of, 131, 133
Chaldron: 365; defined by SJ, 449n753
Chambers, Ephraim (1680?–1740), encyclopedist: *Cyclopaedia* by, 5, 52, 153, 208–9, 369n14, 407n388

Chamier, Anthony (1725–80), financier and government official: account of, 254–55; as member of the Club, 250
*Champion*: 97, 394n262, 394n264
Chandler, Samuel (1693–1766), dissenting minister and theologian: 136, 137
Chapman, ——, physician: rescues Goldsmith poem, 253
Chapone (née Mulso), Hester (1727–1801), writer: contributes essay to *Rambler*, 410n421
Characters: with maxims and sentiments in the manner of La Bruyère proposed by SJ, 53
Charing Cross, 128, 149, 239
Chariot: defined by SJ, 405n374
Charles, servant of David Garrick: instructed to lend book to SJ for edition of Shakespeare, 267
Charles I (1600–1649), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland: 85, 170, 389, 427n565
Charles II (1630–85), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland: 238, 375n89, 435n638
Charles V (1500–1558), Holy Roman emperor, king of Spain as Charles I: 327, 441n680
Charles VI (1685–1740), Holy Roman emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary-Croatia: 390n227
Charles Edward (Stuart; styled Charles III), known as the Young Pretender, Bonnie Prince Charlie(1720–88), Jacobite claimant to the English, Scottish, and Irish thrones: 50, 152, 277, 406n384
Charterhouse, 125, 134, 150, 194, 415n456
Chatham, first earl of. *See* Pitt, William
Chatterton, Thomas (1752–70), poet: Rowley poems by, 295, 432n610
Chaucer, Geoffrey (ca. 1340–1400), poet and administrator: new edition of works of, proposed by SJ, 52
Chesterfield, earls of. *See* Stanhope, Philip, fifth earl; Stanhope, Philip Dormer
"Chevy-chace": 8–9
Cheyne, George (1671–1743), physician: on tea drinking, 214, 420n496
Child's Coffeehouse, 144, 244, 404–5n365
Chillingworth, William (1602–44), theologian: as possible influence on SJ's style, 63, 279
China: 29, 36, 379n130, 382n156, 441n681
Christian VII (1749–1808), king of Denmark and Norway: Garrick ordered to entertain, 257
Chronology: body of, in verse, with notes, proposed by SJ, 53
Chrysostom, St. John (345?–407), church father and patriarch of Constantinople: 271
Church fathers. *See* Fathers
Church of England: Bangorian Controversy of, 159, 300, 408n407, 433n617; and Church of Scotland, difference in, 291; Compton made presbyter of, 319; Disciplinarian Controversy of, 300, 433n617; doctrines of, defended by JH, xxiv, 200, 270–71; great churchman of, 326; high church of, 152; Savoy conference of, 325, 440n674; schism in, 51, 237, 270–72; SJ's adherence to doctrine and discipline of, 101; SJ's respect for, 12, 101, 292, 301, 326. *See also* Liturgy
Church of Rome. *See* Catholic Church
Churchill, Charles (1732–64), poet: satirizes SJ as "Pomposo" in *The Ghost*, 263, 426n555
Cibber, Colley (1671–1757), actor, writer, theater manager: anecdote of, and SJ, 116, 399n314; relationship of, to Sheils's *Lives of the Poets*, 125–26, 400–401n329
—works of: *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, 156, 158, 408n399, 408n402; *Apology*, comic actors mentioned, 156, 408n399; *Apology*, description of fop in, 158, 408n402; *Second Letter . . . to Mr. Pope*, 210, 418n487
Cibber, Susannah Maria (1714–66), actor and singer: acts in *Irene*, 122
Cibber, Theophilus (1703–58), actor and

playwright: relationship of, to Sheils's *Lives of the Poets*, 125–26, 400–401n329
Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106–43 BCE), Roman orator and statesman: SJ's speeches in debates compared to, 78; *Tusculan Disputations* and *On the Nature of the Gods* by, SJ proposes new translations of, 53
Circulating library: 7, 370n30
Civil law. *See* Law
Clarendon, earl of. *See* Hyde
Clark, William (1697/98–ca. 1780), physician: 144
Clarke, John (bap. 1687–d. 1734), schoolmaster and educational reformer: texts of, used by SJ in school, 24, 376n104
Clarke, Samuel (1675–1729), theologian and philosopher: 43, 135, 153, 201, 384n175; read by SJ, 350; SJ's view of, 153, 221, 446n723; works of, in SJ's library, 446n723
Claudian (Claudius Claudianus; late fourth century), Latin poet: new edition of the works of, SJ proposes, 53
Clifford, James L.: 371n45, 373n64, 385–86n185, 411n426, 419n494, 423n524, 428n575, 435n640, 442n684, 444–45n711, 445n712
Club, the: accounts of, 250–55, 424n537, 425nn542–44, 448n739; attendance at, of Dyer, JH, and SJ, 425n540; characteristics of, 249, 255; established, 249–50; evening toast, "Esto perpetua," of, 255, 425n541; JH's withdrawal from, 255–56, 425n543; as "Literary Club," a name never assumed to itself, 255; members of, attend SJ's funeral, 359; original members of, 250; SJ's pleasure in, 255. *See also* Essex Head Club; Ivy Lane Club
Clutterbuck, James (fl. ca. 1750), mercer: 119, 260
Cock Lane, near West Smithfield: 262–63, 426n554
Cockburn, Catherine (née Trotter; 1674–1749), playwright and philosopher: 127, 401n333
Cockburn, Elizabeth. *See* Cockburn, Catherine
Cole, Henry (fl. 1784): witnesses the codicil to SJ's will, 362
Cole, William (1714–82), antiquary: 417n473
Collier, Jeremy (1650–1726), antitheatrical polemicist and bishop of nonjuring Church of England: *Reasons for Restoring Some Prayers and Directions* by, 427n568
Collins, Anthony (1676–1729), philosopher and freethinker: 43, 159, 384n175; discourse of, on free-thinking answered by Bentley, 159, 408n408
Collins, William (1721–59), poet: SJ's character of, 422n513; "Song for Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*" by, 30, 379n131
Colluthus (fourth–fifth centuries), Greek poet: *The Rape of Helen* by, SJ proposes translation of, 54
Collyer, Joseph, the elder (1714/15–76), translator and bookseller: *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte* (1744, 1749) thought to be by, 138, 404n352; translates *Les Moeurs* (1749), 138
Collyer (née Mitchell), Mary (1716/17–1762), translator and novelist, wife of Joseph: *Letters from Felicia to Charlotte* (1744, 1749) by, 138, 404n352
Colson, John (1680–1759), mathematician and translator, Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge: SJ and Garrick recommended to, 24–25, 377n111
Columb (Colum Cille, Columba, Columbanus), Saint (ca. 521–97), monastic founder, Irish missionary in Scotland: 288
Common law. *See* Law
Common Pleas, Court of: xxii, 372n46
*Common Sense*: 59; attacks Lord Egmont's *Faction Detected*, 387n202; attacks of, commented on by SJ, 387n202; character of, 78, 200

Commoner: 6, 370n23; SJ's definition of, 370n25
Commons: 7; defined by, 370n25
Complaisance: defined by SJ, 389n140
Compton, James (fl. 1775–1811), clergyman: conversion of, to Church of England, SJ's assistance to, 318–19, 439n662
Concanen (Concannen), Matthew (1701–49), writer and lawyer: 43, 323–24, 384n176, 440n669
Conjectural: defined by SJ, 396n283
Conjecture: defined by SJ, 396n283
Constitution: 49, 82, 199, 278, 297, 301–2; SJ projects history of, 54; SJ reveres, 303
Conversion: 354; defined by SJ, 448n737
Cooke (Cook), William (d. 1824), writer: xxxii; *Beauties of Johnson* compiled by, 422n517; life of SJ by, 375n81, 399n315, 443n695, 445–46n718, 446n721, 449n747; as member of Essex Head Club, 444n707, 446n721
Cooper, Anthony Ashley, third earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713), philosopher and author: xxiv, 142; on Christianity, 154; favors the ancients, 157, 408n400; gravity as essence of imposture comment of, 145; influence of, on Fielding, 131–32, 402n339; JH's view of, xxiv, 131–32, 142, 153, 154–55, 157, 407n392, 408n400; on moral sense, 153; ridicule is test of truth comment of, 155, 407n394; SJ's dislike of ideas of, 154, 407nn392–94
—works of: "Letter on Design," 154; "Letters to a Student at the University," 154
Cooper (Couper), Thomas (ca. 1517–94), theologian, bishop of Lincoln, later bishop of Winchester, and lexicographer: revision of Sir Thomas Elyot's dictionary by, 106, 396n286; *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (1565) by, 106, 396n286
Copley, George (fl. 1784): witnesses the codicil to SJ's will, 362
Copyright. *See* Literary property
Coram, Thomas (ca. 1668–1751), philanthropist: 347–48
Corbet, Andrew (1709–41), SJ's schoolfellow: enters Pembroke College, 6, 370n23; leaves Pembroke College, 7, 370n23; SJ to assist, 6
Corbet, Roger (Andrew; 1673–1715), father of Andrew: 6, 7, 370n23
Corbett (Corbet), Charles (1710?–52), bookseller and publisher: publishes SJ's *Compleat Vindication*, 49–50, 386n194
Corderius, Mathurinus (Mathurin Cordier; 1479–1564), French schoolmaster and scholar: used in SJ's school, 24, 376n104
Cork (Corke) and Orrery, earl of. *See* Boyle, John
Cornelys (née Imer; married name Pompenti), (Anna Maria) Teresa (Madame Trenti, Mrs. Smith; 1723–97), singer and impresario: account of, 159, 409n409
Correct: defined by SJ, 411n424
Corrective: 165; defined by SJ, 411n424
Cotton, Charles (1630–87), poet, translator, author of the "Second part" of *The Compleat Angler*: xxxi
*Country Journal*: 38, 382n161
Court of Common Pleas: xxii, 372n47
Court of Exchequer: 372n46
Court of King's Bench: xxii, 10, 372n46, 372n52, 435n638, 444n708
Covent Garden Theatre: 48, 121, 203, 260, 311, 416n550
Cowell, John (1554–1611), civil lawyer: *The Interpreter* (1607) by, 107, 397n289
Cowley, Abraham (1618–67), poet: as possible influence on SJ's style, 164; SJ's admiration of, 164, 323; SJ's life of, xxx, xxxivn25, 388n210, 396n284
—works of: "Cutter of Coleman-street," 56, 388n210; essays, 157
Cowper, William (1731–1800), poet and letter-writer: view of, on JH's *Life of Johnson*, xxxivn24

Coxcomb: 116, 407n392; defined by SJ, 399n310
Coxeter, Thomas (1689–1747), literary scholar and editor: SJ engaged with, to write life of Shakespeare, 264, 426n558
*Craftsman*: character of, 38, 78, 96, 200, 382n161, 386n196
Cragg, James, the younger (1686–1721), secretary of state: 324
Crébillon (fils), Claude-Prosper Jolyot (1707–77), French novelist: *Les Egarements du coeur et de esprit* by, 398n303
Crichton, James ("The Admirable Crichton"; 1560–82), rhetorician and soldier: account of, by Pennant, 185, 412n443; account of, by Urquhart, 179–85, 412n442, 412n444; SJ's account of, in *The Adventurer*, 176–79, 412n441, 412n444
Croft, Sir Herbert, fifth baronet (1751–1816), writer and lexicographer: xxix; life of Young by, 421n505
Crompton John (ca. 1678–1751), headmaster of the grammar school, Market Bosworth: 13, 373n63
Cromwell, Oliver (1599–1658), lord protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland: 70, 165, 302, 405n370
Crousaz, Jean Pierre de (1663–1750), Swiss theologian: character of, in SJ's "Life of Pope" quoted, 42; and SJ's "Letter on the Controversy between Warburton and Crousaz," 44–45, 212, 385n179; SJ's letter to Cave on, 42–43; as unresponsive to criticism of his writings on Pope's *Essay on Man*, 44, 385n178
—works of: *Commentaire*, 40–43, 384n169; *Examen*, 40–43, 384n169
Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, 127
Crown Tavern: 56
Cruikshank, William Cumberland (1745–1800), anatomist: accepts no fees for attending SJ, 359; examines SJ's leg, 357, 358; makes death mask of SJ, 368n14; requests autopsy of SJ, 359; scarifies SJ's leg, 358; SJ's bequest to, 361
Cudworth, Ralph (1617–88), philosopher and theologian: 274
Culloden: 277, 406n384
Cully: 244; defined by SJ, 424n531
Cyprian, St. (Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus; d. 258), Christian martyr, bishop of Carthage: 271
Cyril, St. (827–69), Slavic apostle: 271

*Daily Advertiser*: JH contributes to, xxii; SJ's letter to, defending his Sarpi edition, 383n165
*Daily Gazetteer*: publishes SJ's letter on Blackfriars Bridge, 226, 421n507
Danby, first earl of, and first duke of Leeds (Sir Thomas Osborne): 238
Dashwood, Sir Francis, eleventh baron le Despencer (1708–81), politician and rake: 204
D'Aunois. *See* Aulnoy
David, ancient king of the Hebrews: 256, 425n545
Davies, Thomas (ca. 1712–85), bookseller and actor: *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick* (1780) by, 27, 259, 377n111, 378n119, 399–400n320, 426n550
Davis, Bertram H.: *Proof* by, xxxiiin11, xxxiiinn17–19, 377n111, 379nn129–30, 382n163, 394n257, 408n408, 412n437, 415n455, 421n507, 422–23n519, 425n543, 448n739
Davis, Matthew M.: 427n567
De Groot (Groat), Isaac (ca. 1694–1779), painter, descendant of Grotius: SJ places, in Charterhouse, 125, 400n328
Dead: praying for, 270–72
Debauchery: defined by SJ, 391n232
Declaim: defined by SJ, 391n241
Decline: 30; defined by SJ, 379n134
Deist: defined by SJ, 408n406
DeMaria, Robert, Jr.: 374n78, 393–94n249, 396n285, 397n291, 404n361, 423–24n528, 440n681
Demosthenes (384–322 BCE), greatest of the Athenian orators: 189, 414n450; SJ's speeches in debates compared to, 78

Denmark, king of. *See* Christian VII
Dennis, John (1658–1734), literary critic: praise of, for Blackmore's *Creation*, 211, 419n488
Desaguliers, John Theophilus (1683–1744), natural philosopher and engineer: 61, 390n220
Desart: 15; defined by SJ, 374n70
Desmoulins, Elizabeth (b. 1716), daughter of SJ's godfather, Swynfen: 412n433
Desmoulins, John (fl. 1784), grandson of SJ's godfather, Swynfen: copies SJ's translations of Greek epigrams, 448n736; SJ's bequest to, 362; as witness to SJ's will, 361
Devil Tavern: 172
Devise: 352, 353, 356, 361; defined by SJ, 447n732
Devonshire, earls of. *See* Cavendish, earls of Devonshire
Dictionaries: of ancient history and philosophy proposed by SJ, 53; of Book of Common Prayer proposed by SJ, 53; geographical, proposed by SJ, 52; poetical, on English authors proposed by SJ, 54
Dillon, Wentworth, fourth earl of Roscommon (1637–85), poet: edition of poems of, SJ's proposes, 52; quoted, 410n416
Diogenes (ca. 400–325 BCE), Greek Cynic philosopher: 197
Dionysius of Halicarnassus (d. ca. BCE), Greek scholar: 304, 435n634
Disciplinarian Controversy: 300, 433n627
Disquisition: defined by SJ, 374n67
Dissenters: 31, 136, 144, 151, 326
Dissertation: defined by SJ, 431n600
Dixie (Dixey), Wolstan (ca. 1701–67), patron of Market Bosworth School: 13
Dockwra (Docwray), William (bap. 1635?–d. 1716), promoter of the penny post, copper brass manufacturer: 19, 375n83
Doctor's Commons: 187, 360, 413n445
Dod, John (1550–1645), Church of England clergyman: anecdote of, 326
Dodd (née Perkins), Mary, (d. 1784), wife of William: attempts to save husband from execution, 318; *Occasional Papers*, refuses consent to publish, 318; SJ writes petition to queen for, 315, 316; visits SJ, 318, 438n660
Dodd, William (the Macaroni Parson; 1729–77), Church of England clergyman and forger: xxiv; account of, 261, 312–18, 437–39nn653–61; character of, given by brother-in-law to JH, 261; indictment of, before JH, 313; JH's view of, xxiv, 261, 312–18; and Magdalen Hospital, 421n510; seeks admission to the Club, 261; SJ's exercise of indiscriminate humanity toward, 312; SJ's writings for, 312–18; as unworthy of pardon in SJ's private thoughts, 318
Dodderidge (Doddridge, Doderidge), Sir John (1555–1628), judge: 320, 439n663
Doddridge (Dodderidge), Philip (1702–51), independent minister and writer: his academy at Northampton, 136
Dodington, George Bubb, baron Melcombe (1691–1762), politician and diarist: 98, 199, 202; diary of, 198, 199, 416n466; JH's view of, 198–99, 206; members of circle of, 199–206, 394n264; SJ praises, in "Life of Thomson," 416n466; tender of friendship of, to SJ, 198–99, 206, 416n466
Dodsley, Robert (1703–64), bookseller and writer: 398n299, 403n341; contracts for SJ's *Dictionary*, 208; publishes *The Preceptor*, 377n107; publishes SJ's *London*, 37, 382n159; publishes SJ's *Rasselas*, 420n503; SJ calls, his patron, 37
Dodwell, Henry (1641–1711), scholar and theologian: 384n175
Dogged: 102; defined by SJ, 395n274
Dogmatical: defined by SJ, 392n243
Donne, John (1572–1631), poet and Church of England clergyman: *Satires* by, 35
Douglas, Anne, countess of Morton

(d. 1700): *The Countess of Morton's Daily Exercise* (1666) by, SJ's proposes edition of, 52
Douglas, John (1721–1807), bishop of Salisbury and writer: and Lauder's *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Douglas*, 167–69; rescues *Paradise Lost* from suspicion of originality, 172
—works of: *Milton no Plagiary*, 170–71; *Milton Vindicated*, 167, 411n426
Downshire, first marquess of. *See* Hill, Wills
Drake, Sir Francis (1540–96), pirate, sea captain, explorer: SJ's life of, 212, 431n608
Dram: 73; defined by SJ, 391n231
Draper, Somerset (d. 1756), bookseller: 119, 139, 260
Draught: defined by SJ, 391n231
Drury Lane Theatre: 34, 46, 203, 258; Garrick becomes manager of, 118–19; *Irene* performed at, 122–23; and "Opening of the Theatre in Drury Lane," 119–22, 399–400n320; scenes at, SJ meets Garrick behind, 256–57; Shakespeare adaptations performed at, 122; SJ's *New Prologue to "Comus"* spoken at, 125, 400n327
Dryden, John (1631–1700), poet, playwright, and critic: 52, 99, 162; quoted, 210, 388n205, 418n485; SJ's life of, 322
Du Halde, Jean Baptiste (1674–1743), French Jesuit writer: *Description of the Empire of China and Chinese Tartary* by, 29, 36, 379n130, 382n156
Du Resnel, Jean-François du Bellay (1692–1761), French abbé, critic, and translator of Pope's *Essay on Man*: 42
Dublin University: attempts to obtain M.A. from, for SJ, 39; awards SJ an LL.D. degree, 267
Ducket, Tinkler (fl. 1727–73): letter of, 201–2, 416–17n473
Duick, John (d. 1764), quill merchant: as contributor to *GM*, 29–30
Duke's Place: 146, 405n370
Duncombe, John (1729–86), Church of England clergyman and writer: *The Feminead*, 231
Dutton, William. *See* Mudge and Dutton
Dyer, John (bap. 1699–d. 1757), poet: 141
Dyer, Joseph, jeweler, father of Samuel: 136
Dyer, Mary, mother of Samuel: 136, 139, 140
Dyer, Samuel (bap. 1721–d. 1772), translator: account of, 136–41, 153; and belief that ridicule is the test of truth, 155; interests SJ in chemistry, 249; as member of Ivy Lane Club, 134, 255; as member of the Club, 255, 425n540; as Shaftesbury follower, 142, 155; SJ cites, in "Life of Watts," 136, 153, 404n350; SJ wishes portrait of, 414n451; SJ's deference to, 136; subjects of disputes of, with SJ, 153–55; travels abroad, 136, 218
Dyson, Jeremiah (1722?–76), clerk of the House of Commons and politician: as Akenside's fellow student and friend, 142, 147, 148, 150; and belief that ridicule is the test of truth, 155; JH recalls dinner with, 150; as Shaftesbury follower, 142, 155

Eames, John (1686–1744), independent layman and tutor: academy of, 31; as contributor to Royal Society *Philosophical Transactions* abridgment (1731–56), 31
Earse language: SJ's inquiries into, 293, 294
Ebriety: 174, 193; defined by SJ, 412n434
Edial, near Lichfield: curriculum, possible, for, 24, 376nn102–10; duration of, 27, 375n87, 376n99; few pupils at, 23, 25; leisure to write a tragedy at, 25–26; SJ's qualifications as teacher at, 22; SJ's school at, advertisement for, 23, 374n80
Edinburgh: 98, 99, 166, 284, 370n30, 410n417

Edith (Eadgyth; d. 1075), queen of England, consort of Edward the Confessor: 282
Edward (Eadward, St. Edward, Edward the Confessor; d. 1066), king of England: 282; begins royal touch for king's evil, 3–4, 368–69n14; life of, by Ailred, 3–5, 368–69n14
Edward VI (1537–53), king of England and Ireland: 254; liturgy of, 163, 270–71, 427n568
Edwards, George (1694–1773), ornithologist and artist: 142
Efflux: 39; defined by SJ, 383n164
Eglinton, countess of. *See* Montgomerie
Egmont, earl of. *See* Perceval
Egotisms: defined by SJ, 367n5; JH apologizes for, 1–2
Elizabeth I (1533–1603), queen of England and Ireland: 45, 106
Ellicott, John (1702/3–72), watchmaker and scientist: corresponds with late king of Spain, 306, 435n639
Elphinston, James (1721–1809), educationist and advocate of spelling reform: translates mottoes for *The Rambler*, 176
Elphinstone (née Thrale), Hester Maria, viscountess Keith (1764–1857), Thrales' eldest child, protégée of SJ: SJ's scheme of education for, 376n102
Elyot, Sir Thomas (ca. 1490–1546), humanist and diplomat: dictionary (*Bibliotheca Elyotae*, 1538) of, 106, 396n286
Emerson, William (d. 1769), printer: contributes to *Idler*, 422n511
Emigration: 298
Empiric: defined by SJ, 391n231
Emulation: 8; defined by SJ, 371n37
English language: observations relating to words, phrases, and modes of speech of, SJ proposes a study of, 54
Enthusiasm: 64, 270; defined by SJ, 390n222, 395n270
Envy: 256; defined by SJ, 425n546
Epictetus (ca. 50–120), Stoic philosopher: 154, 214, 420n497; Carter's translation of, 380n138
Epiphanius, St.: 271
Erasmus, Desiderius (ca. 1466–1536), Dutch scholar: Dyer urged to write life of, 139; SJ reads, 273, 350; used in SJ's school, 24, 376n104; works of, in SJ's library, 446n723
—works of: *Pietas Puerilis*, 12; *Senile Colloquium*, 340
Essex Head Club: 338, 342–43, 443n695, 444n707, 446n721, 448n742
Estienne, Henri (1531–98), printer: Greek Testament of, revised by Bèze, a bequest to George Strahan, 361; *Poetae Graeci Heroici* by, a bequest to Windham, 361
Euripides (ca. 485–406 BCE), Athenian tragedian: used in SJ's school, 24
*European Magazine*: xxix, 24, 418n482, 423n528
Eutropius (fl. 364–78), Roman historian: used in SJ's school, 24, 376n105
Exchequer, Court of: 372n46
Excise: 34, 82; defined by SJ, 380–81n148
Excision: defined by SJ, 431n597
Exeter 'change: 36, 56
Experimental: 196; defined by SJ, 415n462

Fabricius, Johann Albert (1668–1736), German classical scholar and bibliographer: *Bibliotheca Graeca* by, 351, 447n727
*Faction Detected*. *See* Perceval
Faden (né Mackfaden), William (1711–83), printer: as printer of *Literary Magazine*, 212
Fairfax, Edward (1568?–1635?), translator: 52
Falkland (Falkland's) Islands: 279–82, 429–30n586
Farrar, Nicholas (1592–1637), translator: 441n680
Fatalists: 42, 43, 432n610
Fathers: 8, 154, 432n610; comparison of

philosophical and Christian morality collected from, SJ proposes, 54; defined by SJ, 371n39; SJ's list of, in "Reportorium," 395n271; SJ's study of, 8; works of, in SJ's library, 395nn271–72
Fawkes, Francis (bap. 1720–d. 1777), poet and translator: *Poetical Calendar* edited by, 231, 422n513
Fazakerley, Sir William: 19
Female life: 158, 187, 189, 231, 235, 246, 323, 330, 419–20n496
Fielding, Henry (1707–54), novelist, playwright, miscellaneous author, and magistrate: account of, 47, 131–32, 401–2n339; and Shaftesbury's philosophy, 131–32, 402n339; as teacher of new morality, 131, 134; and Thompson, 205; as wrongly thought to have praised SJ's *Life of Savage*, 97, 394n262
—works of: *Amelia*, 132, 402n339; *The History of Joseph Andrews*, 131, 401–2n339; *The History of Tom Jones*, 131–32, 401–2n339; *The Mock Doctor*, character of Gregory in, performed by Garrick for Cave, 28–29; *Pasquin*, 47, 386n190
Fifer, Charles N.: 424n537
Filmer, Sir Robert (1588?–1653), political writer: 303, 434n625
Finch, Heneage, first earl of Aylesbury (1648/49–1719), lawyer and politician, son of Finch, first earl of Nottingham: 258
Finch, Heneage, first earl of Nottingham (1621–82), lord chancellor: 232, 422n516
Fischer (married name Norris), Catherine Maria (Kitty Fisher; 1741?–67), courtesan: allegedly left card at SJ's house, 189, 414n450
Fleet Street: 56, 108, 195, 272, 319
Fleetwood, Charles (d. 1747), patentee of Drury Lane Theatre, theater manager: 203; breakfast of, with Garrick, 34–35; interest of, in Drury Lane Theatre sold, 118–19
Fleury, André Hercule de (1653–1743), French cardinal and statesman: 309
Flimsy: 81; defined by SJ, 392n242
Flood, Peter, master of Batson's coffeehouse: 151
Florence: Machiavelli's history of, SJ proposes translation of, 53
Florid: 81; defined by SJ, 392n242
Floyer, Sir John (1649–1734), physician: 374n79, 432n610; recommends SJ receive royal touch for king's evil, 368n14
*Fog's Journal*: 78
Folkes, Martin (1690–1754), antiquary and natural philosopher: 129, 130
Foote, Samuel (bap. 1721–d. 1777), actor and playwright: becomes friends with SJ, 264; threatens to ridicule SJ on stage, 263–64, 426n556
Ford, Ann (1692–1744), sister of Cornelius: 12, 373n58
Ford, Cornelius (1694–1731), clergyman and cousin of SJ: 12, 373n58; account of, by SJ, 2; advice of, 2; as chaplain to fourth earl of Chesterfield, 2; death of, 12; instructs SJ in classics, 6; as parson in Hogarth's "A Midnight Modern Conversation," 2, 367n10; profligacy of, 12; SJ visits, at Pedmore, 6, 369–70n19, 370n21
Ford, Joseph (1661–1721), uncle of SJ: 2
Ford, Phoebe (1696–1766), sister of Cornelius: 12, 373n58
Formalist: 134; defined by SJ, 403n344
Foster, Elizabeth (ca. 1690–1754), Milton's granddaughter: benefit for, 125; SJ's prologue for, 125, 400n327
Foster, James (1697–1753), preacher and General Baptist minister: SJ's view of, 325
Fothergill, John (1712–80), physician and naturalist: account of, 147
Foundling Hospital: 347; SJ and Hanway dispute about, 216–17, 419n494

Fournier, Bernard (fl. 1740–53), clergyman and forger: attempt of, to cheat Hoadley, bishop of Winchester, 248
Fowke, ——, of Wapping: 390n220
Fox, Henry, first baron Holland of Foxley (1705–74), politician: 150, 406n381
Foxe (Fox), John (1516/17–87), martyrologist: 20, 375n90
France: 71, 74, 321; Académie, 105, 209; Compton leaves, 319; court of, 256; and *Dictionnaire*, 105, 209, 361; kings of, and power to touch for king's evil, 3; navy of, 339; Pitt's diamond purchased by, 332; SJ's journal of tour of, 437n649; visited by Dyer, 137; visited by Levett, 239; visited by SJ with Thrales, 310, 437n649
Francis, Philip (1708–73), translator and writer: 409n416
Francklin, Richard (d. 1765), printer and bookseller: 98
Franklin, Benjamin (1706–90), printer, natural philosopher, writer, revolutionary politician in America: 378n122
Frederick II (styled "the Great"; 1712–86), king of Prussia: 204; SJ's life of, 212, 417n476
Free Masonry: 203
Free will: 42, 43, 201, 384n175
Free-thinker: defined by SJ, 408n408
*Freethinker*: essays by Ambrose Phillips in, 157
Freind, John (1675–1728), physician: 147
Fugacious: 224; defined by SJ, 421n506
Fuggers of Augsburg, family of money dealers: 254
Fuller, Thomas (1607/8–61), Church of England clergyman: 52, 326
Furneaux, Philip (1726–83), independent minister: as contributor to *GM*, 31

Gallantry: 57, 111, 158, 235; defined by SJ, 398n295
Gardiner, Ann Hedges (ca. 1716–89), of Snow-hill, wife of tallow-chandler: attends SJ in final days, 449n742; SJ's bequest to, 361
Gardner, Thomas (fl. 1735–56), bookseller and printer: prints SJ's *London*, 382n159; as publisher of *Universal Visitor*, 212
Garrick, David (1717–79), actor and playwright: 22; acting of, 122; admirers of, 260–61; advised by JH on lawsuit, 258–59; afterpiece displaying coronation, acts in, 258; and applause, concern for, 257, 258, 261; attempts to reform stage, 119, 122, 260, 425–26n550; attitude of, toward public taste, 122; becomes manager of Drury Lane Theatre, 118–19; befriended by Walmsley, 22; and benefit for Elizabeth Foster, 125; and benefit for Anna Williams, 195; and business, manner of conducting, 257, 259; *Catherine and Petruchio*, prologue to, by, 119–20, 400n321; celebrity owed to, merit of, 260, 261; death of, 23; effects of acting of, 104; foible of, as notion of profession's importance, 257; Heely assisted by, 363; *Irene*, efforts of, to make successful, 122; knowledge of, of the world, 257; lends books, 267; liberality of, 259, 425n550; Lisbon visit of, 23, 376n100; Noverre a favorite of, 243; Padua visit of, 256; performs for Cave, 28–29; performs for king of Denmark, 257; pleasantry of, 259; reading of, 257, 259; recommended to Colson, 24–25, 377n111; relationship of, with Fleetwood, 34–35; relationship of, with Rich, 260; saying of, 204; and Shakespeare, revival of, 104, 122, 218; solicitude of, about what was said of him, 257; and stage, early propensity for, 25; visited by JH, 259; Wilson courts favor of, 260–61; writes for *Universal Visitor*, 212
—the club: JH consulted by SJ about Garrick's membership in, 256; JH vexed with Garrick's enquiries about, 257; relationship of Garrick to, 256, 257, 261, 425n544
—and SJ: borrow money from Wilcox, 27, 378n122; buried nearby, 359; Club membership objections of SJ about

Garrick, 256, 257; early history of, 23–25, 27; enunciation of Garrick corrected by SJ, 256–57; envy of SJ for Garrick, 256; friendship of, not like David and Jonathan, 256, 425n545; huffing of Garrick by SJ, 233; information on SJ and Tetty given by Garrick to JH, 188; *Irene* perhaps suggested by Garrick, 25–26; *Irene* produced by Garrick, 122–24; Latin epitaph for Garrick not written by SJ, 351, 447n726; liberality of Garrick per SJ, 259, 425n550; and life of Smith by SJ, 23, 447n726; meeting behind the scenes of SJ and Garrick, 256–57; message of SJ, carried by Garrick to JH, 257, 265; at play in Lichfield, 264; and poem on *Dictionary*, 208; prologue for opening of Drury Lane by SJ, 119–21; pupil of SJ, Garrick as, at Edial, 23, 25; *Rambler*, Garrick contributes letter to, 410n421; and reaction to Shakespeare edition, 26–67; respect of Garrick for SJ's learning and talents, 256; SJ as capricious in friendship, 256; SJ's behavior with wife mimiced by Garrick, 56–57; SJ's writings from head not heart per Garrick, 266; at St. John's Gate, 28; travel to London together, 27; view of SJ's poetical faculty by Garrick, 222. *See also* Davies

Garrick (née Veigel), Eva Maria (performing name Violetta; 1724–1822), dancer, wife of David: 258, 259; visits baths at Padua for health, 256

Garrick, George (1723–79), brother of David: JH asks about law suit of, 259

Garrick, Peter (1685–1735), father of David: 22

Gataker (né Gatacre), Thomas (1574–1654), Church of England clergyman and scholar: 325–26, 441n677

Gay, John (1685–1732), poet and playwright: SJ's life of, 410n416

*Gazetteer*: Hanway replies to SJ's review in, 216, 419n494

Gemsage, Paul. *See* Pegge

General warrants: 305–7, 419n584, 435n638

Genius: 105; defined by SJ, 396n284

Gentleman: defined by SJ, 373n57

Gentleman-commoner: 9, 370n24

*Gentleman's Magazine* (*GM*): abstruse topics, essays, and questions published by, 59; circulation of, 61, 78, 391n236; and contents, sources for, 77–78; contributors to, 29–31; *Debates in Parliament* in, 61–83; *Dictionary* definition of "magazine" mentions, 374n77; editorial offices of, at St. John's Gate, xxi, 28, 29, 32; founded by Cave, 20; and "Historical Chronicle" for February 1738, 59; history of, xxix, 17–18, 20, 379n129; and JH, xxi, xxii, 379n129; Lauder's essays in, 166; letter from SJ to Cave published in, 374n79; letters of introduction to Colson for SJ and Garrick published in, 24–25; offers prize for best poem, 18, 29; and SJ, xxi, xxii, 17–18. *See also* Cave

Gentleman-usher: 12; defined by SJ, 373n57

Geography: dictionary of, SJ proposes translation of, from French, 52

George I (1660–1727), king of Great Britain and Ireland, and elector of Hanover: 45, 385n184, 389n218

George II (1683–1760), king of Great Britain and Ireland, and elector of Hanover: 48, 277

George III (1738–1820), king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and king of Hanover: 254–55, 258; Adams's book on globes dedicated to, 235–36, 423n523; attends religious services, 408n405; Ellicott as clockmaker to, 435n639; Falkland Islands taken in name of, 279; Hogarth's defense of, 433n619; Wilkes's libel of, 429n584; wishes to be father to people, 279

—and Dodd: chaplain, 437n653; clemency request, 315–18, 439n661; queen's intercession regarding clemency, 316

George III (*continued*)
—and JH: *History of Music* dedicated to king by JH, xxiii; *History of Music* presented to king by JH, xxiii; knighting of JH, xxiii; *Works of Johnson* dedicated to king by JH, xxviii, xxix; *Works of Johnson* presented to king by JH, xxviii
—and SJ: conversation between, 276–77, 428–29n579; pension grant, 235–36; SJ's "Designs" presented to king, 387n199
George IV (1762–1830), king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and king of Hanover: SJ apposes when Prince of Wales, 282–83
Gesner, Konrad von (1516–65), Swiss scholar: 52
Gibbons, Thomas (1720–85), independent minister and diarist: as contributor to *GM*, 31; sermons of, 236
Gibbs (Gibb), James (1682–1754), architect: 225
Gibbs, Stephen (fl. 1729–47), church of England clergyman: letter to, 201–2, 416–17n473
Gibson, Edmund (1669–1748), bishop of Lincoln, later bishop of London: SJ's view of, 51
—works of: Camden's *Britannia*, 184, 288–89, 387n198, 430n593, 431n598; *Codex juris ecclesiaticii Anglicini* (1713), 187, 413n445
Gibson, William (fl. 1784): witnesses the codicil to SJ's will, 362
Gideon, Sampson (1699–1762), financier: 347
Giffard, Henry (1694–1772), actor and theater manager: 48, 386n187
Gill: defined by SJ, 388n211
Goldsmith, Oliver (1730–74), poet, essayist, and novelist: account of, 250–53; booksellers, as writer for, 252; burial of, 253; and character, inconsistencies in, 253; death of, 253; envies SJ, 250; German flute, plays, 250–51; JH shown manuscript of, 253; as member of the Club, 250; music, inability of, to read, 251; patronage, refuses, 252; Roubiliac's trick on, 251; SJ's contributions to, 253; SJ's epitaph for, 253; and SJ's prologue to *Good-natured Man*, 311; SJ's wish for portrait of, 414n451; and stories as spoiled in telling, 250, 251; writes best poem since time of Pope, 253
—works of: *Deserted Village*, 254; *Good-natured Man*, 311, 437n650; memoirs of, 250, 424n538; *The Traveller*, 250–51, 252, 424–25n539; "Turn gentle Hermit of the Dale," 252–53; *Vicar of Wakefield*, 253, 425n539
Goodman's Fields Theatre: 46, 47, 48, 386n187
Gordon, George (ca. 1688–1768), assistant to Nathan Bailey: 108, 397n288
Gordon, Thomas (d. 1750), pamphleteer and classical scholar: 159
Gordon Riots: 159, 409n410
Goring, Charles (fl. 1687–1708), dramatist: *Irene or The Fair Greek* (1708) by, 27, 378n124
Gower, John Leveson, first earl Gower (1694–1754), politician: attempts to obtain M.A. degree for SJ, 39, 40, 382n163
Grain: 193; defined by SJ, 415n454
Gray, Thomas (1716–71), poet and literary scholar: SJ's life of, 323
*Greek Anthologia*: SJ turns epigrams of, into Latin, 351, 447n727, 448n736, 450n756
Greene, Donald: 380–81n148, 385n181
Gregorian calendar: 367n7
Grenville, George (1712–70), prime minister: 302; SJ's view of, 308, 436n642
Gresham College (Royal College of Physicians), 142, 149, 405–6n379
Gresley (Griesley), Sir Thomas, fourth baronet of Drakelow (ca. 1698–1748): advises SJ to apply for position at Appleby School, 38, 382n162
Grey, Elizabeth (née Lady Elizabeth Talbot), countess of Kent (1581–1651),

literary patron and supposed author: 274
Grey, Zachary (1688–1766), Church of England clergyman and writer: edition of Butler's *Hudibras* by, 104, 395–96n281; and SJ's use of Grey's edition in life of Butler, 395–96n281
Griffin, W. (fl. 1763–80), bookseller: Goldsmith's relationship with, 253
Grimaldi, Jerónimo Grimaldi, marqués de (1720–86), Spanish ambassador at Paris: 280
Grimston, Sir Harbottle, second baronet (1603–85), barrister and politician: 303, 434n631
Grotius, Hugo (1583–1645), Dutch statesman and jurist: 125, 166, 351, 400n328
Grubstreet: 20; defined by SJ, 375n86, 375n90
*Grub-Street Journal*: account of, 20, 375n86, 375n92
Grub-Street writers and politicians: 20, 375n86
Gruter (Gruytere, Gruterus), Jan (1560–1627), Dutch critic and scholar: 166
*Guardian*: essays by Addison and Steele in, 157; table of, SJ proposes, 53
Guilford. *See* North, Francis; North, Frederick
Gustavus III (1746–92), king of Sweden: 130, 401n336
Guthrie, William (1708?–70), historian and political journalist: "Apotheosis of Milton" by, 212, 419n491; writes *Debates in Parliament* for Cave, 62, 63, 64, 81, 389–90n219
Guy's Hospital, Southwark: 119, 142, 195
Gwynn, John (bap. 1713–d. 1786), architect: design of, for Blackfriars Bridge advocated by SJ, 421n507

Habeas Corpus Act: 304
Hale, Sir Matthew (1609–76), judge and writer: 247
Hales, John (1584–1656), scholar: as possible influence on SJ's style, 63
Halifax, marchioness of. *See* Savile
Hall, Joseph (1574–1656), bishop of Exeter, later bishop of Norwich: JH's view of, 104; SJ conversant with, 326
—works of: *Mundus alter et idem*, 78, 391n238; *Virgidemiarum*, 104, 395n279
Hamilton, William Gerard (Single-Speech Hamilton; 1729–96), politician: SJ's bequest to, 361
Hammond, Henry (1605–60), Church of England clergyman and theologian, chaplain to Charles I: SJ conversant with, 326; SJ's view of, 164
Hammond, James (1710–42), poet: SJ's life of, 400–401n329
Hampden, John (d. 1754), MP: 19
Handel, George Frederic (Georg Friedrich Haendel; 1585–1759), composer: xxxi
Hanmer, Sir Thomas, fourth baronet (1677–1746), editor of Shakespeare, speaker of the House of Commons: 424n532; edition of Shakespeare (1743–44) by, 105, 245, 395n276
Hanway, Jonas (bap. 1712–d. 1786), merchant and philanthropist: benevolence of, 218; books of, triteness and inanity of, 218; *A Journal of an Eight Days Journey* by, reviewed by SJ, 212–18, 419n494; replies to SJ's review in *Gazetteer*, 216
Hardinge, Nicholas (1699–1758), Latin poet and politician: 147
Hardwicke, first earl of. *See* Yorke
Hare, Richard (d. 1776), brewer and Middlesex justice: xxii
Harley, Edward, second earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689–1741), patron of the arts and book collector: library of, sold, 83–84, 392–93n244
Harrington, Caroline, countess of (1722–84): writes to SJ on behalf of Dodd, 438n653
Harrington (Harington), James (1611–77), political theorist: 166, 407n396
Harris, James (1709–80), philosopher and musical patron, author of

Harris, James (*continued*)
*Hermes*: SJ's dislike for ideas of, 154, 407n392
Harris, James, first earl of Malmesbury (1746–1820), diplomatist: prevents Spanish expedition against Falkland Islands as chargé d'affaires at Madrid, 280
Harvey, William (1578–1657), physician and discoverer of the circulation of blood: 243
Harwood, ——, attorney: 135
Havard (Harvard, Haverd), William (1710–78), actor and playwright: friend of Paul Whitehead, 202–3; *King Charles the First* by, 47, 386n189
Hawke, Edward, first baron Hawke (1705–81), naval officer: 309
Hawkesworth, John (bap. 1720–d. 1773), writer: account of, 135–36, 152–53; arranges Tetty Johnson's burial, 188; and character, SJ's knowledge of, 187; collection of voyages of, 83, 392n248; as curator of *GM*, 153; *Debates in Parliament*, may have written, after SJ, 83, 390n219; female academy of, 187; forms new connections, 187; gives JH information on SJ and Tetty, 188; granted Lambeth degree, 186–87, 412–13n445; intimacy of, ceases with SJ, 187; learning of, 152–53, 176, 186; as member of Ivy Lane Club, 134, 218; portrait of, 60, 389n217; on Psalmanazar, 329–30; as reviewer for *GM*, 83, 392n247; style of, 176; "The Vision" by, 389n217
—*Adventurer*: 143, 176–77, 185–86, 187, 221; compared to *Rambler*, 176, 185–86; contributors to, 176; eastern tales in, influence *Rasselas*, 221; editor of, 176, 186; first number of, published, 176; purpose of, 176; sale of, 186
Hawkins (née Gwatkin), Elizabeth (1686–1760), mother of JH: xxi
Hawkins, John (1691–1771), father of JH: xxi
Hawkins, Sir John (JH; 1719–89), biography of: birth, xxi; education, xxi–xxii; apprenticeship to architect Edward Hoppus, xxii; clerkship to attorney John Scott, xxii; first meeting with SJ, xxi, xxii, 40, 379n129, 384n167; licensed to practice as attorney, xxii; writings for *GM*, xxi, xxii, 379n129; writings for other periodicals, xxii; poem for John Stanley, set to music, xxii; verses sent to William Boyce, set to music, xxii; member of Ivy Lane Club, xxii–xxiii, xxix, 135, 218; assistant to Peter Storer, xxii; marriage to Sidney Storer, xxii, xxiii, 218; publication celebration for Lennox's novel, 172; wife inherits fortune from brother, xxiii; move to Twickenham, xxiii; turn to scholarly writing, xxiii; memoirs of Steffani written, xxxi, 193. 414n455; SJ given notes on Shakespeare, 257, 265; election to justice of the peace for Middlesex, xxiii; original member of the Club, 249, 250; election as Chairman of Middlesex Quarter Sessions, xxiii; remiss at attendance of the Club, 425n540; withdrawal from the Club, 255–56, 425n543; assistance to SJ with *Taxation No Tyranny*, 432n614; *History of Music* dedicated and presented to George III, xxiii; knighting, xxiii; loss of quarter-session election, xxiv; revival of Ivy Lane Club, 339–40; SJ's executor, 340, 360; advice for SJ on will, 340, 349, 351–53, 356; attempt to calm of SJ's mind, 340–41; journal of SJ's last days, 351–58; communion with SJ, 354; SJ's diaries pocketed, 355–56; money held for SJ, 357; SJ defended as orthodox Christian, xxiv, 352, 358–59; funeral for SJ, xxv–xxvi, 359; SJ's bequest, 361; assistance to SJ's relatives, 363–66; contract to write life and edit works of SJ, xxvi; house destroyed by fire, xxvii–xxiv; portrait of, xxv, xxxii–xxxiiin11; SJ's works dedicated and presented to George III, xxviii
Hawkins, Sir John, views, attitudes,

and opinions of: ambition, xxi, xxii; American colonies, xxiv, 296, 302; attorneys, xxii, xxiii, 9–10, 56, 135, 158, 314; benevolence, xxiv, 245, 348, 357, 362, 366; cases brought before him, 46, 159, 266, 313; Church of England, xxiv, 200, 270–71; commerce, 82, 158, 281, 297, 306–7; courts, tenderness of, 313–15; dictionaries, history of, in England, 105–8; dramatic writers, 47, 48, 104, 257; female life, improvements in, 158, 231; general warrants, 305–7; humanity now in fashion, 313–15; irony, 50; Jacobites, xxiv, 46, 48, 51, 147; Lambeth degrees, 186–87; lawyers (*see* Hawkins, Sir John, views . . . of: attorneys); learning, xxi, xxii; learning and rectitude, 172; letter writing, 158, 231; literary property, 319–20; luxury, 158; madness of the people, 296, 305, 435n637; manners in town and country, 158, 159; manufactures, 305–7; medical profession, 143–51, 158; miners in literature, 134; mother wit vs. acquired intelligence, 165; music and education, xxi; novels, 131–34, 230–32; patriotism, 34, 200, 296, 304; Patriots, xxiv, 38, 199, 304; petitions, 318; players, 46; playhouses, 46–48; politics, xxiv, 33–35, 38, 44–45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 200, 255, 278, 301; profession, want of, 9, 10, 13, 32, 52, 77, 96, 137, 146; prologues to plays, 119–20; reading, xxii; republicans, 47, 166; satire, 45, 46, 50; sentimental writings, 133, 231; servants, rewarding of, 356–57; subordination, 12, 48, 94; taverns, 46, 55–56; Tories, xxiv, 152, 303; turnpike roads, 158; watches, 306–7; Whigs, xxiv, 51, 152, 189

—architecture, xxii, 154, 225–27; of Blackfriars Bridge, 225–27; of Pitt's Bridge, 227

—biography: experience in writing, xxxi; method of, xxxi, 97, 102, 230–31, 246–48, 262; obligations of, xxx, 1–2, 262, 479

—booksellers: state of, 7; writers for, 62, 84, 99, 131–33

—clergy: amphibious being of, 158; benefices of, 12–13; dress of, 13, 220; as fops, 158; preaching sermons of others, 236

Hawkins, Sir John, works of: "Apothegms," 381n150, 398n299, 422n517, 441n676, 441n681, 442n684, 447n733, 449n742; *The Compleat Angler* (Izaac Walton and Charles Cotton), xxiii, xxvii, xxxi, 379n130, 441n680, 448n738; *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, xxiii, xxxi, xxxiiin11, 182, 183, 227, 252; "In Vain Philander" (music by William Boyce), xxii; "Life of Charles Cotton," xxxi; "Life of Izaac Walton," xxxi; *Memoirs of Sig. Agostino Steffani*, xxxi, 193, 415n455; *Six Cantatas for a Voice and Instruments* (music by John Stanley), xxii; *Three Cantatas and Three songs for a Voice and Instruments* (music by John Stanley), xxii; "To Mr. John Stanley Occasion'd by looking over some Compositions of his lately publish'd," xxii; "Who'll buy a Heart" (music by John Stanley), xxii

—*Life of Samuel Johnson*: xxi; account of last days in, xxiv–xxv; alleged asperity of, xxx; apology for introducing self in, 1–2; and biographer, responsibility of, 1–2, 262; contract for, xxvi, xxxiiin17; defends SJ as orthodox Christian, xxiv; delayed by destruction of house, xxvii–xxviii; digressions, so-called, in, xxix; fact, errors of, in, xxix; as family project, xxvii; and friendship for SJ, nature of, xxxi, xxv–xxvi; index of, xxvi, xxxiiin16; and knowledge of SJ's reading, medical life, taking of opium, religion, and social and political milieu, xxxi; as "life and times" writing, xxix; publication of first edition of, xxviii; publication of second edition of, xxix, xxviii; reception of, xxix–xxx, xxxi, xxxivn24; revisions to, xxviii; role of Laetitia-Matilda, xxvi–xxvii;

Hawkins, Sir John, works of (*continued*)
satirization of JH as biographer, xxix; style of, xxix; technique of, as biography, xxvii–xxxii, 1–2; title page of, and JH sketch, xxvii, xxviii; value of, as biography, xxxi–xxxii
—*Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*: "Advertisement" in, xxx; contract for, xxvi; directions from SJ about, xxvi; editor's role on, xxvi–xxviii; and note to "Life of Milton" on Burton's *Anatomy*, 377n112; omits *Debates in Parliament*, 390n219; omits *Marmor* and *Compleat Vindication*, xxvi; publication of, xxviii; SJ's reputation protected in, xxvi
Hawkins, Laetitia-Matilda (bap. 1759–d. 1835), writer, daughter of Sir John and Lady Sidney Hawkins: account of, of Heely episode, 450n755; *Compleat Angler* editorial work of, on fourth edition, xxvi; defends Smollett's translation of *Don Quixote*, 402–3n341; and friendship between JH and SJ, xxiv, xxv; *Life of Johnson*, editorial work of, on, xxvi–xxvii, xxviii; and memories of Anna Williams, 415n458; and note on Toussaint's *Les Moeurs*, 404n352; paid forty pounds by JH for assistance, xxvii; and portrait of JH, xxxii–xxxiiin11; relates how JH felt about Walpole when young, 381n148; relates Wapole's prediction of the rebellion of 1745, 392n246
Hawkins (née Storer), Lady Sidney (1726–93), wife of Sir John: marriage of, to JH, xxii; and portrait of JH, xxxiiin11
Hawksmoor, Nicholas (1662?-1736), architect: 225
Hayes, Philip (bap. 1738–d. 1797), composer, professor of music at Oxford: xxxiiin11
Hayman, Francis (1707/8–76), painter, engraver, book illustrator: 202
Heberden, William (1710–1801), physician: accepts no fees for attending SJ, 359; called to SJ, 336, 337, 443n695; dialogue of, with Brocklesby, 449n742; SJ's bequest to, 361
Hebetude: 156; defined by SJ, 408n398
Hebrides: account of, 284–86. *See also* Johnson, Samuel, writings of: *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*
Hector, Edmund (1708–94), Birmingham surgeon and lifelong friend of SJ: account of, 369n18; and early life of SJ, 5–6; provides information on SJ to JB, 369n18, 370n20; provides information on SJ to JH, 5–6, 369n18, 370n20, 378n120; SJ turns to for "Tea & Bread & Butter of Life," 369n18; SJ visits in Birmingham, 373n65, 413n447
Hector, George (b. ca. 1678), surgeon and man-midwife, and uncle of Edmund: at birth of SJ, 369n18
Heely, ——, second wife of Humphry: 363–65, 366
Heely (née Ford), Betty, (1712–68), SJ's cousin, first wife of Humphry: 363
Heely, Humphry (1714–ca. 1796), husband of Betty: account of, 363–65, 366, 450n755
Henley, John (Orator Henley; 1692–1756), dissenting minister and eccentric: 119
Henry, David (1709–92), printer: 100
Henry, Prince of Wales, later King Henry V (1386/87–1422), king of England and lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine: 55, 127
Henry IV (Henry Bolingbroke; 1366–1413), king of England and lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine: 55
Henry VII (1457–1509), king of England and lord of Ireland: 56
Herbert, George (1593–1633), Church of England clergyman and poet: 441n680; "The Church-Porch" by, 273, 428n573
Herbert, Henry, ninth earl of Pembroke and sixth earl of Montgomery (ca. 1689–1750), architect and patron: 227

Hermetic science: 249; defined by SJ, 424n536
Herne, Elizabeth (d. 1792), SJ's lunatic cousin: SJ's legacy to, 361, 365
Herodian of Syria (fl. ca. 230), historian: history of, SJ proposes translation of, 52
Herring, Thomas (1693–1757), archbishop of Canterbury: awards Lambeth degrees to Birch, 127; awards Lambeth degrees to Hawkesworth, 186; SJ's view of, 51
Hervey, James (1714–58), Church of England clergyman and writer: *Meditations and Contemplations* by, SJ parodies, 233–34, 423n520
Hervey, John, second baron Hervey of Ickworth (1696–1743), courtier and writer: style of speeches of, 81
Hervey, Hon. Thomas (1699–1775), politician and pamphleteer: JH's view of 245; SJ's view of, 245, 424n532
Hickes, George (1642–1715), bishop of nonjuring Church of England and antiquary: SJ's view of, 51
Hierocles of Alexandria (early second century), Stoic philosopher: *In aureum Pythagoreorum carmen commentarius* by, SJ proposes translation of, 52
Highmore, Joseph (1692–1780), painter: 203
Hill, G. B.: 382n160, 418n480
Hill, Sir John (bap. 1714–d. 1775), physician and actor: account of, 129–33, 402n340
Hill, Wills, first marquess of Downshire (1718–93), politician: 255
Hillsborough, earl of. *See* Hill, Wills
Hinckesman, Charles (fl. 1784), undertenant of SJ's Lichfield house: 361
*Historical Register*: account of, 19–20, 375n83; publishes parliamentary debates, 19
*History of China*. *See* Du Halde
Hitch, Charles (d. 1764), bookseller: as partner on SJ's *Dictionary*, 208
Hoadley, Benjamin (1676–1761), bishop successively of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester: begins Bangorian Controversy, 169, 408n407; Fournier's attempt to cheat, with forged bill, 248; as friend of government, 302; JH's view of, 248; on physicians, 145; SJ's view of, 51; son of, 144; style of, 279; on submission to governors, 303, 434n627
Hoadley, Benjamin (1706–57), physician and playwright, son of Benjamin: 144
Hobbes, Thomas (1588–1679), philosopher: 274, 408n400; on beneficence resolved into self-love, 348
Hodges, Nathaniel (Nathanael; 1629–88), physician: SJ's view of, 32
Hofmann, Johann Jacob (1635–1706), professor of Greek and history at Basel: 126, 401n331
Hog (Hogg, Hogaeus), William (fl. 1680–1702), Latin poet: as translator of Milton, 167
Hogarth, William (1697–1764), painter and engraver: caricatures of physicians by, 145, 202, 405n368; endeavor to have, design "The Statesman's Progress" rejected, 300, 433n619; illustrated edition of Butler's *Hudibras* of, owned by SJ, 395n281
—works of: "A Midnight Modern Conversation," 2, 367n10; "The Times," 300, 433n619
Holder, Mr. (Robert?; d. 1797), apothecary: called to Levett, 324; SJ's bequest to, 361
Holinshed (Holingshed), Raphael (ca. 1525–80?), historian: *Chronicles* by, bequested to JH, 361
Holland, first baron. *See* Fox, Henry
Homer (probably eighth century BCE), Greek epic poet: 164, 195, 403n342; *Odyssey*, 140, 404n356; Polyphemus character of, applied to SJ, 215, 420n498; used in SJ's school, 24
Hooker, Richard (1554–1600), theologian and philosopher: attitude of, toward legislation, 54; *Ecclesiastical Polity* by,

Hooker, Richard (*continued*)
54; as possible influence on SJ's style, 63, 163–64; SJ conversant with, 326; SJ's view of, 54–55, 164–65; style of, 63, 163–64, 165, 279; and submission to authority, 54, 303; writings of, used by Hoadley for political purposes, 303, 434n627
Hoole, John (1727–1803), translator, and friend of SJ: with JH and SJ at George Strahan's, 351–53; journal of, kept during last three weeks of SJ's life, 406n391, 441–42n682, 446n725, 448n736, 449n742; and scruples, SJ's saying on, 406n391; searches for SJ's paper, 355; SJ's bequest to, 361
Hoole, Samuel (1757/58–1839), poet, Church of England clergyman, son of John: SJ's bequest to, 361
Hoover, Benjamin Beard: 389n219
Hoppus, Edward (d. 1739), architect: JH apprenticed to, xxii, 421n507
Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus; 65–68 BCE), Roman poet: 9, 398n304, 399n312, 409n416; "Diffugêre nives" by, SJ translates, 348; "Diffugêre nives" by, Webb translates, 30; odes of, Webb translates, 30; Pope's *Epistles* of, 442n685; quoted, 398n304, 409n16, 410n420; *Satires* of, 35; used in SJ's school, 24
Horne, George (1730–92), bishop of Norwich: xxxiin7
Horseman, ——, proprietor of the King's Head, beefsteak house in Ivy Lane: SJ club meets there, xxii–xxiii, 339, 403n346
Hoskins, James (d. 1791), sculptor: makes bust of SJ from death mask, 368n14
House of Commons. *See under* Parliament
House of Lords. *See under* Parliament
Howard, Henry Bowes, fourth earl of Berkshire and eleventh earl of Suffolk (1686–1757): gives SJ guinea for Latin verses, 9, 372n47
Howell, James (1594?–1666), historian and political writer: 52, 326, 440n675
Huddesford, George (ca. 1699–1776), president of Trinity College, Oxford, vice chancellor: SJ's thank-you letter to, for Oxford M.A., 207, 417–18n480
Hughs (Hughes), Henry (fl. 1775–87), printer and bookseller: xxxiiin19; prints portion of JH's *Life of Johnson*, xxix
Hulse, Sir Edward, first baronet (1682–1759), physician: 144, 147
Hume, David (1711–76), philosopher and historian: 52
Hume, Robert: 425–26n550
Hunt, Edward (fl. 1746), boxer: mentioned in SJ's "Drury-Lane Prologue," 121
Hunter, John (ca. 1674–1741), headmaster of Lichfield Grammar School (1706–32): 4, 369n16; refuses to allow SJ's return to school, 6
Hunter, John (1728–93), surgeon and anatomist: 242, 424n529
Husbands, John (1706–32), critic and fellow of Pembroke College: publishes *A Miscellany of Poems* containing SJ's translation of Pope's *Messiah*, 9, 371n43
Hutcheson, Francis (1694–1746), moral philosopher: xxiv, 136; JH's view of, xxiv, 154, 155; SJ's dislike of his ideas, 154, 407n392
Hyde, Edward, first earl of Clarendon (1609–74), politician and historian: JH's view of, 248

Ignorance: Hymn to, SJ proposes, 54
Ilay, Lord. *See* Campbell, Archibald, third duke
Imbecillity: 123; defined by SJ, 400n325
Imperiali, Giovanni (1596?–1670), physician of Vicenza: 185
Indolence: defined by SJ, 388n205; SJ confirmed in, by Savage, 55
Infidel: defined by SJ, 408n406

Ingulphus (Ingulf; d. 1109), abbot of Crowland or Croyland: 282, 283
Innys, William (d. 1756), bookseller: SJ discharges debt to, 352, 360
Insinuation: 32; defined by SJ, 380n142
*Inspector*: edited by "Sir" John Hill, 130
Inspissate: 195; defined by SJ, 415n459
Institute: defined by SJ, 399n309
Institution: 23; defined by SJ, 376n102
Intension: 259; defined by SJ, 425n549
Intrigue: defined by SJ, 398n305
Ivy Lane Club: xxii–xxiii, xxix, xxxi; account of members, 134; breaks up, 218, 403n346; celebrates Lennox's *Harriot Stuart*, 272–73, 411n432; disputation not purpose of, 156; founding of, 134, 403n346; and Lauder's attack on Milton, proofs shown, 166; meetings of, 151–54, 155–57, 193; retirement of, lamented, 340; reunion of surviving members of, 339–40; SJ wanders streets after meetings of, 193; SJ's motive for founding, 134, 156–57, 173

Jackson, Andrew (1695–1778), bookseller: 342
Jackson, Thomas (bap. 1578–d. 1640), dean of Peterborough: as Corpus Christi College, Oxford, president, recommended to SJ by JH, 326–27; style of, 165
Jacob, Giles (bap. 1686–d. 1744), legal and literary scholar: *An Historical Account of the Lives and Writings of Our Most Considerable English Poets* (1720) by, 125, 311
Jacobites: xxiv, 3, 46, 48, 51, 147, 303, 309, 367n11, 385n181, 406n384
James, John (ca. 1672–1746), architect, surveyor, and carpenter: 225
James, Robert (bap. 1703–d. 1776), physician, inventor of James's fever powder, and schoolfellow of SJ: 219; Newbery's connection with, 219; as one who has lengthened life, 22–23; practice of, made by writings, 145; and SJ's life of Smith, 22–23
James, Robert, eighth Baron Petre (1713–42), patron of botany and garden designer: 129
James I (1566–1625), king of Scotland, England, and Ireland: 89, 385n184
James II (1633–1701), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland: 367n11; conduct of, condemned by SJ, 303; Declaration for Liberty of Conscience by, 303, 424n628; and royal touch for king's evil, 368n14
James VI. *See* James I
James Francis Edward (Stuart, styled James VIII and III; Chevalier de St. George, Pretender, Old Pretender; 1688–1766), Jacobite claimant to the thrones of England, Scotland, and Ireland: 5, 50, 385n181
Jansen, Cornelius, bishop of Ypres in Flanders (d. 1638), founder of Jansenism: 428n574
Jarvis, —— (fl. 1733), SJ's landlord in Birmingham: 14, 20, 21, 376n96
Jeffreys (Jefferies), George, first baron Jeffreys of Wem (1645–89), judge: 146
Jenyns, Soame (1704–87), author and politician: *Free Enquiry* by, SJ reviews, 212
Jerome, St. (340?–420), church father: works of, in SJ's library, 395n292
Jervas (Jervis, Jarvis), Charles (1675–1739), portrait painter and translator: translates *Don Quixote*, 132, 402n341
Jewel (Jewell), John (1522–71), bishop of Salisbury: as possible influence on SJ's style, 63; style of, 63, 165
Joannes Imperialis. *See* Imperiali
Jodrell, Richard Paul (1745–1831), classical scholar and playwright: translates SJ's epigram on Molly Aston, 190
John, St., the Apostle: 271
Johnson, Benjamin Fisher (1740–1809), SJ's second cousin: SJ's bequest to, 361

Johnson, Elizabeth (Tetty) (1689–1752), wife of SJ: account of, 21, 375n91; books associated with, 56, 188, 388n211; conversation with, 188; fortune of, 22; hides with SJ in Lambeth Marsh, 46; JH's view of, 21, 25; joins SJ in London, 27, 36, 378n118, 381n155; left in Edial, 381n155; as little disposed to parsimony, 27; marriage of, 21–22, 187–88, 375n93, 376n97; moves to Gough Square, 108; and negligence of SJ's dress, 187–88; never seen by JH, 188; personal charms of, described, 21, 188–89, 413n446; portrait of, 21; reading of, 56; residence of, near Tower, 56; separated from SJ, 56, 388n208; SJ's fondness for, 187; SJ's uxorious behavior toward, 56–57, 188; Williams, Anna, as companion of, 194
—death of: 187–90, 197, 413n446; burial in Bromley, 21, 188; memorials, 188; mistaken date on epitaph, 189, 413n446; prayers, 188; reaction of SJ, 187, 189–90, 193; recommendation to divine mercy, 188, 189, 270; SJ's epitaph, 188–89; unpreached sermon, 188
Johnson, John (d. 1747), keeper of archbishop Tenison's library: as rival translator of Sarpi, 40, 383n165
Johnson, Michael (1656–1731), father of SJ: account of, 2–3, 367n6; amiable qualities of, 3, 368n12; apprenticeship of, 3, 368n13; bankruptcy, possible, of, 11; Blaney's alleged passion for, 3, 368n13; as bookseller in Lichfield, 2–3, 368n13; burial of, in St. Michael's and epitaph for, composed by SJ, 350–51; on copies of Edward VI's first liturgy, 170; death of, 13, 373n62; and duckling poem, composition of, 4, 369n15; eminence of, in book trade, 2; finances of, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 97; as Jacobite, 3; leaves SJ £19, 14, 373n68; as magistrate and sheriff, 2–3; marriage of, 367n6; as melancholy, and possible source of SJ's, 173; teaches SJ book trade, 6
Johnson, Nathanael (1712–37), brother of SJ: 2, 367n8; as bookseller on proposal for SJ's translation of Politian's poems, 17; burial of, in St. Michael's and epitaph for, composed by SJ, 351; succeeds to father's business, 17
Johnson, Samuel (SJ; 1709–84), biographical summary of: birth, 2; birth date, 2, 367n7; family history, 2–3; birth of brother Nathanael, 2, 367n8; care of wet nurse, 3, 368n14; struma or king's evil, 3, 368n14; touched for struma by Queen Anne, 3, 368n14; Queen Anne's gift of amulet, 3, 368n14; lasting effects of struma on health, 4; writing of ducking poem, 4, 369n15; Lichfield Grammar School attendance, 4; "he will one day be a great man" prediction, 4–5, 369n17; behavior and abilities in school, 5; guinea reward for Latin verses, 9; studies with Cornelius Ford at Pedmore, 6; entrance to Stourbridge School, 6; return to Lichfield, 6; education in book trade from father, 6; entrance to Pembroke College, Oxford, 6; treatment of tutor, 6; poverty, 7, 12; rejection of gift of shoes, 7; behavior, 8–9; studies, 8–9; translation of Pope's *Messiah*, 9; exit from Oxford, 10; reading at university, 11; failure to take degree, 11–12; return to Lichfield, 12; depression attack, 6; health, fear for, 6; book-trade education, 6, 370n22; death of father, 13, 373n62; usher at Market Bosworth School, 13, 373n63: resignation from Bosworth, 13–14; settlement of father's affairs, 14; legacy from father, 14, 373n68; Birmingham visit, 14; translation of *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, 14–17; return to Lichfield, 17; proposal for edition of Politian's poems, 17, 374n78; service offer to Cave, 17–18; rejection for Brerewood School position, 20; marriage to Elizabeth (Tetty) Jarvis Porter, 21–22, 375n93, 376n97; befriending of Gilbert Walmsley, 22–23, 24–25; establishment of school

at Edial, 23–24, 25; Garrick as pupil, 23; advertisements for school, 23; method and plan of institution, 24; commencement of *Irene* at Edial, 25–27; journal to London with Garrick, 24–25, 27; borrowing of money from Wilcox, 27; proposal to Cave for translation of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, 28; entrance into Cave's circle at St. John's Gate, 28–29; friendship with Cave, 29–32; friendship with Savage, 32–35; writing of *London*, 35–36; publication of *London*, 36–38; lodging in Fleet-street, 56; Appleby School application for mastership, 38–40, 382nn162–63; return to London, 40; publication for proposals for Sarpi, 40; forced abandonment of Sarpi translation, 40, 383n165; introduction to JH, xxi, xxii, 40, 379n129, 384n167; publication of "Life of Sarpi" in *GM*, 40, 383–84n167; translation of Crousaz, 40–45; letter to Cave on marketing strategy for Crousaz translations, 42–43; writing of *Marmor Norfolcienses*, 45–46, 50; concealment from authorities, 46, 385–86n185; writing of *Compleat Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage*, 48–50; parting from Savage, 55, 94–95; separation from wife, 56, 388n208; writing of "Ad Urbanum," 57–59, 388n216; writing of *Debates in Parliament* for *GM*, 62–65, 77–78, 83; revelation of authorship of *Debates*, 78–81; contribution to *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, 83–91; contribution to *Harleian Miscellany*, 91–93; Osborne and the folio, 93–94; writing of *Life of Savage*, 95–97; publication of *Observations on Macbeth*,103–5; contract signing for *Dictionary*, 105; move to Gough Square, 108; dedication of *Plan of Dictionary* to Chesterfield, 108–9; renunciation of Chesterfield's patronage, 109, 116–18; writing of prologue for Drury Lane Theater opening for Garrick, 119–22; performance of *Irene*, 122–24; publication of *Vanity of Human Wishes*, 124–25; writing of prologue to *Comus*, 125; placement of De Groot in Charterhouse, 125; formation of Ivy Lane Club, xxii–xxiii, 134–35; initiation of *Rambler*, 160–65; contribution to Lauder-Milton controversy, 166–72; celebration for Lennox's *Harriot Stewart*, 172–73; conclusion of *Rambler*, 173–76; contribution to *Adventurer*, 176–86; death of wife, 187–90; sermon written for wife's funeral, 188; epitaph for wife, 188–89; excessive grief for wife, and melancholy, 187, 189, 193; writing of Zachariah Williams's account of longitude, 194–95; Anna Williams's joining of household, 195; death of Cave, 196; writing of "Life of Cave," 196–97; Barber's start as servant, 197; attempts to educate Barber, 198; completion of *Dictionary*, 206; exchanging of words with Millar, 206; granting of Master of Arts degree from Oxford, 206–7; writing for *Universal Visitor*, 212; writing for *Literary Magazine*, 212; dispute with Jonas Hanway, 212–18; end of Ivy Lane Club, 218; agreement to edit Shakespeare, 218–19; writing of *Idler*, 219–20; quiting of Gough Square, 220; move to Gray's Inn, 220; refusal to live in church, 220–21; death of mother, 221; writing of *Rasselas*, 221–24; meditation on writing a second part, 224; contribution to controversy over building of Blackfriars Bridge, 225–26; conclusion of *Idler*, 228–30; move to Inner Temple Lane, 230; correction to Madden's *Boulter's Monument*, 235; writing of dedication for Adams's *Treatise on the Globes*, 236; pension acceptance, xxx, 237; thank-you to Lord Bute, 237; friendship for Levett, 238–41, 243; friendship with Lawrence, 242–43; practice of chemistry, 249; founding of the Club, 249–50; contribution to Goldsmith's *The Traveller*,

Johnson, Samuel (SJ; 1709–84), biographical summary of (*continued*)
253; selling of *The Vicar of Wakefield* for Goldsmith, 253; writing of epitaph for Goldsmith, 253; Garrick's rejection from membership in the Club, 256; Cock Lane ghost investigation, 262–63; Churchill's ghost investigation satire, "Pomposo," 263; Foote's threat to exhibit "Pomposo" on stage, 263–64; persuasion of friends for completion of Shakespeare, 264–65; solicitation of friends for assistance, 265; edition of Shakespeare published, 265; granting of LL.D. from Dublin University, 267; move to Johnson Court, 272; fitting up for study, 272; introduction to Thrales, 273–74; friendship with Thrales, 274–76; conversation with George III, 276–77; watch purchase, 277; professor of ancient literature at Royal Academy, 277; writing of *The False Alarm*, 278–79; writing of *Thoughts on Falkland's Islands*, 279–82; inquiry into Prince of Wales's reading, 282–83; journey to Hebrides, 284; writing of *A Journey to the Western Islands*, 287–93; inquiry into Earse language, 293; challenge to authenticity of Ossian, 293–94; note to Macpherson, 294–95; revision to edition of Shakespeare, 295–96; writing of *The Patriot*, 296–97; writing of *Taxation No Tyranny*, 297–300; Thrale's seeking of Parliament seat for SJ, 308; granted LL.D. by Oxford, 309–10; visit to Paris with Thrales, 310; prologue for Kelly's *A Word to the Wise*, 311–12; writings for Dr. Dodd, 312–18; assistance to Compton, 318–19; move to Bolt Court, 319; fitting up for study, 319; initiation of friendship with Edmund Allen, 319; writing of *Lives of the Poets*, 320–24; contemplation of translation of Thuanus, 324–25; translation of Sallust, 325; death of Henry Thrale, 330; Thrale executor, 330–32; epitaph for Thrale, 332–33; decrease in visits to Streatham, 333; increase in illnesses, 334; writing of poem on Levett's death, 334–36; stroke, 336–37; death of Anna Williams, 337–38; Ivy Lane Club revival, 339–40; symptoms of dropsy, 340; naming of JH as executor, 340; relieving of dropsy, 341–42; founding of Essex Head Club, 342–43; forced foregoing of club, 343; stroke recovery, 343; resumption of sitting for Opie portrait, 343; break with HLP, 343–45; plan for visit to Italy, 346; offering of £500 advance by Thurlow, 346; decline of Thurlow's advance, 346–47; offering of £100 a year by Brocklesby, 347; visit to Ashbourne, 348; translation of ode of Horace, 348; visit to Lichfield, 349; return to London, 349; writing of draft of will, 349; preparation for death, 350; writing of epitaphs for parents and brother, 350–51; translation of Greek epigrams, 351; writing of will, 352–53; dining at George Strahan's, 353; destruction of papers, 354; leg scarification, 354; last communion, 354–55; lost notebook, 355–56; acceptance of JH's apology, 356; dictation of another will, 356; incisions to relieve dropsy, 357–58; death, 357; postmortem, 359; death mask, 368n14; funeral, 359–60
Johnson, Samuel, opinions, attitudes, characteristics, and personal traits of: acuteness, 10; adventurer, 32; agriculture, knowledge of, 212, 282; ambition, xxi, 5, 8, 103, 124; American colonies, xxiv, 296, 297–302; antiquary, not one, 289; arches, semicircular over elliptical favored, 225–26; architecture, 225–27; argument, method of, 42, 50, 72, 77, 81, 155–56, 166, 170, 223, 226, 234, 279, 291, 297, 298, 300, 341; Arian, would not write tract on, 53; ascetics, study of, 101; atheism, would not write tract on, 53; author, best part in writings of, 246–47; ballads, simplicity actually inanity, 234; beauty, 114, 188, 190, 194,

233, 235, 324; biography, delight in, 94; birth date, 2, 367n7; book trade, knowledge of, 6, 270; botany, no relish for, 289; breakfast law, 101; buffoonery, as hated, 233; candor, in controversy, 217; character, xxiv, xxx, xxxi, 1, 5–6, 12, 32, 97–98, 102–3, 173, 198, 215, 230, 246–47, 248, 256, 262, 307; chemistry, interest in, 249; Christian, xxi, xxiv, xxxii, 1, 12, 101, 103, 198, 326, 352, 359; civil law, compared with common law, 9–10, 372n46; coach travel, delight in, 275–76; common law, compared with civil law, 9–10, 372n46; company, choice of, Savage confirms, 56; composition, speed of, 6, 230; confidence, 33, 100, 165, 264, 304, 329, 359; consolation, need for, xxi, 349; convulsive motions, 20, 198; courtesy, 32; criticism, talent for, 265–66; critics, resolution not to respond to, 210, 211, 279; dead, prayers for, 270–72, 427nn567–69; degree, failure to obtain, 11, 39–40 (*see also* Johnson, Samuel, opinions . . . of: academic honors); demonology, dabbler in, 190; departed spirits, 189–90, 223–24, 262–63; deportment, outward, 102; depression (*see* Johnson, Samuel, opinions . . . of: melancholy); devotions, Sundays spent in exercise of, 273; diligence, 8; discretion, sometimes wanting in, 238, 356; dogmatical behavior, 102; domine, refusal to be addressed with title, 268; Dutch, attempt to learn, 339, 441n676; early rising, resolution to, 268, 270, 276, 327; ebriety, temptation to, 173, 193; ecclesiastical history, study of, 101, 271–72; education, female, 158, 189, 231, 235, 323; elocution, 10; envy, subject to, 256; ethics, as favorite subject, 8; eyesight, as impaired, 4, 11, 21, 100–101, 190–91, 225–26, 414n451; falsehood, never reconciled to, 78; filial piety, as distinguishable feature, 221; free-thinking, 160; free-will, 42, 43; French people, George III compared with Louis XIV, 276; gallantry, 57, 235; general warrants, not alarmed by, 305; gentleness, 32; God, habitual reverence for name of, 101; good and amiable qualities, ability to discover, in others, 31; good breeding, 165, 245; Good Friday, shifting attitude toward observance of, 156; good principles, as consistent with irregular life, 247; goodness, seeds of, sown in, 325, 353; Greek moralists, study of, 101; "Hottentot, respectable," 109, 116–17, 397n293, 399n315; humility, 103, 359; imbecility, arising from humanity and pity, 248; incredulity, as great in some instances, 241; ingratitude, insensible of, 246; insanity, fear of, 173, 223, 236, 265, 327; irony, 50, 164, 229; Jacobites, xxiv, 46, 51, 152, 303; Lambeth degrees, held in contempt, 186–87, 412–13n445; law, practice of civil or common, as natural profession, 9–10; lemonade, as incentive to hilarity, 151, 172; letter-writing, 158, 231; levity, 9; Licensing Act (10 Geo. II. c. 8), 47, 48–51, 386n194, 399n319; Lord's Prayer, 336, 356, 357, 364; loyalty, principles of, deeply rooted, 101; Magliabecchi, compared with, 10–11, 197, 416n465; Magna Charta, 303–4; mankind, knowledge of (*see* Johnson, Samuel, opinions . . . of: human life and manners); medical life, xxxi (*see also entries for* Johnson, Samuel, opinions . . . of: eyesight, melancholy, mind, opium, pain); mimicry, as hated, 233; naturalist, not one, 289; painting, no conception of beauties of, 190, 414n451; parsimony, little disposed to, 27; party-opposition, great aversion to, 304; patronage, 13, 23, 32, 33, 38, 100, 108, 109, 116, 117, 118, 198, 347; penetration, 10; penitents, great lover of, 244; pensioners, early view of, 50; philology, study of, 101; placability, 102; players, hated the profession of, 256; poet, 10, 94, 98, 300; politics, meaning of the word, 278; Polyphemus, as

Johnson, Samuel, opinions, attitudes, characteristics, and personal traits of (*continued*)
nickname, 215, 420n498; portraits, xxxiin11, 60, 389n217, 414n451; profanity, restraint on, 101; providence, dispensations of, 94, 221, 341–42; purgatory, not a believer in, 270, 271–72; pusillanimity, toward house guests, 246; quick-sighted, in discovering good and amiable qualities of others, 31; remorse, over hours spent with Savage, 34, 56; research, dislike of, 103, 265; revelation, divine, rejection of advantages that result from belief in, 329; reviews, of past behavior, 101, 211–12, 268–70, 327; rhyme, fondness for, 322; riches, 33, 156; romantic passion, in early youth, 189; sarcasm, 164; satire, 35, 45, 46, 50, 124, 224, 291; scholar, 1, 25, 84, 105, 109; Scotland and Scotsman, prejudices against, 102, 142, 291, 292; sculpture, and statue as unshapen mass, 190; self-indulgence, love of, 246; servitors and sizars, censured practice of employing, 12, 372n56; Socinian, would not write tract on, 53; standing army, 45, 50, 51; storytelling, 152, 156, 185; strength, vain of, 264; studies, method of, 8, 10–11, 13, 17, 25, 100–101, 102, 103, 190, 225, 307, 327; symposiarch, born for the office of, 156; table manners, 214–15, 399n315; theology, as favorite subject, 8; trifles, mind never occupied on, 232; trinity, 153; Unitarianism, Barker snubbed for professing, 142; Usages Controversy, 270–72, 427nn567–68; uxorious behavior, mimicked by Garrick, 56–57; walking, seldom practiced, 103; well-bred men, admirer of, 245; Whigs and Whiggism, xxiv, 51, 102, 144, 147, 152, 189, 303
—academic honors: 11–12, 372n55; Oxford LL.D. (1775), 309–10, 372n55, 436–37n647; Oxford M.A. (1755), 372n55; Trinity College, Dublin LL.D. (1765), 267, 372n55
—academy: failure to establish, at Edial, 97, 103; house becomes, 198, 262
—acquaintance: sought, 102, 165, 197, 198, 230, 235, 249; shunned, 32, 102, 364
—advice: to American colonies, 299; need for, from JH, xxi, 331, 349; from Welch, 263; from Williams, Anna, 196
—affluence: by pension, 237, 238; raised to comparative, 22, 97, 197
—applause: bestowing, 323; competition for, 149, 157; received, 1, 78, 122, 206, 338
—asperity: as critic, 265–66; of manners, charged with, 32, 339, 364; more, in expression than disposition, 246; toward Lord (Frederick) North, 308; over Ossian, 295; toward Scots, 291–92
—attention: need to arouse, 15, 123, 164, 220, 235; engaged, 206, 279, 282, 289, 319, 322; respectful and patient, due to everyone, 32, 102
—authorship, professional: and ability to frame debates under disadvantages, 77–79; best faculties left dormant by, 126; and casual emoluments, 235; decision to become, 17; and disappointments reflected in *Vanity*, 124; emoluments from, 78; and fallacious expectations, 200; indolence and melancholy as not necessary consequence of, 235; loathsomeness of, 126; money as only stimulation toward, 52–54, 126, 219, 310; from necessity, 17, 51–53; as only professon available, 97–100; as reflected in life of Savage, 96; religious or political principles not abandoned for, 53
—beneficence: income spent in acts of, 366; of most diffuse kind, 125; praise not expected for, 248
—benevolence: in assisting authors, 194, 195, 196, 218, 310; and disposition, 230; examples of, 241–45; expections for, as no return from recipients, 248; as ill-directed, 362; as indiscriminating,

357; and Sunday dinners for those lacking, 273
—Bible: Greek testament of, read, 273, 326; resolution to read, 268, 273; study of, 101, 268
—books: associated with wife, 188; bind, ability to, 6; borrowed, seldom returned, 267; catalogue of, 83, 84, 89, 91, 94; conversant chiefly with, 77, 266, 307; for library at Streatham, 274; library of, 108, 267, 272, 319; read indifferently, 5, 11, 327; use of, in *Dictionary*, 108
—booksellers: as best friends, 218; and *Dictionary*, 105, 126, 208, 209; liberality of, 208; and *Lives*, 320; patronage by, 108; and *Shakespeare*, 218–19
—Catholic Church: 14–17, 259; missal of, 86–88
—charity: xxiv, 256; and general concern for welfare of mankind, 101; Sundays sanctified by acts of, 238, 273
—children: delight in apposing, 282–83; desertion of, by parents as most unnatural, 343, 345; at Foundling Hospital, 217; learning encouraged for, 283
—Church of England: xxiv; adherance to doctrine and disciple of, 101; ecclesiastical dignities in, 51; friend of, 101, 292, 301; and high church, 152; liturgy, 270–72, 427nn567–68; reverence for, 12; schism in, 51, 237, 270–72; Scottish church compared with, 291
—civil government: knowledge of, 300; study of, 101
—classical literature: as favorite subject, 8; and Latin versification, 9; qualification to teach, 22; skill in, 9; study of, 101
—clergy: censure of, for not assisting Dodd, 318; and ecclesiastical dignities, 51; eloquence from pulpit, as not charming, 273; learning expected of, 152; malevolence toward, 50, 160; and ministerial office, 220–21; and popular preachers, no affection for, 273; and respect of ministers, 12, 13, 152, 220–21; and tolerance for public instructors, 273
—compassion: to eminent degree, 32; examples of, 196, 238, 343
—constitution: history of, proposed, 54; reverence for, 303
—contradiction: impatience of, 102; those offended by, 246, 339, 364
—controversy: and arguments alone as weapons, 301; over Blackfriars Bridge, 225–26, 228; conduction of, with candor, 217; Crousaz and Warburton, 44–45, 212; decline of, in defense of self and writings, 210; engagement in, with rival booksellers, 57; no friend to, 279; with Hanway, 212–18; Lauder, 166–72; play, use of, 217; skill in political, 300; Usages, 270–71
—conversation: and academy, house turned into, 198, 262; always suited to company, 103; at the Club, 249, 255; contending of, for victory, 155, 364; didactic style of, 102, 152; encouragement of, 102; enjoyment of, with friends, 172, 273, 339; equality in, 102; at Essex Head Club, 338, 342–43; expected at Henry Thrale's, 274–75, 339; great delight of, in life, 56, 126, 134, 156, 193, 249, 273; interruption in, by periods of mental absence, 319; with king, 276–77; lack of familiarity with forms of, 77; language of, 102; with Levett, 243, 262; little accustomed to, before London, 33, 102; London as greatest opportunity for, 282; mirth of, 156, 172; never know what he will say next, 381n150; open to all, 262, 327, 342–43; and opinions, not uniform in, 155–56; and pleasure in interchange of sentiments and opinions, 231; Pope interested in SJ's skills of, 381n150; prejudices abated by, 102; with prostitutes, 193; religious zeal in, 342; as rendering SJ tolerable to women, 188, 235; as replete with original sentiments,

Johnson, Samuel, opinions, attitudes, characteristics, and personal traits of (*continued*)
102; restraints on, 101; rule to talk SJ's best, 155; Savage gain little from, with SJ, 34; as "scarce tolerable" to some, 77; serious, with JH, 340–41; as similar to writings, 232; sought after, 102, 165, 189, 197, 230; and speaking in best and most correct phrase, 232; and sportsmanlike discourse, 232; and storytelling, 152, 156, 185; after stroke, 336; tavern, free, in, 56; as tending toward human life and manners, 157; and Williams, Anna, 196
—credulity: censure for, 263; as great in some instances, 241
—deafness: growth of, 319; noise of coach as assisting, 276
—death: and contemplation of dissolution, 325; and doubts and difficulties regarding future state, 325; and dread of meeting God or Savior, 340, 354; fear of, 353; and fear of being "castaway," 341; fit for, 354; prospect of terrible, 329, 353; whole life a preparation for, 359; wound in leg not attempt to hasten, 358
—dinner parties: increase in, 197; invitations to, numerous, 262; invitations to, only declined once, 206
—discipline: of college life, 12; failure to find, in studies, 8, 100, 371n42
—disputation: academical, familiar with, 77; deficient in formalities of, 77; and Ivy Lane Club, not purpose of, 156; oral, 217; written, 217
—divine worship: attendance of, in Aberdeen, 192; impulse to attend, 272; inconstant attendance of, 272; opinion on, 156; and pulpit eloquence's lack of draw, 273; resolution to frequent, 268, 270
—dress: confirmed in, by Savage, 56; and gold-laced waistcoat at opening of *Irene*, 123; lack of correction of, by wife, 187–88; neglect of, 102, 197; as never neat, 197–98; for trip to France, 310
—drinking: abstainment from, for fear of insanity, 173; lemonade, 151, 172; lover of wine, in early life, 55–56; persevering temperance in, 55; tea, 172, 213, 214, 215, 216, 234–35, 262, 276, 334, 338
—ease: on completing copy for *Dictionary*, 206; intervals of, 334, 342, 353, 479; known love of, 246, 261–62, 290, 319
—eloquence: in *Debates*, 64, 77; distinguishment by, 50, 274; in Dodd's case, 314; in forms of devotion, 327; in *Idler*, 229; manly and convincing, 307; perfect model of, 308; polemical, 300; power of popular, 64, 301; pulpit, as not a charm, 273; in *Rambler*, 175; in *Rasselas*, 222, 224; senatorial, 78, 308; in *Shakespeare* preface, 265; in *Vanity*, 124
—enthusiasm: imagination borders on, in *Debates*, 64; as lacking distinguishing poetical character, 321; religion's tincture of, 101
—evil: exposed as life choice, 97; habits confirmed by Savage, 55; idleness as great, 96; of life preponderate over enjoyments, 193; of professional authorship, 97–98, 99; regarding Thrales, 345; of SJ's life, 187, 193; *Vanity* exposes, 124
—exertion: of argumentative powers, 216; bodily, averse to, 103; literary, 185, 262
—Fathers: and prayers for the dead, 371; proposal to collect Christian morality from, 54, 103; study of, 8, 101, 326, 395n271
—felicity: in conversation with women, 235; permanent, as unattainable, 224; and tavern chair as throne of human, 56
—female: education, 158, 231; mind, high opinion of, 235; seeking of conversation from SJ, 189

—ferocity: as not so terrific, 248; power to be charmed by, 32, 246; pusillanimity as irreconcilable to, 246; of temper, 13
—folly: and Cock Lane ghost, 263; and *False Alarm*, 278; Lauder's, 167; and *The Patriot*, 296; survey of, in *Opening of the Theatre in Drury Lane*, 120, 121; wisdom as, without God's grace, 160
—French language: dictionary of, 208, 209, 361; speaking of, 310; study of, 22; teaching of, 22, 23; translations from, 24, 25, 28, 40–42, 52
—friendship: as based on mutual regard, 196–97; and compassion, begins with, 196; constancy of, 197, 243, 283; loss of, 323, 330, 333, 338; search for, with men of probity, 196, 245; sincerity of, 243; strength of, 256; tender of, 198; weighs not in balance the favor it confers, 274
—genius: abstracted, 300; disdainment of, for servile labor, 321; encouragement of, 196, 198; force of, 307, 364; great effort of, 265; impulse of, wanting, 17, 51; poetic, 222, 321; in political writings, 307; Shakespeare thought suited to, 219; stage as holding temptation for men of, 25
—government: acquiescence in measures of, 54–55; apathy toward, 305; attacks, xxvi–xxvii, 38, 46, 51, 304; ever a friend to, 101, 278, 301, 303, 304; pension from, 237–38
—governors: of Foundling Hospital, 216, 217; submission to, 303
—gratitude: 107, 289, 291, 292, 333, 346, 347; never deficient in, 57; toward king, 276
—Greek language: teaching of, 23–24; on watch dial plate, 277; and translation of Greek Anthologia passages into Latin, 351, 354, 366
—grief: on death of Levett, 334, 338; on death of mother, 221; on death of wife, 187–90; on death of Williams, Anna, 338; and loss of friends as stimulating composition, 334
—happiness: on completing copy for the *Dictionary*, 206; fear for wife as lacking, 189; future, as eternal, 101, 174, 224, 271, 337, 354; human, as unattainable, 224; instability of human, 187; at meetings of the Club, 255
—history: ability to relate, with precision only in conversation, 185; of revival of learning, 53, 103; study of ecclesiastical and civil, 101
—house: dinners given at, 340; as dreary, 338; furnishings of, 108, 272; inmates of, as enemies of peace, 245, 246, 357; Williams, Anna, as keeper of, 337
—human life and manners: admiration of genteel, 33; as chief study, 94, 95, 96, 124, 157, 164, 176, 193, 198, 219, 221, 222, 224, 230, 244, 246–47, 266, 282, 289, 323, 330, 358; conduct of, 164; lack of admiration for rural, 282; master of, 198; sentiments of, 221; skill in, 230
—humanity: 198, 248; indiscriminate, 312; instances of, 310–19
—humor: in controversy, 217; in conversation, 231; enviable portion of, 233; as ever of the arch and dry kind, 233; and excellence in burlesque versification, 234; mixture of, with instruction, 176, 186, 220; original, 164; of ridicule, 233–34; talent of, hardly ever equaled, 156
—idleness: as great evil of human nature, 96; habit of, not corrected by association with Savage, 56; and idle visitors' effect, 337; and *Idler* title choice as ironic, 229; if ever time for, now, 211; little danger of being charged with, in writing *Idler*, 229; as related to course of life, 97; resolution to oppose, 270. *See also* Johnson, Samuel, opinions . . . of: indolence
—ignorance: condemned sectaries for, early in life, 325; mercy not shown to, when learning expected, 152; proposed hymn to, 54; of religious knowledge by children at Foundling Hospital, 216–17; of those who do not understand irregular life as consistent with good principles, 247

Johnson, Samuel, opinions, attitudes, characteristics, and personal traits of (*continued*)
—imagination: 284, 321, 322; Anson's voyages and relator's overheated, 283–84; *Debates*, raised to highest pitch in, 64, 81; ever teeming with new ideas, 157; fervor of, 101; phantoms of, as haunting, 354; poor eyesight and hearing as hindrance to delights of, 190; in portraits of characters, 274; in *Rambler*, 230; in *Shakespeare*, 219
—independence: achievement of, 268; loss of, at Thrale's, 374; love of, 118
—indolence: and aversion to exercise, 103; confirmation of, by Savage, 55–56; determination to reform, 272; habits of, as disease of mind, 134; and lack of impulse to action, 126; lamentation for, 329; little expiation needed for, 212; sinking into, 219, 319; and torpor, 262
—integrity: 330; Cave's long experience with SJ's, 196; friendships with men of, 196, 245; manifestation of, on all occasions, 245; lack of wanting in, 238; not to be warped, 99–100, 237–38, 301
—irregularity: 5, 7, 8, 100, 276; effect on, 126, 246; in life, consistent with good principles, 247
—Italian language: skill in, 40; study of, 22; teaching of, 22
—judgment: criminal to waste time as, 277; great, 35, 64, 89, 93, 123; and lack of ability to penetrate political prejudices, 51; in *Lives*, 323; maturity of, 122; mistakes in, 245; penetrating, 11; private, and Dodd's pardon, 319; requirement for servant as, 197; rhyme, fondness for, as blemish in, 322
—justice: even-handed, 290; love of, 102
—knowledge: of architecture, little, 225; of chemistry, 249; children of Foundling Hospital as deficient in religious, 216; and civil policy, 300–301; desire to display, in English literature and criticism, 105; of heart, 222; human mind's tendency for improvement in, 330; lack of, for those who do not understand irregular life as consistent with good principles, 247; of men and business in *Debates*, 77; method of attaining, 100–103; of physics, 9; readiness to communicate, 103; variety of, 282. *See also* Johnson, Samuel, opinions . . . of: human life and manners
—labor: 325; aversion to, 97; brain as totally dependent on, 236; to conquer evil habits, 55; in *Dictionary*, 206, 209, 211; disdainment of, as servile, 321; of dressing, 103; God as propitious to, 175; as ineffectual without God's help, 160; lack of application and, at university, 100; literary, as draining, 325; of miners in literature, 134; as no longer necessary, 268; on *The Plan of the Dictionary*, 117; rest from, 134; too much of, needed to complete history of the revival of learning, 103
—learning: and children, progress of, 282–83; clergy, as improvers of, 13; controversial, interest in, 17; on demand at Thrales, 274–75; disdainment for ostentation of, 272; favorite subjects of, 8; Garrick's veneration for SJ's, 256; history of revival of, in Europe, 53, 103; improvement of, 13, 22; lack of, in early political pamphlets, 50; and mathematics, little relish for, 9; men of, who cannot converse, 234; pride of, as defensive, 102; progress in, as child, 4–5; in *Rasselas*, 222–23; and those who possess emolument, 152; in *Vanity*, 124; when expected, no mercy shown toward ignorance, 152; zeal for interests of, 116
—manners: admiration for genteel, 33; lack of admiration for rural, 282; and study of chief employment, 289
—mathematics: assistance for, in *Dictionary*, 108; calculation assistance in, for Blackfriars Bridge, 225; little relish for, 9, 100
—medical profession: accomplishments

of, compared with others, 143; fortune of, would make curious book, 143
—meditation: in diary, 376; employment composing, and devotional exercises, 101; for *Idler*, 229; as means to digest reading, 8; "Meditation on a Pudding," 234, 423n520; for *Rambler*, 157, 173–74; for *Rasselas*, 222; religious, one day as good as another, 29
—melancholy: affinity of, with superstition, 224; and cheerlessness, 340; on death of Cave, 196; on death of wife, 189, 193; as derived from father, 173; via *Dictionary* work, 126, 173; as disease of mind, 134, 173; habitual, 228, 338; and *Idler*, last number of, 228–29; via Ivy Lane Club reunion, 340; lucid intervals in, 156, 273; on Oxford departure, 6; and *Rambler*, last number of, 174; relief from, via Ivy Lane Club meetings, 134, 151–52, 193; relief from, via opium, 193, 273; and resolutions for study, 277; self-diagnosis of, 173; in writing for money, 126, 134
—memory: power of, 5, 11; and reading, 11; retentive, exhibited in life of Rochester, 11; and story recall, 156, 176, 185
—mind: abilities of, manifested early, 5; acquires no firmness from contemplation of mortality, 221; agony of, wounds self, 357–58; calming of, need for, 327; confidence in powers of, 100, 300; constitution of, noted changes in, 303; and *Dictionary*, not to be diverted from, 206; distended, 211; easier in, 354; endowments of, xxx, 1; fabric of, as tottering, 325; female, high opinion of, 235; fictitious relations take no hold of, 133; freedom with which, opened, 341; great, has characteristics of, 211; and indolence, disease of, 134; intercourse of, delight in, 134; Ivy Lane Club, soothed by meetings of, 135, 152; lack of counterpoise in, to evils of sickness, sorrow, and want, 193, 207; laxity of, 126, 263, 327; and melancholy, disease of, 134, 173, 190, 340; as never occupied on trifles, 232; as never unemployed, 212; occupation of, as sole pleasure, 103; as occupied by subjects greater than this world, 324; penetration of, lack of, 243; poetry, not filled with images for, 321; presence of, as great, 349; principles of religion, morality, loyalty, deeply rooted in, 101; *Rambler* as outlet for, 157, 160, 173, 174; relaxation of, after receiving pension, 262; sectaries, 325–27; sentiments of piety in, 12; soreness of, 185; state of, at different times, 327; trouble of, 329; watch purchase to impress on, value of time, 277; wish for powers of, to not grow languid through poverty, 14
—moralist, xxxii, 10; mere, JH defends against accusation of being, 330, 441–42n682
—morality: instruction in, at Oxford, 12; and moral science, fond of, 157; obligation for, uniformly tenacious on, 153; principles of, deeply rooted, 101; qualities of, 198, 329; remiss in lesser duties of, 102, 246; strict in great duties of, 102, 246
—music: insensible to delights of, 191–93, 414n452; lack of sense of harmony, 322; as positive pain, 192–93
—nonjurors: early year association with, 51, 272; political and religious principles from, 272; ruin of cause of, 371, 427nn567–68
—opinions: lack of uniformity in, 155–56; religious, resolved into superstition by enemies, 263; religious and political, retained, 100
—opium: dread of meeting God under effects of, 354; propensity for, xxxi, 193; use of, in large quantities, 193, 273, 324, 415n454
—pain: xxx, 192, 207, 223, 329, 334, 353, 354, 356, 357, 358, 364; lack of freedom from, 238
—patriot: xxiv, 38, 199, 304; description of, 296–97; pretence of, spoken of with indignation and contempt, 304; principles of, against Walpole, 34

Johnson, Samuel, opinions, attitudes, characteristics, and personal traits of (*continued*)
—patriotism: 34, 200, 304, 380n148; attempt to teach difference between true and false, 296
—patron: 13; Chesterfield supposed as, 109, 116; defined by SJ, 373n64; Dodington's attempt to become, 198; Dodsley as, 37; SJ as, of Levett, 262
—pecuniary: engagement to complete *Shakespeare*, 264; offer of, assistance considered an insult, 118; profit as only genuine motive for writing, 52; recompense from Cave for *Debates*, 78
—pension: xxx, 108; attempt to augment, 346; definition of, 237–38, 423n527; effects on, 262; reception of, 236–38, 423n524, 423n527; and rise to comparative affluence, 237, 238; writing political pamphlets not a motive for, 301
—petitions: concern for failure of, 318; for Dodd, 314–17
—philologist: character of, 198; reputation as, 105
—philosopher: 1, 10, 94, 300, 330, 341; defined by SJ, 368n4
—physics: knowledge of, 9; little relish for, 100
—piety: Baxter's exemplary, 325; effusions of, 268; filial, as distinguishable feature, 221; habitual, 100; love for those who make profession of, 244; monastic, 327; as rule of conduct, 12, 330
—pity: to eminent degree, 32; for sufferings of fellow creatures, 243, 248
—poetical faculty: 4; as mechanical, not truly poetic, 222, 321–22
—political: controversy, 300; description of, 302–5; fidelity to, 53, 99–100; pamphlets, 45–46, 48–51, 57, 307; prejudices, 51, 152, 237; principles, xxiv, xxvi–xxvii, 3, 33–35, 38, 44–45, 46, 50, 153, 165, 237, 263, 272; science, skill in, 307
—poverty and financial struggles: 7, 8, 10, 14, 33, 57, 77, 94, 96, 97, 125, 126, 219, 220, 221, 224, 384n172; as disgraceful, 12; at an end, 262, 268; examples of, 243–45; and favorable recommendation, 243
—pride: of independence, 118; of learning, 102
—principles: of civil policy, 300; cooperation of, with necessities, 5; of criticism, 321; in *Debates*, 80; fidelity to religious and political, 53, 99–100, 101, 157, 303, 307; good, consistent with irregular life, 247; political, and pension, 238; religious and political, derived from nonjurors, 272
—profession: lack of, 9, 10, 13, 32, 52, 77, 96–100; legal, as natural, 10; teaching, 22, 268. *See also* Johnson, Samuel, opinions . . . of: authorship, professional
—prostitutes: conversations with, 193–94; life course of, 193; reading ability of, 193
—reading: xxxi, 11, 101, 157; in bed, 338; of best authors, 12, 108; of chemistry, 249; of classical literature, 8; course in, needed for *Shakespeare*, 219, 264; delight in, 103, 151, 214–15; desultory manner of, 25, 126; divinity of, 325, 326, 350; Dutch, attempt to acquire by, 339; and ethics, 8; excellence as writer owed to, 163–64; irregular habits of, 8; manner of, compared with Magliabechi, 10–11; meditation as means of digesting, 8; passion for, 11; of poets, 189; practice of, as wonderful to see, 11; on profound subjects, 232; of theology, 8; various and extensive, 232
—reasoning: force of, in *Debates*, 64; powers of, 300, 302, 307; sober, with Thrale, 331; in *Taxation No Tyranny*, 297, 299
—reflection: biography as calling forth, 94; deep, 11, 137; delight in, habitual disposition to, 100, 103, 151, 172; *Dictionary*, on state of language when beginning, 105; on early rising, 276;

on fortune, 33, 36; frequent, on evil in human life preponderating over good, 193; gloomy, in *Rasselas*, 222; on nature denied by poor eyesight, 190; painful, xxiii, 134; on physicians, 32, 143
—religion: xxiv; consolation by reading writers on, 325–27; deep sense of, 12–13, 101, 329; defense of, 160; fidelity to principles of, 53, 99–100; instruction in, at Oxford, 12; reverence for, 160, 353; study of evidence of, 101; support of, attempt to adduce new arguments for, 160; as tinctured with enthusiasm, 101; zeal for, 342
—residences: Bolt Court, 195, 319, 353; Castle Street, No. 6, 381n155; Exeter Street, 36; Fleet Street, 56, 108, 272; Gough Square, 108, 195, 220; Gray's Inn, 79, 195, 220; Greenwich, 55; Johnson's Court, 195, 272, 319; Lambeth Marsh, 46; Strand, 108; Temple, 195, 230, 272; Woodstock Street, 381n155
—rest: habits of, 172, 338; lack of regard for time of, 102, 172; preventing of others from, 276; and reading in bed, 338; for refreshment for discourse, 262; and resolution to subtract from sleep time for meditation and study, 277; and sleep as bad, 277, 479
—riding: as bold, 275; ill made for, 103; lack of pleasure or benefit from, 103
—rising: habit of early, broken at Thrales', 278, resolution for earlier, 270, 277, 327
—roughness: apology to those offended, 246; character throughout life marked with, 32
—science: in "Adversaria," 8; of architecture, unskilled in, 226; and conduct of human life, 95, 97, 164, 219; defined by SJ, 367n2; moral, 157; of music, unskilled in, 194; political, skill in; 307; principles of, as difficult to prove, 297; questions of, reliance on Samuel Dyer for, 136
—scruples: distress of, 268, 325, 359; about ministerial function, 220, 237
—sin: 268; occasional loathing of, 353
—society: love of, 56, 156, 223, 255, 262; and sociable disposition, 230
—solitude: dread of, 196, 223, 337; as ever ungrateful, 338; insanity as danger of, 223; relief from, sought, 340, 342
—speculations: grand and noble, 232; life of Savage as provider of source for, 33, 95–96
—stage: attraction to writing for, 25–26; and benefit for Elizabeth Kelly, 311–12; and benefit for Milton's granddaughter, 125; Foote caricature of SJ on, 263–64; *Irene* on, 122–24; Lichfield incident on, 264; and *Opening of the Theatre in Drury Lane*, 119–22
—style: of conversation and writing as similar, 232; in *Debates*, 62–63, 64, 78–79, 81; as influenced by old English writers, 62–63; Latin, 207; in *Rasselas*, 163, 230; in *Vanity*, 124; of writing, 62–63, 64, 78–79, 81. *See also* Johnson, Samuel, opinions . . . of: conversation
—superstition: affinity of, with melancholy, 224; on state of departed souls, 223–24; and supernatural interpositions, 263; unjustly taxed with, 341–42
—talents: 10, 22, 77, 238, 256, 283, 300, 364; misapplication of, 51, 97, 99, 212, 218, 223, 235, 243, 262, 273, 343
—taverns: attraction of, 56, 249; chair in, as throne of felicity, 55–56
—tea: love of, 213, 214, 215, 262, 334; poem on, 234–35; poisonous qualities of, denied, 215; thirst for, and troublesomeness, 214, 276, 338
—teaching: ill suited for, 193; lack of desire to be reminded of, 268; qualification for, youth, 22, 256. *See also individual schools*
—thought: depth of, 230; habitual disposition to, 100, 212; intensity of, 173; need to divert from, 325; original, 185, 325
—time: ill husband of, 5, 8, 10, 102, 103, 126, 172, 211, 235, 246, 264, 265, 273, 327, 338–39, 343; resolution on good use of,

Johnson, Samuel, opinions, attitudes, characteristics, and personal traits of (*continued*)
14, 268, 270, 277; waste of, as source of misery throughout life, 34, 36, 126, 211–12, 277, 327
—Tories: 144, 147, 152; frigid neutrality of, censured, 279; as one, xxiv, 301, 303
—truth: xxxii, xxxivn25; contention for victory as often as for, 155–56; devotion to, 78; love of, 102; ridicule as test of, opposes, 155
—virtue: 247; attempts to enforce practice of, 120, 160; concern for, 198; as frigid in *Irene*, 123; life as uniform course of, 329, 341; love of, 353
—war: prevention of, with Spain over *Falkland's Islands*, 282; not whole business of life, 281
—watch: description of, 277; purchase of, 277
—wine: abstinence from, for fear of insanity, 173; difficulty of resisting temptation of, 173; love of, when young, 34, 55, 56, 173
—wisdom: 94, 101, 247; arraigned in Cock Lane ghost affair, 263; in *Debates*, 64; oeconomical, xxx, 162, 186; in *Rambler*, 162, 186; in *Rasselas*, 224
—wit: 164; of Aston, 189; and Chesterfield, 116; and conversation, sparkles in, 151–52; *Debates*, 64; distinguishment by, 274; in *Idler*, 220; in life of Cowley, 324; in political controversy, 300; in political satire, 45, 50; in *Rambler*, 162, 164; Richardson's, compared with, 231; in *Taxation*, 297, 299; Thrales, as expected at, 274
—work: habits, 102, 103, 126, 173, 207, 211, 219, 230, 235, 264–67, 310, 321, 323, 354; in fits and starts, 102, 126; and Osborne, 93–94
Johnson, Samuel, writings of: *An Account of an Attempt to Ascertain the Longitude at Sea* (1755; for Zachariah Williams), 194–95; "An Account of the Detection of the Imposture in Cock Lane" (1762), 262–63, 426n554; "Ad Urbanum" (1738), 57–59, 388n216; advertisement for *Idler* in *Universal Chronicle* (1759), 228, 421–22n510; advertisement for Jean Pierre de Crousaz's *Examination* in *Daily Advertiser* (1738), 42–43, 384n169, 384n172; *Aegri Ephemeris* (1784), 350; "As with my hat upon my head," 234, 423n521; Ascham, Sir Roger, *English Works* (1761; ed. SJ for James Bennet), 310; *Boulter's Monument* (1745; revised by SJ for Samuel Madden), 235, 423n522; Browne, Sir Thomas, *Christian Morals* (1756), edition of (SJ assists), 310; "Character of William Collins," 422n513; "Cock Lane" (*see* Johnson, Samuel, writings of: "An Account of the Detection of the Imposture in Cock Lane"); Crousaz, *A Commentary on Mr. Pope's Principles of Morality, or Essay on Man* (1739; trans. SJ), 40–45, 384n169, 385n178; dedications (*see* Johnson, Samuel, writings of: prefaces, introductions, and dedications); "Designs," 51–54, 103, 387n199; diary entries, 2, 10, 14, 101, 102, 221, 236, 262, 268–70, 272, 276, 277, 310, 324, 333, 334, 337, 339, 395n273, 395n275; "A Dissertation on the Epitaphs Written by Pope" (1756), 323–24, 440n669; Dodd, William, writings for (*see* Dodd, William); Duckling poem (*see* Johnson, Samuel, writings of: "Epitaph on a Duckling"); epilogues, 310; "Epitaph on a Duckling," xxxii, 4, 369n15; "An Essay on Epitaphs" (1740), 324; "Further Thought on Agriculture" (1756), 212, 419n492; *Greek Anthology*, translations from, 351, 354, 447n727; *The History of Tahmas Kuli Khan, Shah, or Sophi of Persia*, 378n122; introductions (*see* Johnson, Samuel, writings of: prefaces, dedications, and introductions); "I pray thee, gentle Renny dear," 234–35, 423n521; "Journal of a Visit to France" (1775), 310, 437n649; Lauder,

William, writings for (*see* Lauder); Lawrence, Dr. Thomas, Latin poems for, 243, 424n529; "Letter to the *GM* on the Controversy between Warburton and Crousaz on Pope's *Essay on Man*" (1743), 44–45, 212, 385n179; "Life of Addison," 160, 321, 409n414, 410n420; "Life of Akenside," 143, 147, 404n364, 405n373, 407n394; "Life of Ascham" (1761), 310; "Life of Barretier" (1740–41), 57, 94, 193, 212, 414n452; "Life of Blackmore," 419n488; "Life of Blake" (1740), 57, 212, 401n332; "Life of Boerhaave" (1739), 57, 94, 403–4n349; "Life of Browne" (1756), 310; "Life of Butler," 396n281; "Life of Cave" (1754), 31, 196–97, 374n79, 378n127, 379n135, 388–89n217, 415n463; "Life of Collins" ("Character of Williams Collins"), 422n513; "Life of Cowley," xxx, xxxivn25, 323, 388n210, 396n284; "Life of Drake" (1740–41), 212, 431n608; "Life of Dryden," 99, 322, 323, 395n266; Life of Frederick the Great ("Memoirs of the King of Prussia"), 212; "Life of Gay," 321, 410n416; "Life of Gray," 323; "Life of Hammond," 400–401n329; "Life of Hughs," 410n420; "Life of Lyttelton," 323; "Life of Milton," 65–66, 268, 322, 377n112, 397n288, 400n337, 407n396, 411n424, 413n449, 427n565; "Life of Pearce" (1777), 383n166; "Life of Rochester," 11, 372n53; "Life of Smith," 22–23, 372n54, 376n98, 447n726; "Life of Swift," 321, 323; "Life of Sydenham" (1742), 401n332; "Life of Thomson," 322, 386n194, 386n197, 416n466; "Life of Waller," 99, 391n234, 395n266; "Life of Watts," 136, 404n350; magazines, literary intelligence for, 218; "Meditation on a Pudding" (1773), 233–34, 423n520; "Memoirs of the King of Prussia" (1756), 212; *Messiah*, Pope's, translation into Latin (1731), 9, 32, 371n43; *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth* (1745), 103–5, 395n276, 396n284; newspapers, literary intelligence for, 218; "Observation on the Present State of Affairs" (1756), 212; "On the Death of Robert Levett" (1782), 334–36; *Parliamentary Debates* (*see* Johnson, Samuel, writings of: *Debates in Parliament*); parodies, 233–35; prayers, 102, 160, 337, 354; *The Preceptor* (1748), preface to, 230; "Reportorium" (SJ's list of church fathers), 395n271; Sallust, *Bellum Catilinarium* (trans. SJ), 325; will, 360–62; Williams, Anna, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1766), contributions to, 195, 415n461; Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. (1787; *see under* Hawkins, Sir John, works of)

—*The Adventurer* (1752–54): 143; account in No. 81 of "The Admirable Crichton," 176–79, 412n441, 412n444; ceases publication, 211; comparison with *Rambler*, 176, 185–86; comparison with *Rambler* and *Idler* essays, 229–30; dictated by SJ to Hawkesworth, 176, 185; fame, 198; No. 84, notes for, in "Adversaria," 160–61, 409–10n416; No. 85, xxxii; payment, 185, 197; possible source, 179–85; reprinted, 177–79; SJ's contributions, 176. *See also* Hawkesworth

—"Adversaria": 160–62, 176, 275–76, 409n413, 409nn415–16; favorite subjects, 8

—"Annals": 2, 367n7; described, 101; quoted, 101

—*Beauties of Johnson*, 422n517; JH thinks, of little worth, 232

—*Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae* (1743–45): "Account of the Harleian Library," 89, 392–93n249; SJ's contributions, 84, 89, 392–93n249; subject headings, 89–91. *See also* Johnson, Samuel, writings of: *The Harleian Miscellany*

—*A Compleat Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage* (1739): JH's view, 48–50; omitted from *Works* (1787), xxvii, 386n194

—"Considerations on the Plans offered

Johnson, Samuel, writings of (*continued*)
for the Construction of Blackfriars Bridge in Three Letters to the Printer of the *Gazetteer*" (1759): 225–27, 421n507; architecture, skill in, 226; motive for composition, 225
—*Debates in Parliament* (1741–43): 61–83, 389–90n219; JH's high praise, 77, 81–82; last debate written by SJ, 83; manuscripts seen by JH, 230; speech on bill for restraining sale of spiritous liquors, quoted, 65, 72–77, 390n224; speech on motion to remove Walpole from office, quoted, 65–72, 390n221, 390n224; speeches on encouragement and increase of seamen, 78–81; style, 62–63, 64, 78–79, 81; violation of truth as irreconcilable, 78, 79; warning to Smollett regarding fictitiousness, 81; written with speed, 64, 230
—*Dictionary of the English Language* (1755): xxxi; assistants, 125–26; attacked by Campbell, 209–10; balance of account against SJ, 208, 220; beginning of work, 105; completion of work, 206; contract, 208, 396n285; copy of *Dictionnaire* presented to SJ, 209; copy of *Vocabulario* presented to SJ, 209; dedication of *Plan* to Chesterfield, 108, 397n291; degree of Master of Arts awarded by Oxford, 206–7; design praised by Chesterfield, 108; effect of work on SJ, 156–57, 167, 173, 198, 207; exchange with Millar, 206; Garrick's poem, 208; honor to all involved, 105; JH's view, 105; letter to Chesterfield, 117, 399n316; method of compilation, 108, 397n290; money, written for, 219; octavo abridgment, 209; payment, 209, 418n483; presentation to Académie Française, 209; presentation to Accademia della Crusca, 209; relief offered by Ivy Lane Club, 156, 173; relief offered by *Rambler*, 156–57, 173; renouncement of Chesterfield's patronage, 117; Robertson reads twice through, 209; Preface, 207, 209; publication, 105, 206, 396n285; severe application, 219; sum stipulated, 208; two essays in *World* by Chesterfield in praise, 117, 399n316
—*Dictionary of the English Language*, individual entries in: accomplished, 380n144; adventurer, 380n141; allowance, 370n29; amiable, 368n12; amour, 398n296; anagram, 390n219; anagrammatize, 390n219; apologue, 399n318; artificer, 393n250; ascetic, 395n272; bigot, 374n73; blunt, 392n243; booby, 398n299; butt, 388n210; calends, 430n587; chaldron, 449n753; chariot, 405n374; club, 403n346; commoner, 370n25; commons, 370n25; complaisance, 380n140; conjectural, 396n283; conjecture, 396n283; conversion, 448n737; correct, 411n424; corrective, 411n424; coxcomb, 399n310; cully, 424n531; debauchery, 391n232; declaim, 391n241; decline, 379n134; deist, 408n406; desarts, 374n70; devise, 447n732; disquisition, 374n67; dissertation, 431n600; dogged, 395n274; dogmatical, 392n243; dram, 391n231; draught, 391n231; dropsy, 443n701; ebriety, 412n434; efflux, 383n164; egotisms, 367n5; empiric, 391n231; emulation, 371n37; enthusiasm, 390n222, 395n270; envy, 425n546; excise, 380–81n148; excision, 431n597; exhibition, 370n29; experimental, 415n462; fathers, 371n39; flimsy, 392n242; florid, 392n242; fop, 399n310; formalist, 403n344; free-thinker, 409n408; fugacious, 421n506; furniture, 398n302; gallantry, 398n295; genius, 396n284; gentleman, 373n57; gentleman-usher, 373n57; gill, 388n210; grain, 415n454; Grubstreet, 375n86; hebetude, 408n398; hermetic science, 424n536; imbecility, 400n325; indolence, 388n205; idoneus, 423n525; infidel, 408n406; insinuation, 380n142; inspissate, 415n459; institute, 399n309; institution, 376n102;

intension, 425n549; intrigue, 398n305; king's evil, 368n14; levigate, 415n454; looby, 398n299; losel, 398n299; lubber, 398n299; lust, 391n233; luxury, 391n233; luxurious, 394n267; luxury, 391n233; magazine, 374n77; manly, 372n49; mechanic, 389n220; meditation, 371n42; merchant, 390n229; mere, 441n682; messuage, 449n750; Methodist, 408n403; moralist, 441n682; mortmain, 447n732; music, 414n452; nervous, 372n49; nonjuring, 387n198; nonjuror, 387n198; oeconomical, 394n259; parts, 367n9; patriotism, 380n148; patron, 373n64; pension, 237, 423n527; philosopher, 367n4; phlegm, 404n353; policy, 390n228; precept, 411n424; preceptive, 411n424; profligate, 373n59; prudence, 415n462; publish, 448n741; quinsey, 404n359; rancour, 390n223; republican, 405n377; resiant, 428n576; ridicule, 407n394; righteous, 449n744; rout, 408n404; sarocele, 443n690; scholar, 357n2; scholarship, 367n2; scholiast, 426n559; science, 367n2; scientific, 367n2; sconce, 370n27; scruple, 406n391; sect, 427n572; servitor, 371n32; solecism, 386n188; splenetic, 405n376; spirits, 391n231; spunging-house, 394n268; struma, 368n14; superstition, 406n391; symposiack, 407n395; temerarious, 406n386; tumid, 404n359, 410n418; turpitude, 391n237; urbanity, 378n127; vernacular, 395n280

—epitaphs: Bell, Jane, 283–84; criticism of those written by Pope, 323–24; Garrick, David, inability to write in Latin for, 351; Goldsmith, 253; Johnson, Elizabeth, 188–89; Johnson, Michael, Sarah, and Nathanael, 350–51; Thrale, Henry, 332–33

—*The False Alarm* (1770): answer by Wilkes, 279, 429n585; argument summarized, 278–79, 301, 429n584; worthy of reply but forbears, 579

—*Gentleman's Magazine*: advertisement for "Proposals" and "Proposals for Printing by Subscription *Anagrammata Rediviva*," 63–64, 389–90n219; introduction to "Debates in the Senate of Magna Lilliputia" (partly by SJ), 389n219; occasional contributions, xxx; preface to 1738 volume, 59, 388–89n217. *See also* Cave; *Gentleman's Magazine*

—*The Harleian Miscellany* (1744–46): "Account of the Undertaking," 392–93n249; contributions to, 91–94, 392–94n254; "Essay on the Origin and Importance of Small Tracts and Fugitive Pieces," 91; quoted, 91–93. *See also* Johnson, Samuel, writings of: *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*

—*The Idler* (1758–60): advertisement for, 228, 421–22n510; collected edition, 229; comparison with *Rambler* and *Adventurer* essays, 229–30; conclusion, 228–29; contributors, 229, 422n511; delight as often interrupted by shortness, 229; familiar life, varied representations of, 229; fictions as pleasing, 229; final essay, 228–29; humor, 220, 229, 233; morality, 220, 229; motive for composition, 219; No. 2, invitation to correspondents in, 229; No. 3, 233; No. 23, v; No. 36, 155, 407nn392–93; No. 41 (on occasion of mother's death), 221; No. 103; not particular subjects, but archetypes improved by imagination, 230; payment, 220, 229; plan, 229; portraits of singular characters, 230; revision, lack of, 230, 308; sale, 228; style, 230; subjects, 228–29; title, 229; wit, 220. See *Universal Chronicle*

—*Irene* (1749): 174; completion, 26, 377–78n115; Garrick's efforts to make successful, 122; JH's view, 122–24; Knolles's *History of the Turks* as source, 25–27, 123; leisure to write tragedy at Edial, 25; performance, 122–23, 400n323; quoted, 241; reception, 124, 400n323; written under Walmsley's eye, 26, 174

Johnson, Samuel, writings of (*continued*)
—*A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775): account, 284–93, 430n593; Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins's review for *Life of Johnson*, xxvii; SJ's investigation of Earse language, 293–95, 431–32nn608–9
—Letters: to Allen after stroke, 336; to Cave desiring dinner (*impransus*), 43, 57; Crousaz's *Commentary* and *Examination*, publication of, 42–43; *Dictionary*, alleged exchange between SJ and Millar on completion of, 206; editorial tasks, state of, 42–43; first offer of services to Cave, 18–19; health, state of, xxi; JH, advice and consolation from, xxi; to JH on Ivy Lane Club reunion, 339–40; JH's *History of Music*, praise of, xxiii; Levett's death, 334; *London*, negotiating publication of, 36–37; to Macpherson on Ossian, 295, 431–32n609; prints, asks Frances Reynolds to buy, 192, 414n451; Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, publication of, 28; thank-you to Oxford vice-chancellor for M.A., 207; Thrale, Hester, remarriage of, 343–45, 444n711, 445n712; Thurloe thank-you for money offer to travel to continent, 346–47
—"Life of Pope": xxxivn25, 42, 321, 322, 323–24, 384n174, 384n176, 385n177, 396n284, 401n332, 417n476, 418n487, 420n492, 421n504, 440n669; account of Osborne, 93, 394n255; difficulty in keeping clean, 416n465; Lord Marchmont query about Pope's conversation, 381n15
—"Life of Prior": 321; *Henry and Emma*, 322
—"Life of Sarpi" (1738): xxi, 212; composition, 40, 57, 383n165, 383–84n167, 425n451; probable consultation of English translation of life by Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, 384n167; publication, 40; timing of JH's meeting SJ, 384n167
—*Life of Savage* (1744): 31, 33–34, 55, 379n135, 380n143, 380n146; concluding paragraph quoted, 96; JH's belief in thirty-six-hour composition, 95, 230, 394n256, 394n261; JH's view, 55–56, 95–96. *See* Savage, Richard (1697/98–1743)
—*Literary Magazine* (1756–57): Jonas Hanway's *A Journal of an Eight Days Journey*, with "An Essay on Tea," review by and dispute with SJ, 212–18, 419n494; SJ's contributions, 212–18
—*Lives of the Poets* (1779–81): 11; account, 320–24; composition, 321, 395n275, 436n644; criticism displayed in utmost luster, 165; criticized, 321–24; engagement to write, 320–21, 439n664; JH's view, 321–23; publication, 321. *See also individual lives*
—*London* (1738): 174; account, 35–38, 39; completion, 35–36; corrected copy, 36, 381n154; criticism, departure of Savage antedated in, 31, 381n151; Dodsley, publication by, 37, 382n159; negotiation with Cave for publication, 36–37; payment of ten guineas, not fifty pounds, 37, 382n159; Pope's praise, 37, 382n160; printing by Gardner, 382n159; quoted, 8, 35; Thales as Savage, 35, 55, 381n151, 387n204
—*Marmor Norfolciense* (1739): JH's view, 45–46, 50; omission from *Works* (1787), xxv, 385n280; warrant issuing, 46, 385–86n185
—*The Patriot* (1774): arguments summarized, 296–97, 301, 432n612; definition of "patriot," 296–97
—*The Plan of the Dictionary of the English Language* (1747): commendation by Chesterfield, 108; dedication to Chesterfield, 108, 397n291. *See also* Johnson, Samuel, writings of: *Dictionary of the English Language*
—*The Plays of William Shakespeare* (1765): 218; assistance solicited from friends, 265; bookseller engagement,

218–19, 420n499; criticism, 265–67; fame as undesirable, 219; high expectations, 265; honors received and failure to collect materials, 265; lack of progress, 219, 235, 263, 264; money, written for, 219; notes, JH's assistance with, 257, 265; persuasion to set to work, 264–65; Preface, xxxivn25, 265–66; Preface as reproach to Garrick, 266–67; proposals, 420n499; published, 265; receipt of profits from subscriptions, 219; revised, 195–96; satirized by Churchill, failure to complete, 263; scholiast, unfitness for, 265; skills needed, 219; suitable for genius, 219
—*Prayers and Meditations* (1785): 268, 272, 327, 395n273, 447n728, 480; answer to those who favor suppression, 272, 428n570; composition, 101
—prefaces, introductions, and dedications: 218; Dedication to John Kennedy's *Scripture Chronology*, 310; Preface to George Adams's *Treatise [on] Globes*, 235–36; Preface to Rolt's *A New Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, 200, 218, 310
—prologues: to Goldsmith's *The Good Natur'd Man*, 311, 437n650; to Hugh Kelly's *Word to the Wise*, 311–12; *New Prologue to "Comus,"* 125, 311, 400n327; *Opening of the Theatre in Drury Lane*, 119–22; quoted, 120–22
—proposals: *Angeli Politiani Poemeta Latina* (1734), 17, 374n78; *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, 392–93n249; *Harleian Miscellany*, 91–93, 393–94n254; *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth*, 103–5, 395n276, 396n284; *Plays of William Shakespeare*, 219, 420n499; Sarpi, *Istoria del concilio Tridentino*, 40, 383n165; Williams, Anna, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, 195, 415n461
—*The Rambler* (1750–52): xxxi; *The Adventurer*, comparison with, 176, 185–86; *Adventurer* and *Idler* essays, comparison with, 229–30; assistance undesired, 174; Campbell's attack, 209–10; conclusion, 173–74, 175, 211; conduct of human life, 164; contributors, 164, 230; copy-right, 197; criticism in, 165–66; criticized, 162–63, 164, 174; eastern tales as influence on *Rasselas*, 221; fame, 165, 198, 230; fictionalized characters, 164; humor, 164, 233; influence of, 175; intelligence, gathering of, 160; irony, 164; JH's view, 163–64, 165, 175; manuscripts seen by JH, 230; moral instruction, 164, 186; motive for composition, 157, 160, 164, 173, 185; No. 1, 233; No. 60, xxx; No. 101, 275–76; No. 164, xxi; No. 197 and No. 198, notes for, in "Adversaria," 161, 409n415; No. 208, 174, 175; payment, 185, 197; plan, 160, 164, 229, 233; portraits of singular characters, 230; prayer, 160; publication, 162; revision, lack of, 230; Russian-language edition, 175; sale, 162–63, 165, 174, 176; Scottish edition, 176; style, 163–64, 175, 230; subjects, 164, 174, 186, 229; Sunday edition description, 273; uniformity of subject and sentiment, 164; wit, 164
—*Rasselas* (1759): 221, 228; allusions, 25, 377n114; felicity, permanent, as unattainable, 224; general satire, 224, 421n504; human life, view of, 222; influence of SJ's eastern tales in *Rambler* and Hawkesworth's in *Adventurer*, 221; JH's view of moral as little benefit to reader, 224; poet, role of, 222; purchase price, 221, 420n503; read only in proof, 230, 308; second part meditated, 224; style, 222, 224; written to raise money, 221, 224
—reviews: literary intelligence for, 218; of works, 212–18
—sermons: payment, 236; Taylor's preaching of an SJ sermon, 236, 273
—*Taxation No Tyranny* (1775): arguments summarized, 297–300, 432nn613–14; lack of answer, 301

Johnson, Samuel, writings of (*continued*)
—*Thoughts on the Late Transactions Respecting Falkland's Islands* (1771): arguments summarized, 279–81, 301, 429n586; averts miseries of war, 282
—translations: collects into Latin, 327; Crousaz, 40–45; Horace's ode *Diffugêre nives*, 348–49; Lobo's *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, 14–17, 325; Pope's *Messiah*, 9, 32; Sallust's *Bellum Catilinarium*, 325
—*The Vanity of Human Wishes* (1749): xxxi, 174; composition of first seventy lines, 230; final paragraph quoted, 124–25; publication, 400n326
—"The Vision of Theodore" (1748): 377n107; composition in one sitting, 230
—*A Voyage to Abyssinia* (1735): 14–17, 325, 373–74n66; influence on *Rasselas*, 221; JH's view, 14–15, 325; publication, 17
—writings, proposed: edition of Politian's poems, 17, 374n78; Thuanus, 324–25. *See also* Johnson, Samuel, writings of: "Designs"
Johnson, Sarah (1669–1759), mother of SJ: 12; burial of, in St. Michael's and epitaph for, composed by SJ, 351; carries SJ to London to be touched by Queen Anne, 2, 173, 368n14; death of, 14, 221; family of, 2; funeral expenses for, and *Rasselas*, 221; *Idler* essay on, 221; marriage of, 367n6; money borrowed from Allen for, 221; money sent to, 221; transcribes duckling poem, 4
Johnson, Thomas (1738–ca. 1820), SJ's second cousin: SJ's bequest to, 361
Jones, Henry (ca. 1675–1727), scientific editor: 31
Jones, Inigo (1573–1652), architect and theater designer: 227; description of *Antiquities of Stone-Henge* by, in *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, 84–85
Jonson, Benjamin (Ben; 1572–1637), poet and playwright: 120, 232, 267; and Dugger in *Alchemist* as Garrick role, 257, 425n547; on Shakespeare blotting a thousand lines, 230, 422n512
Jorden (Jordan), William (d. 1739), Church of England clergyman: accepts living in church, 8, 371n35; account of, 6, 370n26; Pope's *Messiah* translation assigned by, to SJ as holiday exercise, 371n43; Pope's *Messiah* translation assigned by, to SJ as punishment, 9; as SJ's tutor at Pembroke College, 6, 370n26; SJ's view of, 6
Julian Calendar: 367n7
Junius (Du Jon), Franciscus (Frances; 1589–1667), philologist and writer on art: 107, 397n289
Jurin, James (bap. 1684–d. 1750), physician and natural philosopher: 145
Justin (Marcus Junianus Justinus; second or third century), Roman historian: used in SJ's school, 24, 376n105
Justinian (Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus; 527–65), Roman emperor at Constantinople: 188, 353, 412–13n445
Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis; early second century), Roman satirical poet: SJ's imitations of, 35, 124, 230

Kaminski, Thomas: 374n79, 379n130, 382n156, 383n165, 387n202, 389–90n219, 392–93n249, 394n265
Kearsley (Kearsly), George (ca. 1739–90), bookseller: as possessor of copies of letters from Warburton to Jacob Robinson, 44
Keill, John (1671–1721), mathematician and natural philosopher: *Introductio ad veram physicam* (1701) and *Introductio ad veram astonomium* (1718) by, 153, 406n388
Kelly, Elizabeth, wife of Hugh: benefit for, 311
Kelly, Hugh (1739–77), writer and attorney: account of, 311; SJ's prologue to *A Word to the Wise* by, 311–12
Kempis, Thomas à (1380–1471), presumed author of *Imitations of Christ*: SJ's perusal of, 101, 441n676; SJ's

view of, 327; works of, in SJ's library, 395n271
Kennedy, ——, mistress of William Dodd: 261
Kennedy, John (1698–1782), Church of England clergyman and chronologist: SJ's dedication to *Scripture Chronology* by, 310
Kent, countess of. *See* Grey, Elizabeth
Kent, William (bap. 1686–d. 1748), painter, architect, and designer of gardens and interior furnishings: 225
Kilby, John (ca. 1687–1734), headmaster of Market Bosworth School: SJ as usher under, 373n63
King, William (1685–1763), college head and Jacobite sympathizer: delivers Oxford M.A. diploma to SJ, 207
King's Bench, Court of: xxii, 10, 372n46, 372n52, 435n638, 444n708
King's evil: 3; defined by SJ, 368n14; and history of royal touch, 3–5, 368–69n14; no evidence that, was contracted from wet nurse Marklew, 368n14; scars on SJ's neck from, 368n14; SJ touched by Queen Anne for, 3, 368n14
Kinsella, Thomas E.: xxxivn21
Klein, Lawrence E.: 402n339, 407n392, 408n400
Knapton, John (bap. 1696–d. ca. 1770), bookseller: as partner on SJ's *Dictionary*, 208
Knapton, Paul (bap. 1703–d. 1755), bookseller: as partner on SJ's *Dictionary*, 208
Kneller, Sir Godfrey (né Gottfried Kniller), baronet (1646–1723), history and portrait painter: 324, 440n670
Knolles, Richard (late 1540s–1610), historian and translator: *History of the Turks* by, enjoyed by SJ, 25; *History of the Turks* by, praised by SJ, 165, 377n113; *History of the Turks* by, as source for *Irene*, 25–27, 123
Knox, John (ca. 1514–72), religious reformer: 285
Kolb, Gwin J.: 377n107, 396n285, 397n291, 399n318, 420n503
Kouli Khan. *See* Nadir

La Bletterie (Bleterie), Jean-Phillipe-René de (1696–1772), French scholar: life of emperor Julian by, translated by Anna Williams and friends, 195, 415n460
La Bruyère, Jean de (1645–96), French essayist and moralist: *Les Caractières de Théophraste, traduits du grec; avec Les Caractières, ou les moeurs de ce siècle* (1688) by, as model for collection by SJ, 53
La Houssaye. *See* Amelot de la Houssaye
La Rue, Hélène Dr.: xxxiiin11
Lacy, James (1696–1774), patentee of Drury-Lane Theatre, actor and theater manager: 118–19, 399n319
Ladbroke, Sir Robert (ca. 1713–73), alderman: 244
Lambert, George (1699/1700–1765), landscape and scene painter: 202
Langbaine, Gerard, the younger (1656–92), dramatic cataloguer and writer: *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691) by, 27, 125, 321, 439n664
Langton, Bennet (1696–1769), Church of England clergyman, father of Bennet (bap. 1736): offers SJ living in church, 220
Langton, Bennet (bap. 1736–d. 1801), friend of SJ: xxviii, 220; attends dying SJ, 354; Beauclerk on Bathurst, SJ's letter to, recalled by, 404n362; bequest of SJ to, 361; communion taken by, with SJ, 354; "Designs" by SJ given by, to George III, 387n199; *Dictionary* of SJ presented by, to Académie Française, 209; French *Dictionnaire* gift conveyed by, to SJ, 209; Greek epigrams copied by, 354; hopes of SJ, increase of, reported to JH by, 354; Latin translation of Greek epigrams copied by, 354, 448n736; Latin manuscript given to, by SJ to publish, 366, 450n756; looks

Langton, Bennet (*continued*)
for SJ's paper, 355; as member of the Club, 249, 250, 425n540; money held for SJ by, 360, 362, 363; money put in JH's hand by, at SJ's request, 357; relations of SJ assisted by, 366; style of conversing of, perhaps ridiculed by SJ, 233, 422–23n519; visits JH about SJ wounding himself, 357–58; visits SJ with JH, 356
—diaries of SJ: conveys SJ's acceptance of JH's apology for taking, 356; tells SJ that JH has, 355
—*Idler*: as contributor to, 229, 422n511; kept from reading, issue by SJ, 308
Langton (née Lloyd), Mary, countess dowager of Rothes (d. 1785), wife of Bennet Langton: 220
Lardner, Nathaniel (1684–1768), Presbyterian minister and patristic scholar: SJ view of, 325
Lauder, William (ca. 1710–ca. 1771), literary forger: account of forgery of, 166–72, 411n426; charge by, of Milton's plagiarism answered by John Douglas, 167; death of, 171; deceives SJ, 171–72; *Essay on Milton's Use and Imitations of the Moderns* by, 166, 411n426; flees to Barbadoes, 171; *King Charles I. Vindicated* by, 169–70; *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Douglas* by, 167–69; preface and postscript of *A Letter* by, written by SJ, 166, 411n426; proofs by, of Milton's plagiarism shown at Ivy Lane Club, 166; retraction of, written by SJ, 168, 411n426; SJ's support of, 166, 400n327
Law: canon, 13, 393n252, 412–13n445; civil, 9, 109, 372n46, 393n251, 397n289, 412–13n445; common, 9–10, 107, 372n46, 393n252; English, proceedings in, 45; and mercy, disposition to, 315; and success, means of, 314
Law, William (1686–1761), devotional writer and nonjuror: *Serious Call* by, often commended by SJ, 341
Lawrence, Charles, solicitor, brother of Thomas: 242
Lawrence, Thomas (1711–83), physician: 149; account of, 241–43, 424n529; JH's *History of Music* praised by SJ to, xxiii; SJ tells, of Levett's death, 239, 334, 423–24n528; SJ writes Latin poems to, 243
Lawyers: xxii, xxiii, 10, 31, 43, 56, 135, 160, 161, 200, 205, 239, 243, 314; civil law, 8; common law, 9–10; dress of, 158; factious, 300; Latin knowledge of, 45
*Lay Monastery, The*: essays by Blackmore and Hughs in, 157
Le Courayer, Pierre François (1681–1776), French divine: French translation of Sarpi by, 28, 40, 383n165; life of Sarpi by, 383–84n167
Le Despencer, baron. *See* Dashwood
Le Grand, Joachim (1653–1733), abbé and writer: translates *A Voyage of Abyssinia* from Portuguese to French with additions, 14, 16–17, 373–74n66
Le Sage, Alain René (1688–1747), French author: 132, 133, 402n340; JH's view of, 133
Learned men: judgment of, on English authors, SJ proposes, 54
Learning: history of revival of, in Europe, SJ proposes, 53; study of polite literature with history of, SJ proposes, 53
Lectius, Jacobus (Jacques Lect; 1560?–1611), Swiss jurisconsult: edition of Greek poets by, as bequest to William Scott, 361
LeDespenser, baron. *See* Dashwood
Lediard, Thomas (1685–1743), writer and surveyor: 108
Leedes (Leeds), Edward (ca. 1627–1707), headmaster: texts of, used in SJ's school, 24, 377n106, 377n109
Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm (1646–1716), German philosopher: 42, 43, 197, 201, 384n175
Leigh, Anthony (d. 1692), actor: 408n399

Lennox, Alexander, husband of Charlotte: 172
Lennox, Charles, second duke of Richmond, second duke of Lennox and Aubigny (1701–50), politician and sportsman: 129
Lennox (Lenox; née Ramsay), (Barbara) Charlotte (ca. 1730/31?–1804), novelist and writer: SJ hosts celebration for publication of *Harriot Stuart* by, 172–73, 411n432
Leslie, Charles (1650–1722), nonjuring Church of Ireland clergyman: SJ's view of, 51, 387n198
L'Estrange, Sir Roger (1616–1704), author and press censor: 52, 164; *Irena, a Tragedy* by, 378n124
Letherland, Joseph (1699–1764), physician: 144
Letters, proposed by SJ: on all kinds of subjects, 53; of English authors, with remarks and accounts of authors, 53; translated from modern writers with accounts of authors, 52
Leveridge, Richard (1670–1758), singer: 348
Leveson-Gower, first earl. *See* Gower
Levett (Levet, Levit), Robert (bap. 1705–d. 1782), surgeon, apothecary, friend of SJ, and member of SJ's household: account of, 238–41, 243, 423–24n528; breakfasts with SJ, 239, 262; death of, 238, 239, 334; diary, SJ's note in, on death of, 334; friendship with, as sincere and lasting, 243; insults SJ, 246; learning of, 243; letter of SJ to Thomas Lawrence on death of, 334; marriage of, commented on by SJ, 240; medical advice given by, to SJ, 238, 241; poem of SJ on, 334–36; taciturnity of, 243, 262
Levigate: 193; defined by SJ, 414–15n454
Leyden: 136, 139, 142, 147, 155
Lichfield, Staffordshire: xxi, 3, 4, 6, 368nn13–14, 369nn16–17, 371n31; affection of SJ for, 333; as birthplace of SJ, 3; final visit to, 349; Grammar School at, 4, 5, 6, 23, 369n16, 369n18, 447n550; JH written from, xxii, 349; London left for from, 25, 27, 377n115; and school at Edial, 22–24; stop at, where Michael, Sarah, and Nathanael are buried, 350–55; theater incident in, 264; visits to, 343, 413n448
—cathedral of, 371n31; Blaney buried in, 3
—house at: 352–53, 356, 361; sold, 362–63
—return to: from Birmingham, 17, 373n65; from Oxford, 10, 13; from Pedmore, 6
Lillo, George (1691/1693–1739), playwright: *The London Merchant* by, 260, 425–26n550
Lily, William (1468?–1522/23), grammarian and schoolmaster: 351
Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre: 46, 386n189, 426n550
Literary Club. *See* Club, the
*Literary Magazine*: account of, 212–13, 419n493; SJ's contributions to, 212–13; SJ's review of Hanway in, 213–18, 419n494
Literary property: question of, decided, 209–10, 319–20, 439nn663–64; SJ's contributions to, 319–20
Liturgy: 163, 270–71, 327, 427nn567–68, 440n674
Lobb, Theophilus (1678–1763), physician and nonconformist minister: 144
Lobo, Jerome (1595–1678), Portuguese Jesuit missionary: SJ's translation of *A Voyage to Abyssinia* by, 14–17, 325, 373–74n66
Locke, John (1632–1704), philosopher: 208, 274, 408n400; *Essay on Government* by, 302, 433–34n623; residence of, at Oates, 274
Lockman, John (1698–1771), author and translator: as contributor to *General Dictionary*, 127; as contributor to *GM*, 31; learns French in coffeehouse, 310
London: 13, 28, 40, 43, 47, 77, 89, 94, 95, 98, 99, 125, 135, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145,

London (*continued*)
146, 147, 159, 187, 227, 228, 238, 239, 241, 242, 244, 257, 280, 302, 305, 319, 337, 338; Birch's walk around, 127–28; consideration of present state of, SJ proposes, 54; great plague of, 32; JH born in, xxi; preference of SJ for, as place of residence, 282; size of, 128; SJ's final return to, 349; SJ takes residence in, 25, 27, 103, 282; SJ travels to, 24–25, 27; tavern history of, 55–56; visit to, to be touched for king's evil, 3, 368n14. *See also* Cave; Johnson, Samuel, writings of: *London*
*London Chronicle*: 429n494
*London Evening Post*: 385n181
*London Gazette*: 368n14
*London Journal*: Mandeville writes for, 160
*London Magazine*: reports parliamentary debates, 64; rivalry of, with *GM*, 57, 59, 61, 64, 375n92, 388–89nn216–17, 391n236
Longman, Thomas, I (1699–1775), first in the line of publishers: as partner on SJ's *Dictionary*, 208
Longman, Thomas, II (1730–97), publisher, nephew of Thomas I: as partner on SJ's *Dictionary*, 208
Lonsdale, Roger: 384n176, 396n284, 400n327, 407n394, 410n420, 439n664
Looby: 112; defined by SJ, 398n299
Lord Mayor's Day: 260, 425–26n550
Losel: defined by SJ, 398n299
Lovell, Christopher (fl. 1716), laborer: 369n14
*Lover, The*: essays by Sir Richard Steele in, 157
Lowe, Ann Elizabeth (ca. 1777–1860), elder daughter of Mauritius (b. 1746) and SJ's god-daughter: SJ's bequest to, 361
Lowe, Mauritius (1746–93), painter: SJ as godfather to children of, 361; SJ's bequest to children of, 361
Lowe, Mauritius (?), son of Mauritius (b. 1746) and SJ's god-son: SJ's bequest to, 361
Lowman, Moses (bap. 1679–d. 1752), nonconformist minister and writer: SJ's view of, 325
Lowth, Robert (1710–87), biblical critic and bishop of London: licenses Compton to preach, 439n662
Lowthorp, John (fl. 1690–1735), compiler: 31
Lubber: defined by SJ, 398n299
Lucan, countess of. *See* Bingham
Lucian, of Syria (ca. 115–ca. 180), prose writer in Greek: use of work of, in SJ's school, 24
Luck (Lucke), Robert (1674–1749), master of Barnstaple School in Devonshire: as contributor to *GM*, 31
Lust: defined by SJ, 391n233
Luther, Martin (1483–1546), German Reformation leader: 232
Luxuriance: defined by SJ, 391n233
Luxurious: 99; defined by SJ, 394n267
Luxury: defined by SJ, 391n233
Lyndwood (Lyndwode), William (ca. 1375–1446), administrator, ecclesiastical lawyer, and bishop of St. David's: *Provinciale* (1434) by, 413n445
Lyttelton, George, first baron Lyttelton (1709–73), politician and writer: carries SJ's *London* to Pope, 37, 382n160; SJ's life of, 323; style of speeches of, 81

Macclesfield, countess of. *See* Brett, Anne
Macclesfield, earl of. *See* Parker
Macdonald, Sir James, eighth baronet of Skeat (1742–66): 290
Machiavelli, Nicolò (1469–1527), Italian statesman and political philosopher: *Le Istoire Fiorentine* by, SJ proposes new translation of, 53
Macpherson, James (1736–96), writer: as alleged translator of Ossian poems and SJ's dispute with, 294–95, 431n608; SJ's letter to, 295, 431–32n609
Madariaga, Ignacio (fl. 1770), Spanish commodore: 180
Madden, Samuel (1686–1765), Irish di-

vine and writer: pays SJ for revising *Boulter's Monument*, 235, 423n522
Madrigal Society: JH as member of, xxii
Maecenas, Gaius (d. 8 BCE), Roman literary patron: 116, 399n312
Magazine: 17; defined by SJ, 374n77
Magliabechi, Antonio de Marco (1633–1714), Italian bibliophile: SJ compared with, 10–11, 197, 416n465
Magna Charta: SJ's view of, 303
Maittaire, Michael (1688–1747), classical scholar and typographer: assists on *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum, Angliae et Hiberniae*, 83; as contributor to *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, limited to writing dedication to Carteret, 83–84, 89, 392n249
Malmesbury, first earl of Malmesbury. *See* Harris, James, first earl
Malouines. *See* Falkland Islands
Mandeville, Bernard (bap. 1670–d. 1733), physician and political philosopher: beneficence resolved into self-love, 348; *Fable of the Bees* by, account of, 159–60; influence of, 159–60; JH's view of, 159–60, 348; view of Addison of, 160
Manley, Thomas (ca. 1628–76), legal and political writer: plunders Blount's *Nomolexikon*, 396n287
Manly: 10; defined by SJ, 372n49
Mansfield, first earl of. *See* Murray, William
Marchmont, *See* Campbell, Hugh Hume
Market Bosworth School, Leicestershire: 20; SJ as usher at, 13–14, 373n63; SJ speaks of experience at, with utmost dislike, 14
Marklew, Joan (1675?–1746), SJ's wet nurse: lack of evidence that king's evil was contracted from, 368n14
Martin, Martin (d. 1718), traveler and author: account of the Hebrides by, 285, 286, 287, 288, 430nn593–94
Martinelli, Vincenzo (1702–85), Italian author: 252
Martiniere, Augustin Bruzen, de la: *Dictionnaire* of, as bequest to Joshua Reynolds, 361
Martyn, John (1699–1768), botanist: as editor of *Grub-street Journal*, 20, 375n86, 375n92
Marvell, Andrew (1621–78), poet and politician: 166, 238
Mary (Maria of Modena; 1658–1718), queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland, consort of James II and VII: 213
Masenius, Jacobus (1606–81), German Jesuit and writer: 166, 170
Masham (née Cudworth), Damaris, Lady Masham (1658–1708), philosopher and theological writer: 274
Masserano, Prince (fl. 1770), Spanish ambassador at London: 280
Maty, Matthew (1718–76), physician and librarian: life of the fourth earl of Chesterfield by, 398n294
Maundrell, Henry (bap. 1665–d. 1701), Church of England clergyman and traveler in the Middle East: *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* by, 289, 431n599
Maxwell, William (1732–1818), Church of Ireland clergyman, and friend of SJ: *Collectanea* by, 377n112
Mead, Richard (1673–1754), physician and collector of books and art: account of, 143–45, 147, 149; argument of, with Woodward, 149
Meade (Mead), Matthew (1628/29–99), clergyman and ejected minister, father of Richard: 143–44
Mechanic: 61; defined by SJ, 390n220
Mede (Mead), Joseph (1586–1638), Hebraist and biblical scholar: SJ as conversant with, 190, 326; style of, 165
Medical profession. *See* Physicians
Meditation: 8; defined by SJ, 371n42
Meeke (Meekes), John (ca. 1709–63), fellow of Pembroke College: SJ's rivalry with, 8, 371n38
Melcombe, baron. *See* Dodington
*Memoirs of the Society of Grub-street*: 20, 375n92

Merchant: 72; defined by SJ, 390n229
Mere: 330; defined by SJ, 441n682
Messuage: 361; defined by SJ, 449n750
Methodist: defined by SJ, 408n403
M'Ghie, William (d. 1756), physician: account of, 140–41; death of, 142, 218; as member of Ivy Lane Club, 134–35
Micanzio, Fulgenzio (1570–1654), Italian Servite, and biographer of Sarpi: SJ probably consulted English translation of life of Sarpi of, 384n167
Michael the archangel, St.: 3
Mickle, William Julius (1735–88), poet and translator: reviews JH's *Life of Johnson* severely, xxix
Middlesex: JH as chairman of quarter sessions of, xxiii, 46, 266, 437n653; JH as justice of the peace for, xxiii; Wilkes elected MP for, 429n584
Mill, John (1644/45–1707), Church of England clergyman and college head: Greek Testament of, as bequest to George Strahan, 361
Millar, Andrew (1705–68), bookseller: 132, 402n339; exchange of, with SJ after completion of *Dictionary*, 206; as partner on the *Dictionary*, 208
Miller, Philip (1691–1771), horticulturist and writer: 108, 165
Milton, John (1608–74), poet and polemicist: 107, 127; anecdote of, and young lady, 38, 382n60; and "Apotheosis of Milton" by Guthrie, 212, 419n491; Cromwell, panegyric on, by, 165; and Lauder, 166–72, 411n426; personality of, 166; Salmasius, dispute of, with, 268, 427n565; SJ's enmity toward, 166, 322; SJ's life of, 165, 268, 377n112, 397n288, 401n332, 407n396, 411n424, 425; SJ's view of, 125, 165–72, 400n327; style of, 165. *See also* Douglas, John; Lauder
—works of: *L'Allegro*, quoted, 322; *Comus*, performed as benefit for granddaughter, 125, 400n327; *Comus*, SJ's prologue to, 125, 400n327; "Me thought I saw my late espoused saint," 189; 413n449; *Paradise Lost*, money not motive for writing, 51; *Paradise Lost*, quoted, 21, 188, 217, 224, 376n95; *Il Penseroso*, quoted, 300; *Samson Agonistes*, SJ's severe censure on, 165; "To Cyriack Skinner," quoted, 156; "When I consider how my light is spent," 212
Milton (née Woodcock), Katherine (bap. 1628–d. 1658), wife of John: 413n449
Milton (née Powell), Mary, (1625–52), wife of John: 413n449
Minsheu, John (1559/60–1627), lexicographer: *Guide into the Tongues* (1617; 1626) by, 106–7
*Missale of St. Isidore*: description of, in *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, 86–88
*Moeurs, Les*. *See under* Toussaint
Molière, Jean Baptiste Poquelin de (1622–73), French actor and dramatist: 382n160
Montagu (née Robinson), Elizabeth (1720–1800), author and literary hostess: xxxi, 414n451, 440n668
Montaigne, Michel de (1533–92), French philosopher: essays of, 144–45, 157
Montgomerie (*née* Kennedy), Susanna, countess of Eglinton (1689/90–1780), patron and society hostess: 98
*Monthly Review*: xxix
Moralist: comparison of philosophical and Christian morality collected from, SJ proposes, 54; 330; defined by SJ, 441n682
More, Henry (1614–87), philosopher, poet, and theologian: 408n400; SJ laughs at, 326
More, Sir Thomas (St. Thomas More; 1478–1535), lord chancellor, humanist, and martyr: 351; as possible influence on SJ's style, 63; *Utopia* by, 78
Moréri, Louis (1643–80), French author: *Dictionnaire historique* by, 254
Morgan, Thomas (d. 1743), theologian and medical writer: 159

Mortmain: 353; defined by SJ, 447n732
Morton, countess of. *See* Douglas, Anne
Mudge and Dutton, watchmakers: SJ purchases watch from, 277
Mulso, Hester. *See* Chapone
Munckley, Nicholas (d. 1770), physician: 142, 144
Murphy, Arthur (1727–1805), playwright and actor: xxii, 382n160; carries news of SJ's pension, 237; introduces SJ to Thrales, 428n575; reviews JH's *Life of Johnson* severely, xxix, xxxiiin21
Murray, David, sixth viscount Stormont (ca. 1689–1748): 98
Murray, Robert (bap. 1633–d. 1725?), financier and writer on trade: 375n83
Murray, William, first earl of Mansfield (1705–93), judge and politician: 320, 331
Mylne, Robert (1734–1811), architect and engineer: designs Blackfriars Bridge, 225–26, 421n507
Mythology: dictionary of ancient history and, SJ proposes, 53; history of heathen, SJ proposes, 52

Nadir, Shah (Nadr Kuli Beg), shah of Persia (Iran) from 1736–47: 378n122
Nassau van Zuylestein, William Henry van, first earl of Rochford (1717–81), diplomatist and politician: 280; presents JH to George III for knighthood, xxiii
Neck, Gerard van (d. 1750), merchant, brother of Joshua: 254
Neck, Sir Joshua van, first baronet (1702–77), merchant and financier, brother of Gerard: 254
Needham, Marchamont (Marchmont; bap. 1620–d. 1678), journalist and pamphleteer: 166
Nepos, Cornelius (ca. 100–ca. 25 BCE), Roman biographer: use of work of, in SJ's school, 24, 376n105
Nervous: 10; defined by SJ, 372n49
Nesbitt (Nesbit), Robert (d. 1761), physician: 144
Nettleton, Thomas (1683–1742), physician: SJ dislikes ideas of, 154, 407n392
Neville (Nevil), Henry (1620–94), political writer: 166
Newbery, John (bap. 1713–d. 1767), publisher: as collected edition of *Idler* publisher, 229, 420n500; engages SJ to write *Idler*, 219–20; owns letter of Pope to Christopher Smart, 9; praised by JH, 219–20; purchases Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, 253
Newcastle, first duke of. *See* Pelham-Holles
Newsham, Richard (d. 1743), maker of fire engines: 61, 389n220
Newton, Sir Isaac (1643–1727), scientist and philosopher: as vain of strength, 264
Nicholls, Francis (Frank; bap. 1699?–d. 1778), anatomist and physician: 241–42, 243, 424n529; advice of, on friendship as SJ's rule, 245
Nichols, John (1745–1826), printer and writer: xxix; compilers of *Universal History*, SJ gives manuscript of, to, 350; given list of contributors to *Universal History* by SJ, 350; as possible source of information on SJ and Garrick borrowing money from Wilcox, 27, 378n120; prints portion of JH's *Life of Johnson*, xxviii–xxix; publishes letters by SJ, 374n79, 375n87; relates apocryphal story of Blaney's passion for Michael Johnson, 368n13; relates "Epitaph on a Duckling," 369n15; relates SJ's rejection by Brerewood School, 375n87; reviews JH's *Life of Johnson* severely, xxix; on Sarpi, number of sheets printed in, 383n165
Nichols, John Gough (1806–73), printer and antiquary, grandson of John Nichols: 389n217
Nicole, Pierre (1625–95), one of the Messieurs du Port Royal: 428n574
Nixon, Robert (the Cheshire Prophet; supp. fl. late fifteenth–early seventeenth cent.), supposed prophet: 45, 385n181

Nokes (Noke), James (ca. 1642–96), actor: 408n399
Nonjuring: defined by SJ, 387n198
Nonjuror: defined by SJ, 387n198; SJ's view of, 51
Nonsense: palace of, a vision, SJ proposes, 54
Norris, John (1657–1712), Church of England clergyman and philosopher: translates Hierocles, 52
Norris, Richard (fl. 1737), stay-maker: SJ lodges in house of, 36, 381n155
North, Francis, first baron Guilford (1637–85), judge: account by, of Edward Saunders, 10; JH reads life of, 258
North, Frederick, second earl of Guilford (1732–92), prime minister: anecdote told by, to SJ, 309; SJ spoke of, in terms of asperity, 308
North, Roger (1651–1734), lawyer, politician, and writer: *Life of Francis North Baron of Guilford* by, 258, 372n52, 425n548
Northumberland, fifth earl of. *See* Percy, Henry Algernon
Northumberland, first duke of. *See* Percy, Hugh
*Northumberland, the Regulation and Establishment of the Household of . . . Fifth Earl of Northumberland*: 213–14, 419n495
Nottingham, first earl of. *See* Finch, Heneage, first earl of Nottingham
Noverre, Jean-Georges (1727–1810), French dancer: 243; JH's view of, 243
Nugent, Christopher (1698–1775), physician: account of, 250; as member of the Club, 250; SJ's high opinion of, 250

Ocean: JH mistakenly thinks SJ omitted definition of, 207
Odell, Thomas (1691–1749), playwright: 46, 386n187
Oeconomical: 96; defined by SJ, 394n259
Offley, Crewe (d. 1739), father of Lawrence: 23, 376n101
Offley, Lawrence (1719–49): as pupil of SJ, 23, 376n101
Oldfield, John? (d. 1748), physician: 144
Oldham, John (1653–83), poet: edition of poems of, SJ proposes, 52
Oldys, William (1636–1708), civil lawyer and advocate of the Admiralty, father of William (b. 1696): 84, 393n252
Oldys, William (1696–1761), herald and antiquary: 125, 321; contributions of, to *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, 84, 392–93n249; contributions of, to *Miscellany*, 393n254; "Life of Charles Cotton" by, xxxi; in service to Edward, earl of Oxford, 84
Opie, John (1761–1807), portrait and history painter: portrait of SJ by, 343, 344, 444n710
Orrery, fifth earl of. *See* Boyle, John
Osborne, Francis (1593–1659), writer: essays of, 157; quoted, 103
Osborne, Thomas (bap. 1704?–d. 1767), bookseller: account of, 83–84, 93–94; Harleian Library of printed books purchased by, 83; JH's view of, 93–94; SJ knocks down, with folio, xxxii, 93–94, 394n255; SJ's superiority to, 94; SJ's view of, 93, 394n255; urges SJ to answer *Faction Detected*, 53–54
—*Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*: employs Oldys to work on, 84, 392–93n249; employs SJ to work on, 83–84, 392–93n249
—*Harleian Miscellany*: employs Oldys to work on, 393n254; employs SJ to work on, 91–94, 393–94n254
Ossian. *See* Macpherson
Ostervald, Jean Frédéric (1663–1747), Swiss Protestant divine: read by Prince of Wales, 283, 430n588
Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso; 43 BCE–AD 17), Roman poet: *Metamorphoses* by, quoted, 209; *Metamorphoses* by, translated by Webb, 30; *Metamorphoses* by, used in SJ's school, 24
Oxford, second earl of. *See* Harley
Oxford University: 154; Corpus Christi

College of, 326–27; final visit of SJ to, 446n720; *Idler* written in Langton's room at, 308; Jesus College of, 31; Langton attends, 308; Lawrence attends, 241; Magdalen College, 27; requests portrait of JH, xxxiiin11; SJ awarded LL.D. from, 309–10, 436–37n647; SJ awarded M.A. from, 206–7, 417–18n480; St. John's College of, 98
—Christ Church College: attended by Charles Arbuthnot, 9; attended by John Taylor, 9
—Pembroke College: Adams as master of, 8, 333, 371n36; Adams as nominal tutor of SJ at, 8, 371n36; affection of SJ for, 268, 333; attendance of SJ at, 6–12, 370n23, 372n50; behavior of SJ at, 6–12; departure of SJ from, 10, 11–12; education received at, 6–12; entry of SJ to, as commoner, 6, 370n25; Jorden as SJ's tutor at, 6, 9, 370n26, 371n35, 371n44; library of SJ at, 371n40, 396n281, 419n488, 427n565; Meeke as fellow of, 371n38; mental breakdown of SJ after leaving, 6, 369n18, 410–11n433; Politian belonging to, found in SJ's library at death, 267; poverty of SJ at, 7–8, 9–10, 11–12; rivalry of SJ with Meeke at, 8; shoes given to SJ at, 7, 370–71n31; SJ mistakenly thought to have returned to, 10; translates Pope's *Messiah* at, 9, 371n43

Palladio, Andrea (1508–80), Italian architect: 226, 227
Paracelsus, Philippus Aureolus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim) (1493–1541), Swiss-born alchemist and physician: 205
Parker, Thomas, earl of Macclesfield (1667–1732), lord chancellor: 160
Parliament: 149; act of, adopting Gregorian calendar, 367n7; act of, for building Blackfriars Bridge, 225; act of, for licensing plays, 47, 48–51, 386n194, 399n319; act of, that law proceedings be in English, 45, 385n183; acts of, to prevent machines and workers from leaving country, 305; concessions of, to Catholic church, 409n410; debates of, published, 19–20, 61–83, 138–39, 389–90n219; and ecclesiastical dignities, 51; representation in, 302; right of, to tax colonies defended, 297–300; Savage made illegitimate by, 96; Septennial Bill of, 19, 375n85; SJ never in, 77; Stanhope, Philip Dormer, given seat in, 115; Voltaire on, 78, 391n239
—House of Commons: Cave takes notes on speeches of, 61–62; Dyson replaces Hardinge as clerk of, 147; freedom of expression as privilege of, 64; offended by publication of debates, 63, 389–90n219; and regret that SJ not member, 308; Strahan, William, tries to obtain seat for SJ, 435n640; Thrale, Henry, as member, 274; Thrale, Henry, tries to obtain seat for SJ, 307–8; Tobacco Excise Bill of, 380n148; Wilkes expelled from, 278–79, 301, 429n584
—House of Lords: 19; bill of, for restraining sale of spiritous liquors, 65, 72–77, 390n224; Chesterfield as member, 110; dignity as characteristic of, 64; motion of, to remove Walpole from office, 65–72, 390n224. *See also* Cave; Johnson, Samuel, biographical summary of; Johnson, Samuel, opinions . . . of
Parry, Joshua (1719–76), Presbyterian minister and writer: as contributor to *GM*, 31
Parts: 2; defined by SJ, 367n9
Pasquier, Estienne (1529–1615), French lawyer and man of letters: 185
Passerat, Jean (1534–1602), French poet and humanist: Latin poem on nothing by, 11, 372n53
Paterson, ——, city solicitor: 260
Patriotism: 296, 304; defined by SJ, 34, 380–81n148
Patron: 37, 109, 116, 149, 154, 198, 262, 378n119, 399n312, 399n316, 407n392; defined by SJ, 13, 373n64

Patronage: 13, 23, 31, 32, 33, 38, 100, 108, 116, 117, 118, 127, 198, 252, 383n165, 394n264
Paulson, Ronald: 367n10, 405n368, 433n619
Payne, John (d. 1787), bookseller and chief accountant of Bank of England: as member of Ivy Lane Club, 134, 340; publishes Lauder, 166, 411n428
Pearce, Zachary (1690–1774), dean of Westminster, bishop successively of Bangor and Rochester: 387n198, 387n202; SJ furnishes dedication and life for *A Commentary, with Notes, on the Four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles* (1777) by, 383n166; SJ's view of, 51; submits twenty etymologies to SJ for *Dictionary*, 383n166; supports the rival English translation of Sarpi, 40, 383n165
Pecham (Peccham, Peckham), John (ca. 1230–92), archbishop of Canterbury: "constitution" of, 187, 413n445
Peele, John (d. 1770), bookseller: gives Garrick first refusal on buying house, 258
Pegge, Samuel, the elder (1704–96), Church of England clergyman and antiquary: contributes to *GM* as Paul Gemsege, 31
Pelham-Holles, Sir Thomas, fifth baronet, first duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and of Newcastle-under-Lyme, earl of Clare, second baron Pelham of Laughton, and first baron Pelham of Stanmer (1693–1768), prime minister: 77, 131; style of speeches of, 80
Pemberton, Sir Francis (bap. 1624–d. 1697), judge: 10, 372n52
Pemberton, Henry (1694–1771), physician and mathematician: 242; Dyer studies with, 249
Pembroke, earl of. *See* Herbert, Henry
Pembroke College. *See* Oxford University
Penn, William (1644–1718), Quaker and founder of Pennsylvania: 128
Pennant, Thomas (1726–98), naturalist, traveler, and writer: account of "The Admirable Crichton" by, 185, 412n443; accounts of Hebrides by, 285, 286, 288, 289, 412n443, 430n595; *Tour of Scotland* by, compared with SJ's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, xxviii, 292–93
Pepys's Islands. *See* Falkland Islands
Perceval, John, second earl of Egmont, first baron Lovel and Holland, and sixth baronet (1711–70), politician: *Faction Detected* by, 53–54, 387n202; Port Egmont named for, in Falkland Islands, 280; sends expedition to Falkland Islands, 279
Percy (née Gutteridge), Anne (d. 1806), wife of Thomas: 282–83, 430n588
Percy (née Lady Elizabeth Seymour), duchess of Northumberland and *suo jure* Baroness Percy (1716–76), courtier and diarist, wife of Hugh: Goldsmith addresses poem to, 252
Percy, Henry Algernon, fifth earl of Northumberland (1478–1527), magnate: *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of*, quoted, 213–14
Percy (né Smithson), Hugh, first duke of Northumberland (bap. 1712–d. 1786), politician: Goldsmith rejects patronage of, 253
Percy, Thomas (1729–1811), writer and Church of Ireland bishop of Dromore: as contributor to *Universal Visitor*, 212; Garrick lends books to, 267; holds money for SJ, 360; JH gives account of *Works* (1787) to, xxviii
—works of: *Hermit of Warkworth*, parodied by SJ, 234–35, 423n521; edition of *The Regulation and Establishment of the Household of . . . Fifth Earl of Northumberland*, 213–14; *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 267
Perelle, Gabriel (d. 1675), engraver: SJ's reaction to landscapes of, 191
Perkins, ——, William Dodd's brother-

in-law: gives JH character of William Dodd, 261; rents land from JH, 261
Perkins, John (1730?–1832), brewer: holds money for SJ, 360, 363
Perreau, Daniel (d. 1776), forger, brother of Robert: executed for forgery, 318, 439n661
Perreau, Robert (d. 1776), forger, brother of Daniel: executed for forgery, 318, 439n661
Persius (Aulus Persius Flaccus; 34–62), Roman satirist: 409–10n416
Peter the Wild Boy (ca. 1712–85), curiosity: 59, 389n218
Petre, Lord. *See* James, Robert, eighth Baron
Petronius Arbiter (d. 65), Latin satirical writer: story of Ephesian matron by, 345
Petvin, John (1691–1745), vicar of Islington, Devon: *Letters Concerning Mind* (1750) by, 155; SJ ridicules, in *Idler* 36, 155, 407n393
Phalaris, Epistles of, so-called: 295, 432n610
Philips, Ambrose (bap. 1674–d. 1749), poet and playwright: 258
Phillips (Philips), Edward (1630–d. in or after 1696), writer and biographer, nephew of John Milton: *New World of English Words* by, 107, 396–97n288; plunders Blount and Stephen Skinner for, 397n288
Phillips (married name Muilman), Teresia Constantia (1709–65), courtesan and memoirist: 203, 417n475
"Philo-Johnson": reviews JH's *Life of Johnson* severely, xxix
Philosopher: 198, 407n392; Akenside as, 150; Birch as, 128; defined by SJ, 367n4; Dyer, Samuel, as, 136, 140, 153; SJ as, 1, 10, 94, 214, 300, 332; SJ as having written not lived like, 341; SJ proposes edition of lives of, 52
Physicians: curious book on fortune of, SJ proposes, 143; difficulty of, in establishing practice, 143–45, 147–48, 150, 151, 242; dress of, 145; honor of, 143; remarks on book of history of, given by JH, 143–51
Piozzi, Gabriel Mario (1740–1809), Italian musician: marries Hester Lynch Thrale, 444–45nn711–12
Piozzi, Hester Lynch. *See* Thrale, Hester Lynch
Piranesi, Giovanni Battista (d. 1778), Italian engraver of ancient architectural subjects: 227
Pitt, Thomas (1653–1726), merchant and politician: purchases diamond, 332, 442n687
Pitt, William, first earl of Chatham (1708–78), prime minister: 380–81n148; JH's view of, 81, 304; popularity of, 82, 392n245; SJ's view of, 304, 435n633; speech of, on encouragement and increase of seamen, 78; speech of, quoted, 80–81, 391n240; style of speeches of, 64, 78, 81
Pitt's bridge: 227
*Plain Dealer, The*: essays by Aaron Hill in, 157
Plato (427–347 BCE), Greek philosopher: 150, 154
Plutarch (ca. 46–ca. 120), Greek biographer, historian, and moral philosopher: 331; lives of illustrious persons in imitation of, SJ proposes, 54; *Parallel Lives* by, SJ proposes English translation of, 54; revision of Dryden's edition of, proposed to Dyer, 139
Poiret, Pierre (1646–1719), theologian and philosopher: 197
Policy: 73, 300, 391n231; defined by SJ, 70, 390n228
Politian, Angelus (Angelo Poliziano; 1454–94), Italian humanist and poet: SJ proposes edition of work of, 17, 374n78; works of, from Pembroke College in SJ's library, 267, 374n78
*Political State of Great Britain*: publishes parliamentary debates, 19, 61, 63, 375n82

Pope, Alexander (1688–1744), poet: 153, 424–25n439; appoints Murray, William, as executor, 331; attacks on, response to, 210; cleanliness of, lack of, 197, 416n465; and Lauder, 179; letter of, to Smart on Latin translation of "Ode for Musick on St. Cecelia's Day," 9, 372n48; money, writes for, 162; and Osborne, Thomas, 93, 394n255; on pronunciation of "Pamela," 131; SJ's essay on epitaphs of, 323–24, 419n492, 440nn669–70; SJ's life of, xxxivn25, 42, 93, 321, 323, 324, 384n171, 384n174, 384n176, 385n177, 394n255, 396n284, 416n465, 417n476, 418n487, 419n492, 421n504, 440nn669–70; SJ's *London* carried to, by Lyttelton, 37, 382n160; SJ's *London* praised by, 37–38, 382n160; and Thompson, Thomas, 204; *Virgidemiarum* of Hall unknown to, 104; Warburton meets, 44, 385n177; Warburton's defense of, 385n178

Pope, Alexander, works of: *Epistles*, 324, 441n685; *Iliad* translation, 93; "Ode for Musick on St. Cecelia's Day," 9, 372n48; *Satires* of Horace, imitations of, 35; Shakespeare edition, 44, 104

—*Dunciad*: 20, 168, 199; Benson in, 168; Cibber, Colley, in, 210, 418n487; Concanen in, 323; Osborne, Thomas, in, 93, 394n255; Ralph in, 199, 416n468; Theobald in, 210

—*Essay on Man*: 40–45, 153, 384n174; Crousaz's response to, 40–45

—*Messiah*: SJ's translation of, praised, 9, 32, 321, 371n43; SJ's translation shown to Pope by Charles Arbuthnot, 9, 371n44

Pope, Walter (ca. 1627–1714), astronomer and writer: *The Old Man's Wish* by, 276

Porson, Richard (1759–1808), classical scholar: reviews JH's *Life of Johnson* severely, xxix

Porter, Harry (d. 1734), Elizabeth Johnson's first husband: 188, 211, 375n93, 413n446

Porter, Jervis Henry (1718–63), captain, Elizabeth Johnson's son: 375–76n93

Porter, Joseph (b. ca. 1724–83), merchant: 376n93

Porter, Lucy (1715–86), Elizabeth Johnson's daughter: 333, 375n93, 443–44n704; leave taken of, 343, 349

Port-Royal, Messieurs: 273, 428n574

Povey, Charles (b. 1651?–d. 1743), writer and entrepreneur: 19, 375n83

Powell, Lawrence F.: 399n315, 446n720

Precept: 165; defined by SJ, 411n424

Preceptive: defined by SJ, 411n424

Prejudice: a poetical essay, SJ proposes, 54

Price, Henry (d. 1747), of Pool, Dorsetshire: as contributor to *GM*, 31

Price, Richard (1723–91), philosopher, demographer, and political radical: possible contributor to *GM*, 31

Prince of Wales. *See* George IV

Prior, Matthew (1664–1722), poet and diplomat: *Henry and Emma* by, 322; SJ's life of, 321, 322

Pritchard, Hannah (1709–68), actor and singer: acts in *Irene*, 122

Profligate: defined by SJ, 373n59

Proverbs: collection of, in various languages, SJ proposes, 53

Prowse, Elizabeth (1712–80), widow of Thomas Prowse MP: 365

Prudence: 196; defined by SJ, 415n462

Psalmanazar, George (1679–1763), imposter and author: account of, 329–30, 441n681; as contributor to *Universal History*, 134, 330

*Public Ledger*: 311

Published: 741; defined by SJ, 448n741

Pulteney, William, earl of Bath (1684–1764), politician: anecdote of Walpole told to SJ by, 308–9; attitude of, toward Walpole, 380n148, 382n161; defended by Lord Egmont, 53–54, 387n202; granted peerage, 387n202; SJ's lack of confidence in, 304; style of speeches of, 62, 64, 81

Purgatory: 270–72

Pythagoras (sixth century BCE), Greek polymath, philosopher, and mystic: translation of Hierocles on, SJ proposes, 52

Quakers: 46, 62, 127, 128, 147
Queen's Arms: 244, 339
Quin, James (1693–1766), actor: 204–5
Quincy, John (d. 1722), apothecary and physician: on tea drinking, 214, 391n231, 420n496, 443n690, 443n701
Quinsey: 141; defined by SJ, 404n359

Rabelais, François (ca. 1494–ca. 1553), French satirist: 133, 180
Radcliffe (Ratcliffe), John (bap. 1650–d. 1714), physician and philanthropist: 147
Radnor. *See* Robartes
Ralegh (Raleigh), Sir Walter (ca. 1554–1618), courtier, explorer, and author: 127, 312
Ralph, James (d. 1762), historian and political writer: account of, 98–99, 199; described in Pope's *Dunciad*, 199, 416n468; thought to have written review of *Life of Savage*, 394n262
—works of: *Case of Authors by Profession*, 99, 394n264; *Remembrancer*, 199
Rambler Club. *See* Ivy Lane Club
Rancour: 64; defined by SJ, 390n223
Raphael (Raphael Sanzio; 1483–1520), Italian painter: 324, 440n670
Ratcliffe. *See* Radcliffe
Ravenscroft, Edward (fl. 1671–97), dramatist: *The London Cuckolds* by, 260, 425–26n550
Reade, Aleyn Lyell (1877–1953), genealogist and SJ scholar: xxx
*Reader, The*: essays by Sir Richard Steele in, 157
Reed, Isaac (1742–1807), literary editor and book collector: life of SJ by, 375n81, 394n262, 396n284, 399n315, 418n482, 419n491, 431–32n609
*Remembrancer*, 199. *See also* Ralph
Republican: 149; defined by SJ, 405n377
Resiant: 274; defined by SJ, 428n576
Resnel. *See* Du Resnel
Reynolds, Frances (1729–1807), painter, poet, and writer on art, sister of Joshua: bequest to, 361; on friendship of JH and SJ, xxiv; letter asking, to buy prints for SJ, 192, 414n451; SJ addresses mock ballad to, 234–35
Reynolds, Sir Joshua (1723–92), portrait and history painter, art theorist, and friend of SJ: 413n450; *Dictionary*, SJ's fourth edition copy of, bequeathed to, 361; discourse of, on Percy's *Reliques*, 234; Dyer, portrait of, by, 141; as executor of SJ's estate, 360; Fisher, Kitty, portraits of, by, 414n450; as founder with SJ of the Club, 249; friendship of, with SJ, 190; as *Idler* contributor, 229, 422n511; as member of the Club, 249, 250; recommends SJ for professorship of ancient literature, 277; solicits additions to SJ's pension, 346; Thurlow, Edward, to deliver letter to, 347, 445–46n718; urges SJ to complete Shakespeare, 264
Rich, John (1692–1761), pantomimist and theater manager: 260
Richardson, Jonathan, the elder (1667–1745), portrait painter and writer: 210
Richardson, Jonathan, the younger (1694–1771), portrait painter and writer: 210
Richardson, Samuel (bap. 1689–d. 1761), printer, author, and friend of SJ: account of, 132–33; and attraction, power of, 230–31; character of, 232; compared with SJ, 230–32; contributes *Rambler* 97, 164; conversation of, 231; domestic behavior of, 232; and incorrect pronunciation of "Pamela," 131; JH travels with, 231–32; JH's view of, 131–32, 230–32; learning of, 231; reading of, 231; and school of sentimentality, 231; sentiments of, 231; SJ's view of, 133, 403n342; SJ's view of fiction of, 133
—works of: *Clarissa*, 132, 133, 231, 403n342; *Pamela*, 131, 132; *Sir Charles Grandison*, 133, 231

Richmond, second duke of. *See* Lennox, Charles
Rider, William (1723–85), historian and writer: as contributor to *GM*, 31; first biographical sketch of SJ by, 379n136
Righteous: 359; defined by SJ, 449n744
Ripley, Thomas (bap. 1682–d. 1758), architect: 226
Rivers, fourth Earl. *See* Savage, Richard (1697/98–1743)
Robartes, Henry, third earl of Radnor (1695–1741): Pope meets Warburton in garden of: 385n177
Roberts, James (ca. 1750–1809), portrait painter: portrait of JH by, xxxiiin11
Robertson, William (1721–93), historian and Church of Scotland minister: and SJ's *Dictionary*, 209
Robins, Benjamin (1707–51), mathematician and military engineer: 260, 430n586
Robinson, Jacob (d. 1759), bookseller: introduces Warburton to Pope, 44, 385n177; publishes Warburton's *Vindication*, 44
Robinson, Sir Thomas, first baronet (ca. 1702/3–77), architect and collector: 363; account of, 117–18; sent by Chesterfield to appease SJ, 118
Rochester, second earl of. *See* Wilmot, John, second earl
Rochford, fourth earl of. *See* Nassau van Zuylestein
Rogers, John (bap. 1678–d. 1729), Church of England clergyman and religious controversialist: SJ reads sermons of, 101
Rogers, John Methuen (ca. 1749–1834), rector of Berkeley, Somerset: SJ's legacy to, 361, 365
Rolt, Richard (bap. 1724–d. 1770), historian and writer: as contributor to *Universal Visitor*, 212; SJ's Preface to *A New Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* by, quoted, 200
Roman church. *See* Catholic Church
Rome: awaits SJ's arrival, 346; Beauclerk's long residence at, 254; senate of, used to disguise parliamentary debates in *London Magazine*, 64; size of ancient, 128; SJ likens London to, 35
Roscommon, fourth earl of. *See* Dillon
Rota Club: 156; JH calls, "crack-brained assembly," 166; JH's note on, in "Life of Milton," 407n396
Rothes, countess dowager of. *See* Langton, Mary
Roubiliac, Louis François (1695–1762), French sculptor: 251
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–78), Swiss philosopher: as teacher of new morality, 134
Rout: 158; defined by SJ, 408n404
Rowe, Nicholas (1674–1718), poet, playwright, and editor of Shakespeare: edition of Shakespeare by, 104
Royal Academy: Reynolds, Joshua, nominates SJ for professor of ancient literature, 277; SJ runs up staircase of, 343
Royal Society: 30, 127, 129, 130, 285, 404–5n365
Royal Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce: 421–22n510
Ruffhead, Owen (1723–69), legal writer: as reviewer for *GM*, 83, 392n247
Russel, Richard (1714?–71), physician: conducts *Grub-street Journal*, 20
Ryland, John (1716/17–98), merchant and friend of SJ: accompanies SJ to Bolt Court, 353; JH finds, at George Strahan's, 351; meets with surviving Ivy Lane Club members, 340; as member of Ivy Lane Club, 134; wishes to revive Ivy Lane Club, 339

Saint German, Christopher (1460?–1540): 663n439
Saint-Evremond, Charles de Marguetel de Saint Denis, Seigneur de (1613–1703), French writer: 197
Saints. *See under individual names*
Sale, George (b. in or after 1696–d. 1736), orientalist: as contributor to *General*

*Dictionary*, 127; as contributor to *Universal History*, 134, 403n345
Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus; 86–35 BCE), Roman historian: SJ's translation of *Bellum Catilinarium*, 325; use of work of, in SJ's school, 24
Salmasius, Claudius (Claude de Saumaise; 1588–1653), French humanist and philologist: 52; dispute of, with Milton, 268, 427n565; works of, in SJ's library, 427n565
Salter, Samuel (ca. 1680–1756), Church of England clergyman: account of, 135, 152; as member of Ivy Lane Club, 134; SJ's view of, 152
Salter, Samuel (bap. 1713–d. 1778), Church of England clergyman, son of Samuel (b. ca. 1680): 134
Sambrook, James: 417n474, 424n537, 444n707
Sanderson, Robert (1587–1663), bishop of Lincoln: SJ as conversant with, 326; SJ's admiration of, 164, 355; Walton's life of, 355, 448n738
Sandys, Edwin (1519?–1588), archbishop of York: as possible influence on SJ's style, 63
Sandys, Samuel, first baron Sandys of Ombersley (1695?–1770), politician: 77
Sarpi, Paolo (Paul; 1552–1623), Italian prelate, historian, scientist, and statesman: *Daily Advertiser*, SJ's letter to, on translation of, 383n165; dying words of, "esto perpetua," used as toast at the Club, 255, 425n541; *Istoria del concilio Tridentino* by, SJ proposes translation of, 28, 40, 383n165, 384n172; SJ's life of, xxii, 57, 383n165, 383–84n167
Sastres, Francesco (fl. 1766–1822), Italian teacher and translator: brings JH news of SJ's death, 357; SJ's bequest to, 362
Saunders, Edmund (d. 1683), lord chief justice of king's Bench: history of origin and rise of, 10, 372n52
Saunderson, Nicholas (bap. 1683–d. 1739), Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge: 109
Savage, Richard, fourth Earl Rivers (ca. 1654–1712), army officer and politician: reputed father of Richard (b. 1697/98). *See* Savage, Richard (1697/98–1743)
Savage, Richard (1697/98–1743), poet and playwright: as bad example for SJ, 55–56; character of, 33, 55–56; claims Anne Gerard, countess of Macclesfield, later, Lady Brett, as mother, 96, 394n260; company, choice of, confirmed in, 56; compassion of SJ for, 32; conversation with, JH thinks SJ could not profit from, 34, 56; death of, 95; drinking of, 33, 55–56; friendship of SJ with, 32–35, 55–56, 94–95; identified with Thales of SJ's *London*, 35, 55, 381n151, 387n204; introduced to SJ, 18, 32; JH finds friendship with, hard to account for, 32, 34, 380n143; JH's view of, 33–35, 55–56, 95; kills James Sinclair, 33, 380n145; leaves London, 55, 94–95, 387n204, 388n208; patriotism, shares principles of, 34, 380–81n148; SJ's ability to discover good and amiable qualities in, 31; SJ's life of, 31–35, 55–56, 95–97, 380n135, 380n143, 394n256, 394n261; SJ's life of, criticized by JH, 55–56, 95–96; SJ's life of, reviewed favorably in *Champion*, 97, 394n262; SJ's separation from wife, as probable cause of, 55, 388n208; subscription for support of, 35, 55, 94; wanders streets with SJ, 33–34, 56
—works of: *Author to Be Lett*, 380n147; *Miscellaneous Poems*, 33, 380n146
Savile (née Pierrepont), marchioness of Halifax (1640/41–1727), grandmother of fourth earl of Chesterfield: 109
Savoy Conference: 325, 440n674
Saxby, Henry (d, 1771), customhouse officer: 149
Scamozzi,Vincenzo (1552–1616), Italian architect: 227
Scholar: xxix, 9, 109, 114, 128, 135, 136, 142, 147, 150, 153, 172, 185, 198, 254, 326, 383n165, 387n198, 416n465, 426n558, 441n677; defined by SJ, 367n3; SJ

Scholar (*continued*)
characterized as, 1, 25, 84, 105, 367n3, 374n378
Scholarship: defined by SJ, 367n3
Scholiast: 265; defined by SJ, 426n559
Schomberg, Isaac (1714–80), physician and writer, eldest son of Meyer: account of, 146–47, 405n371
Schomberg, Meyer Löw (1690–1761), physician: account of, 145–47
Schultens, Albert (1686–1750), Dutch Hebrew and Aramaic scholar: 403–4n349; Dyer studies with, 136
Scientific: 1; defined by SJ, 367n2
Sconce: 6; defined by SJ, 370n27
Scotland: 141, 179, 180, 185, 242, 285, 363; Church of, 291–92, 325, 440n674; and Ossian, dispute over, 293–95; *Rambler* edition in, 176; and rebellion of 1745, 152, 277, 406n384; Scotsmen love, better than truth, 294; SJ's prejudice against, 290–93; visit to, 284–93, 412n443, 430nn592–95, 431n598, 431nn600–602, 431n608, 431–32n609
—natives of: Boswell, 284; Crichton, Admiral, 176; Lauder, 166; Shiels, 400–401n329; Urquhart, 180
Scott, John (b. ca. 1706), attorney: JH as clerk of, xxii
Scott, Joseph Nicoll (1702/3–69), independent minister and physician: 108
Scott, William, Baron Stowell (1745–1836), judge and politician: as executor of SJ's estate, 360; SJ's bequest to, 361
Scruple: defined by SJ, 406n391
Secker, Thomas (1693–1768), archbishop of Canterbury: account of, 151
Selden, John (1584–1654), lawyer and historical and linguistic scholar: 232, 274
Selwyn (Selwin), George Augustus (1719–91), wit and politician: anecdote by, of man under death sentence, 314–15, 438n655; on what is necessary to succeed at going to law, 314
Seneca, Marcus Annaeus (54 BCE?–39), Roman rhetorician and philosopher: 409n415
Servitor: 7; defined by SJ, 371n32; practice of, 8, 372n56; SJ censured practice of employing, 12
Seward, Anna (1742–1809), poet and correspondent: relates apocryphal story of Blaney's passion for Michael Johnson, 368n13; relates "Epitaph on a Duckling," 369n15; as source of dubious anecdotes of SJ and Lichfield, 369n16
Seward, William (1747–99), anecdotist: 424n533, 436n643, 446n723
Shaftesbury, third earl of. *See* Cooper, Anthony Ashley
Shakespeare, William (1564–1616), playwright and poet: 403n342, 440n668; and Collins's "Song for Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*," 30, 379n131; and human nature, skill in science of, 266; JH's view of, 323; money, wrote for, 162; never blotted a line, 230, 422n512; Richardson, Samuel, compared with, 133, 403n342; SJ not conversant with, when *Irene* written, 122. *See also* Johnson, Samuel, writings of
—early editions of: 104–5; by Hanmer, 105; by Pope, 43–44, 104; by Rowe, 104; by Theobald, 43–44, 105; by Warburton, 105, 396n104
—Garricks's revival of, 104, 120, 122, 218, 257, 266, 342; JH gives SJ notes on, 257, 265
—works of: *Hamlet*, 8, 371n33; *Henry IV*, 55; *King Lear*, 176; *Macbeth*, 105, 266, 350; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 321–22; *Othello*, 356; *The Tempest*, 176
Sharp, Samuel (bap. 1709–d. 1778), surgeon: 119; belongs to a club, 260; examines Anna Williams's cataracts, 195; persuades Samuel Dyer to revise Plutarch, 139; quoted, 443n701
Shaw, Peter (1694–1763), physician and author: 145
Shaw, William (1749–1831), Gaelic grammarian and lexicographer: *Authenticity of the Poems Ascribed to Ossian* by,

432n609; life of SJ by, 431–32n609, 445–46n718
Sheffield, John, third earl of Mulgrave, afterwards first duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647–1721), politician and author: as patron of Dryden and friend of Pope, 258
Shelvocke, George (1675–1742), privateer and author: 403n345
Shelvocke, George (ca. 1700–1760), son of George (b. 1675), author, historian, and secretary of the General Post Office, London: as contributor to *Universal History*, 134, 403n345
Shepherd (Shephard), Edward (ca. 1692–1747), building craftsman and architect: 48, 386n187
Sheridan, Thomas (1719–88), actor and orthoepist: anecdote about, 251
Sherlock, Thomas (1677–1761), bishop of London, son of William: SJ's view of, 51
Sherlock, William (1639/40–1707), Church of England clergyman and religious controversialist: 237, 424n527
Shiels (Shiells, Shields), Robert (d. 1753), compiler: as amanuensis for SJ's *Dictionary*, 125–26; *Lives of the Poets* by, 125–26, 400–401n329
Shippen, William (bap. 1673–d. 1743), politician and Jacobite sympathizer: 19, 309; style of speeches of, 81
Sidney (Sydney), Henry (1529–86), lord-deputy of Ireland and courtier, father of Philip: letter from, 114–15
Sidney, Philip (1554–86), author and courtier: letter to, 114–15
Simpson, Joseph (1721–ca. 1773), barrister and schoolfellow of SJ: *Rambler*, contributes letter to, 410n421
Simpson, Thomas (1710–61), mathematician: 226
Sinclair, James (d. 1727): killed by Savage, 380n145
Sizars (sizers): SJ censured practice of employing, 12, 372n56
Skinner, Cyriac (1627–1700), friend of John Milton: 156, 166
Skinner, Stephen (bap. 1623–d. 1667), physician and philologist: 107, 397nn288–89
Sledd, James H.: 397n291
Sloth: the palace of, a vision, SJ proposes, 54
Smalridge, George (1662–1719), bishop of Bristol: as Favonius of the *Tatler*, 221
Smart, Christopher (1722–71), poet: as contributor to *Universal Visitor*, 212; letter to, from Pope on Latin translation of Pope's "Ode for Musick on St. Cecelia's Day," 9, 372n48
Smith, Edmund (1672–1720), poet and playwright: SJ's life of, 11, 22–23, 372n54
Smith, John (fl. 1744): as contributor to *GM*, 30
Smith, Thomas (1638–1710), scholar: life of Camden by, 311–12
Smithson, Hugh. *See* Percy, Hugh
Smollett, Tobias George (1721–71), novelist, miscellaneous writer, and acquaintance of SJ: account of, 132, 402n340; as contributor to *Universal History*, 132, 402n340; SJ's warning to, that debates are fictitious, 81, 392n244
—works of: *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, 132, 402n340; *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, 132; *Don Quixote* translation, defended by Laetitia-Matilda Hawkins, 402n341; translations of *The Adventures of Gil Blas*, *The Adventures of Telemachus*, and *The History and Adventures of the Renowned Don Quixote*, 132, 402n340
Smythe, Sir Sidney Stafford (1705–78), judge: 146
Socrates (469–399 BCE), Greek philosopher: 117, 139, 246, 275
Solecism: 46; defined by SJ, 386n188
Solomon, ancient Hebrew king: 55
Sophia Dorothea (Princess Sophia Dorothea of Celle; 1666–1726), electoral princess of Hanover: 45, 385n184

Southwell, Edmund (Edmond, Edward; b. 1705), brother of Thomas: account of, 244–45
Southwell, Thomas, second baron Southwell (d. 1766): 244; SJ's high opinion of, 245
Sparrow, Anthony (1612–85), royalist divine, bishop of Exeter, later Norwich: 5, 369n14
*Spectator*: essays by Addison and Richard Steele in, 157, 160, 211, 236, 404–5n365, 409n412, 423n525; table of, SJ proposes, 53
*Speculatist*: essays by Concanen in, 157
Spelman, Sir Charles: publishes some of grandfather Sir Henry's writings, 86
Spelman, Sir Henry (1563/64–1641), historian and antiquary: 352; *Glossarium Archaiologicum* by, description of, in *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, 85–86
Spence, Joseph (1699–1768), literary scholar and anecdotist: life of Magliabechi by, 10–11
Spenser, Edmund (1552–99), poet and administrator in Ireland: possible influence of, on SJ's style, 63
Spinckes, Nathaniel (1654–1727), bishop of nonjuring Church of England: *No Sufficient Reasons* by, 427n568
Splenetic: 148; defined by SJ, 405n376
Sprat, Thomas (bap. 1635–d. 1713), bishop of Rochester: SJ's dislike of, 164
Spunging-house: 99; defined by SJ, 394n268
St. Andrews, University of: 401n336
St. Clement Danes: as church SJ frequented, 272; SJ resolves to take seat in, 272
*St. James Chronicle*: xxvi, 306, 307, 423n521, 448n739
St. James's Palace: xxviii; chapel of, 158, 408n405
St. John, Henry, styled first viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751), politician, diplomatist, and author: attitude of, toward Robert Walpole, 380n148, 382n161; as influence on Pope's *Essay on Man*, 43, 384n174; JH's view of, 50–51, 131, 386n196; philosophy of, 131; SJ adopts topics of complaint of, 38, 50
—works of: "Dissertation on Parties," 50, 386n196; *Letters on the Study of History*, 304, 435n634
St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell: xxi, xxii, 28, 29, 32, 64, 78, 380n138
St. Margaret's, Westminster: 236
St. Mary's, Lichfield: 2, 367n8, 369n17
St. Sepulchre's parish, London: xxi, 196
St. Thomas's Hospital: 144
Stanhope, Eugenia (fl. 1758–74), wife of fourth earl of Chesterfield's natural son: publishes letters from father-in-law to husband, 397n293
Stanhope, Philip (ca. 1732–68), fourth earl of Chesterfield's natural son: letters to, 109, 111–14, 115–16, 138, 164, 397n293
Stanhope, Philip, fifth earl of Chesterfield (1755–1815), politician and diplomatist: Dodd, William, as assisting in the education of, 312; presses charges against William Dodd, 313; signature of, forged by William Dodd, 312, 437n653
Stanhope, Philip Dormer, fourth earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773), politician and diplomatist: 2; account of, 109–14; character of, contrasted with SJ's, 109; *Dictionary*, two papers of, praising, in *World*, 117, 399n316; Ford, Cornelius, as chaplain of, 2; the Hague, residence of, at, 2; invitation of, to SJ, 109, 397n292; JH's view of, 108–18, 138; learning of, contrasted with that of SJ, 108; *Letters . . . to his Son*, 109, 111–14, 115–16, 138, 164, 397n293, 398n289, 398n303; Maty's life of, in *Miscellaneous Works*, 109; natural son, attitude of, toward, 111–14; as patron, 116, 117, 118, 373n64; *Plan of Dictionary* commended by, 108; *Plan of Dictionary* dedicated to, 108, 397n291; SJ as "respectable Hottentot" comment by,

109, 116–17, 397n293, 399n315; SJ's letter to, 117; 399n316; SJ's relations with, 109, 397n292; SJ's view of, 109, 116; speech of, on bill for restraining sale of spiritous liquors, written by SJ, 65, 72–77, 390n224; style of speeches of, 81, 109, 110–11; and university education, hatred of, 109–10; as "wit among lords," 116, 399n313
Stanley, John (1712–86), organist and composer: 242; *Cantatas* by, with lyrics by JH, xxii
Staphorst (Staphorstius), Caspar (1587–1669), Dutch scholar: 166, 167
Steele, Sir Richard (bap. 1672–d. 1729), writer and politician: 19
Steele, Thomas (fl. 1790–1803), joint secretary of the treasury, pay-master-general of the forces, etc.: assists JB, 365–86n185
Steevens, George (1736–1800), literary editor and scholar: 423n521; JH's view of, 355, 448n739; life of SJ by, 375n81, 394n262, 396n284, 399n315, 418n482, 419n491, 431–32n609; as member of the Club, 448n739; under possible pseudonym "Philo-Johnson," reviews JH's *Life of Johnson* severely, xxix; revises SJ's Shakespeare, 295–96, 448n739; visits SJ, 448n739
Steffani, Agostino (1654–1728), Italian musician: SJ ridicules JH's memoirs of, xxxi, 193, 414n455
Stephanum, Henricum. *See* Estienne
Stephens. *See* Estienne
Stephens, Henry (d. 1598), writer: 351
Sterne, Laurence (1713–68), writer and Church of England clergyman: account of, 133–34; displays indecent drawing, 133; SJ's comment on meeting, 133, 403n343; as teacher of new morality, 34
Stewart-Murphy, Charlotte A.: 370n30
Storer, Peter (fl. 1753), lawyer of Inner Temple and JH's father-in-law: xxii
Storer, Peter, Jr. (1721–59), JH's brother-in-law: xxiii
Storer, Sidney. *See* Hawkins, Lady Sidney
Stormont, Lord. *See* Murray, David
Stourbridge, Worcestershire: 6, 369–70n19, 370n21
Stourbridge Grammar School: attended by SJ, 6, 370n21
Stow (Stowe), John (1524/25–1605), historian: 19, 183, 375n90; account by, of King Edward the Confessor first touching for king's evil, 3, 368–69n14; *Chronicles* by, as bequest to JH, 361
Strafford (Strafforde), first earl of. *See* Wentworth, Thomas
Strahan, Andrew (1750–1831), printer, son of William: prints part of *Works* (1787), 451
Strahan, George (1744–1824), vicar of St. Mary's, Islington, son of William: accompanies SJ to Bolt Court, 353; administers communion to SJ, 354; as constant in attendance to dying SJ, 354, 355, 356, 357; dictates a codicil, 356; entrusted with SJ's prayers and meditations, 272, 427–28n570, 447n728, 448n737; repeats Lord's Prayer, 356, 357; searches for SJ's paper, 355; SJ dictates new will to, 356; SJ passes day with, 351–53; SJ's bequest to, 361; told JH has SJ's diaries, 355; witnesses SJ's will, 361
Strahan (née Robertson), Margaret (d. 1831), wife of George: 353
Strahan, William (1715–85), printer of SJ's *Dictionary*: asks JH to write life and edit works of SJ, xxvi; Parliament, attempts to find seat for SJ in, 485n640; prints and publishes *Rasselas*, 420–21n503; "Strahan Minute" by, 428–29n579
Streatham, Surrey: exercise, opportunities to, at, 275; library of SJ's own choosing at, 274; SJ as resiant, not guest, at, 274, 319, 428n575; SJ attempts to learn Dutch at, 339; SJ invited to Thrales' villa at, xxiii, 274; SJ no longer welcome guest at, 338; SJ visits, less frequently, 333; SJ's behavior at,

Streatham, Surrey (*continued*) 338–39; Williams, Anna, watched over by JH and family while SJ at, 415n458. *See also* Thrale, Henry; Thrale, Hester Lynch
Struma: 3; defined by SJ, 368n14. *See also* King's evil
Strutt, Samuel (fl. 1730–32), attorney: as contributor to *Craftsman*, 200, 201
Strype, John (1643–1737), historian and biographer: 19
Stuart, John, third earl of Bute (1713–92), prime minister: SJ returns thanks to, for pension, 237, 423n524, 433n619
Stubbs, George (ca. 1738–1808), solicitor: mentioned in SJ's will, 362
Sun Fire Office: origin of, 19, 375n83
Superstition: 154; defined by SJ, 406n391
Swansea, Wales: Savage's residence at, 35, 55, 94, 95
Swift, Jonathan (1667–1745), writer and dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: interest of, solicited to obtain M.A. for SJ, 39; SJ's life of, 321, 323; on tea as luxury, 214, 419n496; on writing down the ministry, 34, 199, 381n149
—works of: *The Drapier's Letters*, 34, 381n149; *"The Grand Question Debated,"* 164–65, 410–11n423; *Gulliver's Travels*, 63–64, 214, 419n496; *Intelligencer*, 147, 152, 405n372, 406n387; "Phyllis or the Progress of Love," quoted, 345; "To Stella, Visiting Me in My Sickness," quoted, 199, 416n469;
Swinfen, Samuel (1679/80–1736), physician, SJ's godfather: diagnoses SJ's melancholy, 411–12n433
Swinhoe, Gilbert (fl. 1658–71), playwright: *The Tragedy of the Unhappy Fair Irene* by, 27, 378n124
Sybilline Oracles: 295, 432n610

Tailor (unidentified): anecdote of, 330
Talbot, Catherine (1721–70), author and scholar: contributes *Rambler* 30, 164
Talbot, Edward (1690/91–1720), archdeacon Berkshire and preacher of the Rolls, son of William (b. 1659), father of Catherine: 151, 164
Talbot, William (1659–1730), bishop successively of Oxford, Salisbury, and Durham: 151
Talbot, William, second baron of Hensol and first earl of (1710–82), politician: style of speeches of, 81
Tankard, Paul: 387n199
Tarlton (Tarleton), Richard (d. 1588), actor and clown: 156
Tasso, Torquato (1544–95), Italian poet: *Gerusalemme liberata* (*Jerusalem Delivered*; 1574) by, translated into English as *Godfrey of Bulloigne* by Edward Fairfax (1600), SJ proposes new edition of, 52
*Tatler*: essays by Addison and Richard Steele in, 157, 221; table of, SJ proposes, 53
Taubman, Christian (1597–1651), German scholar: 166, 167
Taverns: 204; Boar's Head in Eastcheap, 55; Crown, 56; history of, 55–56; SJ's view of, 46, 55–56; White Hart without Bishop's Gate, 55; White Rose, 55–56
Taylor, Jeremy (bap. 1613–d. 1667), Church of Ireland bishop of Down and Connor and religious writer: 408n400; discourses of, quoted, 355, 448n738; JH's view of, 248; as possible influence on SJ's style, 164; SJ repeats statement of, 327, 355; SJ's admiration for, 164; works of, in SJ's library, 440–41n676
—works of: *Ductor Dubitantium*, 326; *Holy Living and Dying*, 326, 440n676, 448n738
Taylor, John (1578–1653), called the Water Poet: *All the Works of John Taylor the Water Poet* by, description of, in *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, 88–89; JH's view of, 89; Nicholas Wood the great eater account by, 89
Taylor, John (bap. 1711–d. 1788), of Ashbourne, friend of SJ: 371n45; asked to preach funeral sermon for Tetty, 188;

at Christ Church College, 9; confirms Lyttelton carried *London* to Pope, 382n160; practices law, 9; presides at SJ's funeral, 359; remembers to whom *Plan of Dictionary* was passed, 397n291; SJ visits, 349; SJ writes sermons for, 236; takes holy orders, 271n45
Tea: 172, 262, 334, 380n148, 406n383; "An Essay on Tea," review by SJ, 212–18, 419n494; history of, 213, 419n494; as luxury, 214, 419–20n496; SJ's love of, 213, 214–15, 234–35, 276, 338
Temerarious: 151; defined by SJ, 406n386
Temple, Sir William (1628–99), diplomat and author: essays of, 157
Tenison, Thomas (1636–1715), archbishop of Canterbury: 40, 383n165
Terence (Publius Terentius Afer; b. 193 or 183–d. 159 BCE), Roman writer of comedies: 382n160; use of work of, in SJ's school, 24
Tertullian (Florens Quintus Septimius Tertullianus; ca. 160–ca. 225), father of Latin theology: 271
*Theatre*: essays by Richard Steele in, 157
Themistocles (ca. 524–ca. 459 BCE), Athenian statesman: 331
Theobald, Lewis (bap. 1688–d. 1744), literary editor and writer: 43, 210; edition of Shakespeare (1734) by, 43–44, 104–5, 218, 265, 384n176; essays of, in *Censor*, 157
Theocritus (first half of third century BCE), Hellenistic Greek poet: use of work of, in SJ's school, 24
Theophrastus (ca. 370–ca. 287 BCE), Greek philosopher: 129
Thomas, John (bap. 1712–d. 1793), bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster: 449n748
Thompson, Thomas (ca. 1700–63), quack physician: account of, 204–5, 417n476; JH's view of, 204–5
Thomson, James (1700–1748), poet: SJ's frigid commendation of, 322; *Seasons* by, quoted, 292; SJ's life of, 322, 386n194, 386n197, 416n446
Thornton, —— (fl. 1745): raises troop of horse for 1745 rebellion, 277
Thornton, Bonnell (1724–68), writer: as contributor to *Adventurer*, 412n439; as contributor to *Idler*, 422n511
Thou, Jacques Auguste de (1553–1617), French historian: 409–10n416; SJ considers translation of, 324–25
Thrale, Henry (ca. 1728–81), brewer and politician, husband of Hester, and friend of SJ: xxiii–xxiv, 413n448; account of, 273–74, 307–8; attempts to find SJ seat in Parliament, 307–8; as bearing with SJ's irregularities, 276, 339; chace, prevails on SJ to join, 275; death of, xxiv, 330, 333, 338, 442n684; epitaph of SJ for, 332–33, 442n688; executor of, SJ as, 330–32; family of, breaks SJ's habit of rising early, 276; friendship with, as source of great satisfaction and comfort to SJ, 273, 338; has in SJ guest no table in three kingdoms could produce, 339; and independence lost by SJ, 274; plans trip to Italy with SJ, 346; SJ avoids mentioning family of, after death, 333; SJ indebted to, for some years of life, 274; SJ meets, 273–74, 428n575; and SJ's character as conversationalist as obligation to display to visitors, 274–75; troubled by competitor, 331; visits Paris with SJ, 310. *See also* Streatham, Surrey
Thrale, Hester Lynch, née Salusbury, afterward (25 July 1784) Piozzi (1741–1821), writer and friend of SJ: xxiii–xxiv; correspondence of, with SJ, 338; demands placed on, by SJ, 338; marriage of, to Gabriel Piozzi, 343–46, 389; SJ sees, less frequently, 333, 338; SJ takes leave of, 333; SJ's letter to, 343–45, 444–45n711, 445n712; view of, on Edmund Hector, 369n18; visits Paris with SJ, 310
—works of: *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, xxxi; "Marginalia," 376n102

Thrale, Hester Maria. *See* Elphinstone
Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas (1515/16–71), diplomat and member of parliament: 311
Thuanus. *See* Thou
Thurloe, John (bap. 1616–d. 1668), government official: 127
Thurlow, Edward, first baron Thurlow (1731–1806), lord chancellor: generous offer of, to SJ, 346; SJ's letter thanking, 346–47, 445–46n718
Thynne, Thomas, third viscount Weymouth and first marquess of Bath (1734–96), courtier and politician: 255
Tillotson, John (1630–94), archbishop of Canterbury: 127, 128; SJ's view of, 164
Tindal, Matthew (bap. 1657–d. 1733), freethinker and religious controversialist: 159
Toland, John (1670–1722), freethinker and philosopher: 159
Tom's Coffeehouse, Devereux Court, 127, 148, 149
Tonson, Jacob (1714–67), bookseller, nephew of Tonson the younger: 119, 132, 139
Tonson, Jacob, the younger (1682–1735), bookseller: 439n664
Tophail, Abi Joafar Ebn (d. 1185), Arabic romance writer: *Hai Ebn Yokdan* by, 95, 394n257
Topham, Richard (?), antiquary of Windsor: 254
Toussaint, François-Vincent (1715–72): JH's view of, 137–38; *Les Moeurs* by, 137–38, 404n352
Towers, Joseph (1737–99), biographer and Presbyterian minister: 444n706
Townshend, family of: 148
Trenchard, John (pseud. Cato, Diogenes; 1688/89–1723), landowner and publicist: 159
Tucker, Josiah (1713–99), economist and political writer: 309, 369n14, 437n648
Tumid: defined by SJ, 404n359, 410n418
Turks: 17, 25, 26, 165
Turk's Head, Gerrard Street: 249
Turpitude: 78; defined by SJ, 391n237
Tyers, Thomas (1724/25–87), writer: xxxii, 368n14, 376n95, 392n244, 399n315, 417n479, 426nn555–56, 444n706

Underhill, Cave (1634–1713), actor: 408n399
*Universal Chronicle*: *Idler* essays plagiarized from, 228, 421–22n510; Newbery's role in, 219–20, 220n500; published in, 219–20; sale of, 228; SJ's advertisement in, 228
*Universal History*: 129, 132, 134, 330; published in *GM*, 350; SJ makes list of contributors to, 350
*Universal Spectator*: JH as contributor to, xxii
*Universal Visitor*: Garner's involvement, 212; SJ's contributions to, 212, 419n492, 440n669; writers in, 212
Urbanity: 29; defined by SJ, 378n127
Urquhart (Urchard), Sir Thomas, of Cromarty (1611–60), author and translator: account of, 179–80; account of "The Admirable Crichton" by, 179–85, 412n442, 412n444; account of family of, 180, 412n442
Ursula, Saint: 259
Usages Controversy: 270–71, 427nn567–68
Ussher (Usher), James (1581–1656), Church of Ireland archbishop of Armagh and scholar: SJ conversant with, 326

Valdés, Juan de (ca. 1500–1540), Spanish reformer: 327, 441n680
Valdesso, John. *See* Valdés, Juan de
Valerius Maximus (early first century), Latin writer, historian, and consul: collection of stories and examples like *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* by, SJ proposes, 53
Van Neck. *See* Neck
Vanbrugh, John (1664–1726), playwright and architect: 225

Vane, Sir Henry, the younger (1613–62), politician and author: 166
Venice: history of, SJ proposes, 52; long residence of Topham Beauclerk at, 254; and Piozzi, Gabriel, 445n711; and Sarpi, 383n165
Vernon, Thomas (1654–1721), law reporter and politician: *Chancery Reports* by, 258
Vesey, Elizabeth (ca. 1715–91), literary hostess: calls the Club the Literary Club, 255; as possible lady who invites members of the Club to dinner, 255, 425n542
Vignola, Giacomo da (Giacomo Barocchio or Barozzi; 1507–73), Italian architect: 227
Vincent, Thomas (ca. 1720–ca. 1783), oboist and composer: 242
Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro; 70–19 BCE), Roman epic poet: 166, 167; use of work of, in SJ's school, 24
*Visiter*. See *Universal Visitor*
Voltaire (François Marie Arouet; 1694–1778), French philosopher, historian, and critic: praises eloquence of British Parliament, 78, 391n239
Voyages: collection of, with travels, adventures, and descriptions of countries, SJ proposes, 53. *See* Anson; Boswell, James (1740–95); Hawkesworth; Johnson, Samuel; Martin; Pennant
Vyse, William (1709–70), archdeacon of Salop: leaves pair of shoes for SJ at Pembroke College, 7, 370–71n31, 371n35
Vyse, William (1742–1816), divine, son of William (b. 1709): 7, 370–71n31

Wake, William (1657–1737), archbishop of Canterbury: patronage of, for Le Courayer's French translation of Sarpi, 383n165; SJ's view of, 51
Wall, Richard (1694–1778), Spanish ambassador to London: 279
Waller, Edmund (1606–87), poet and politician: Gilbert Burnet's character of, 77, 213, 391n234; sacrifices principles, 213; SJ's life of, 391n234, 394n266; tea, poem on, by, 213
Walmesley (Walmsley), Gilbert (bap. 1682–d. 1751), registrar of the ecclesiastical court, Lichfield, and friend of SJ: befriends SJ and Garrick, 22; encourages SJ to translate Sarpi, 40; interposes between SJ and Scots officer at theater, 264; *Irene* written under eye of, 26; places Garrick in SJ's school at Edial, 23; recommends SJ and Garrick to Colson, 24–25; SJ's account of, in life of Smith, 22–23
Walpole, Horace (Horatio), first baron Walpole of Wolterton (1678–1757), diplomatist and politician: speech by, on encouragement and increase of seamen, 78–80
Walpole, Horace (Horatio), fourth earl of Orford (1717–97), author, politician, and patron of arts: as neighbor of JH, 392n246, 417n473, 433n619
Walpole, Robert, first earl of Orford (1676–1745), prime minister: xxiv, xxvii, 386n197, 436n643; and anecdote of Shippen taking oath, 309; attempt to enlist Hogarth to attack, 300, 433n619; attempt to remove, from office, 62; common criticisms of ministry of, 34; JH's view of, xxiv, xxvi, 72, 82–83, 380–81n148, 392n246; predicts 1745 rebellion, 83, 392n246; private virtues of, 72; on replying to Barnard, 62; SJ's attacks on, xxvi, 35, 38, 45; SJ's high opinion of, in later life, 308–9, 436n643; SJ's view of, 380n148; and Tobacco Excise Bill, 82, 380n148; and view of human depravity, 303; withdraws patent for William Wood's halfpence, 381n149
—debates on, 62, 65–72, 390n221, 390n224–25; Bolingbroke's, 380n148, 382n161, 386n196; Pitt's, 380n148; Pulteney's, 380n148, 382n161; Savage's, 34
—resignation of, xxiv, 304, 387n202; SJ's short-lived joy at, 304

Walter, Richard (1717–85), Church of England clergyman and naval chaplain: as relator of Anson's voyages, 430n586
Walton, Brian (Bryan; 1600–1661), bishop of Chester and biblicist: *English Polyglot Bible* (1657) edited by, bequested to Langton, 361
Walton, Izaak (1593–1683), author and biographer: *Compleat Angler* by, JH's edition of, xxxiii, 379n130; *Compleat Angler* by, Moses Browne's edition of, 379n130
Wanley, Humfrey (1672–1726), Old English scholar and librarian: catalogue of Harleian manuscripts begun by, 393n249; as coeditor of *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum, Angliae et Hiberniae*, 393n251
Warburton, William (1698–1779), bishop of Gloucester and religious controversialist: and Allen, Ralph, 44; disconcerted, 156; letter of, to Concanen, 43, 384n176; Pope as acquaintance of, 43, 44, 385n177; praise of, for *Miscellaneous Observations . . . Macbeth*, 105, 396n284; supplies note to Theobald's edition of Shakespeare, 44, 384n176; Wilkes's libel of, 429n584
—works of: *Divine Legation of Moses*, 44; Shakespeare edition (1747), 105, 218; *A Vindication of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man, from the Misrepresentations of Mr. Crousaz*, 44–45, 212, 385n178
Ward, John (ca. 1678/79–1758), antiquary and biographer: 136, 149
Ware, Isaac (bap. 1704–d. 1766), architect: 202, 204
Warren, Sir Peter (1703/4–52), naval officer and politician: 309
Warren, Richard (1731–97), physician: accepts no fees for attending SJ, 359
Warren, Thomas (d, 1767), Birmingham bookseller: Hector, Edmund, lodges with, 373n65; pays SJ for translation of *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, 17, 374n66; SJ as guest of, 373n65
Warton, Joseph (bap. 1722–d. 1800), poet and literary critic: assists with *Adventurer*, 176
Warton, Thomas (1728–90), poet and historian: as contributor to *Idler*, 422n511; SJ applies to, for Oxford M.A., 206; suspects Rowley poems are forgeries, 432n610
Waterland, Daniel (1683–1740), theologian: 153–54, 406n390
Watkins, Samuel (fl. 1730–40), schoolmaster: as contributor to *GM*, 30
Watkins's Academy, Spital Square: JH perhaps educated at, xxi; various contributors to *GM* educated at, 30, 31; Webb educated at, 30
Watts, Isaac (1674–1748), independent minister and writer: 274; SJ's life of, 136; SJ's view of, 325
Webb, Foster (1722–44), friend of JH: as contributor to *GM*, 30, 379n133
Wechelius, A., printer?: *Biblia Sacra Graece* (1597) by, 361
*Weekly Miscellany*: 78, publishes proposals for Sarpi, 140, 383n165
Welby, Henry (d. 1636), recluse: 20; *The Phoenix of These Late Times* (1637) by, 375n91
Welch, Saunders (1710–84), justice of the peace for Westminster and friend of SJ: *A Proposal to Render Effectual a Plan to Remove the Nuisance of Prostitutes* by, 422n510; warns SJ about Cock-lane ghost affair involvement, 263
Wentworth, family of: 6, 370n21
Wentworth, John (ca. 1677–1741), headmaster of Stourbridge School: 6, 370n21
Wentworth, Thomas, father of John: 370n21
Westminster: 34, 47, 55–56, 59, 149, 159, 188, 221, 236, 363, 426n550
Westminster Abbey: 55–56, 117, 226, 253, 311, 324, 357, 359, 387n198, 449n748
Westminster Bridge: 257
Westminster Hall: 147, 148, 385n181

*Westminster Journal*: 78; JH contributes to, xxii
Westminster School: 83, 282
Weymouth, third viscount of. *See* Thynne
Whalley, Peter (1722–91), author and literary editor: books lent to, by Garrick, 267
Whiston, John (1711–80), bookseller, son of William: 232
Whiston, William (1667–1752), natural philosopher and theologian: 238, 432n610
Whitbread, Samuel (1720–96), brewer and landowner: Henry Thrale envies, 331
White, Mrs. ——, SJ servant: bequest to, 360
Whitehead, Paul (1710–74), satirist: account of, 199–204, 205
Whitehead, William (bap. 1715–d. 1785), poet and playwright: conveys SJ's *Plan of Dictionary* to Chesterfield, 108, 397n291
Whiting (née Johnson), Ann (b. 1736), SJ's cousin, wife of William Whiting: SJ's bequest to, 361
Wilcox, John (fl. 1721–62), bookseller: lends money to SJ and Garrick, 27, 378n122; one publication links SJ to, 378n122
Wilford, John (fl. 1722–38), trade publisher: 375n92
Wilkes, John (1725–97), politician: xxiv, 433n619, 435n638; JH's view of, xxiv, 279; response of, to SJ, 279, 429n585; SJ argues in favor of expulsion of, from the House of Commons in *The False Alarm*, 278–79, 429n584; SJ's response to continued attempt of, to become member of Parliament in *The Patriot*, 296–97
Wilkins, John (1614–72), theologian and natural philosopher, bishop of Chester: 128
Willes, Sir John (1685–1761), judge and politician: 146
William III (England) and II (Scotland; 1650–1702), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and prince of Orange: 237; SJ's view of, 303, 434n629
Williams, Anna (1706–83), poet, companion, and friend of SJ: account of, 194–96, 415n456, 415n458, 415nn460–61; asperity of SJ soothed by, 196; benevolence of, 244; blindness of, via cataract surgery, 195; cautions SJ about Steevens, 355; as companion to SJ's wife, 194, 195; compassion of SJ for, 194, 196; complains to SJ about Barber, 198, 245–46; as counsellor to SJ, 196; death of, 196, 337–38; extraordinary endowments of, 194, 195–96; familiarity of JH with, 195, 415n458; final illness of, 337–38; friendship of SJ with, 196, 337; Garrick gives benefit play for, 195, 415n460; given room at Bolt Court, 195, 319; given room at Gough Square, 195; invited to Johnson's Court, 195, 272; lodges at boarding school, 220; manages SJ's house, 337; *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* by, published with assistance by SJ, 195, 415n461; rage of, 246; reproaches SJ, 246; SJ's prayer for, 337; SJ's solitude after death of, 342; translates La Bleterie's *Life of the Emperor Julian* with friends, 195, 415n460; watched over by JH and family when SJ at Streatham, 415n458
Williams, Daniel (ca. 1643–1716), Presbyterian minister and benefactor: 136–37
Williams, Zachariah (Zachary; b. 1668/73–1755), experimental philosopher, father of Anna: account of, 194–95, 415n456; *An Account of an Attempt to Ascertain the Longitude at Sea* of, written by SJ with Italian translation by Baretti, 194–95
Wilmot, Sir (George) Edward, first baronet (1693–1786), physician: 205
Wilmot, John, second earl of Rochester (1647–80), poet and courtier: memory of, 11; SJ's life of, 11

Wilmot, Sir John Eardley (1709–92), judge: 146
Wilson, James (1690–1771), physician and biographer: as editor of Robins's *Mathematical Tracts*, 260
Windham, William (1750–1810), politician: 449nn742–43; SJ's bequest to, 361
Winstanley, William (d. 1698), compiler of biographies and poet: *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets, from the Time of William the Conquer to James II* by, 125, 321
Wollaston, William (1659–1724), moral philosopher: 153
Wolsey, Thomas (1470/71–1530), royal minister, archbishop of York, and cardinal: 12
Wood, Anthony [Anthony à Wood] (1632–95), antiquary: 407–8n396, 437n651
Wood, William (1671–1730), iron-master: halfpence of, 34, 381n149; *The Drapier's Letters* by, 34, 381n149
Woodward, Henry (1714–77), actor and pantomimist: attacks John Hill in *A Letter from Henry Woodward, Comedian*, 130, 401n336; insulted by John Hill, 130
Woodward, John (1668–1728), natural historian and antiquary: 149
*World*: Chesterfield's essays in, 117, 399n316
Woty, William (bap. 1732–d. 1791), poet and literary editor: *Poetical Calendar* edited by, 231, 422n513
Wren, Sir Christopher (1632–1723), architect, mathematician, and astronomer: 227
Wyndham, Sir William, third baronet (1687–1740), politician: style of speeches of, 62

Xenophon (ca. 428–ca. 354 BCE), Greek historian: use of work of, in SJ's school, 24

Yate, Richard (fl. 1740), of Chively, Shropshire: as contributor to *GM*, 31
Yates, Sir Joseph (1722–70), judge: 320
Yeshua Ben Siva (early second century BCE), scribe and teacher in Jerusalem: as author of Ecclesiasticus, 1, 367n1
Yorke, Philip, first earl of Hardwicke (1690–1764), lord chancellor: JH's view of, 248; patronage of, of Birch, 127; on precedents, 320; speech of, on motion for removing Walpole from office, 65–72, 77, 390n224
Young, Edward (1683–1765), writer: account of, 199, 416n467; found no bright side of life, 224, 421n505; *Night Thoughts* by, quoted, 309

Zuylestein (Zulestein), William Henry. *See* Nassau van Zuylestein